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The Home of the Indo-Europeans

It is refreshing to find in the latest attempt¹ to deal with this topic of perennial interest a new line of approach, which justifies the giving of serious attention to the views of the writer. Dr. Brandenstein holds that it may be possible to use linguistic evidence to establish the existence in the Indo-European period of two distinct periods, during which the ancestors of the later separate branches lived together, though by the later period the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians had parted from their kinsfolk. The obvious advantages of such a doctrine, if it can be substantiated, can easily be appreciated. It offers the possibility of mediating between the opinions which at present divide the field. Moreover it accords with the modern readiness to admit the possibility of tracing earlier and later stages of development in the Indo-European speech itself. We have reason to suppose with Hirt² that there were different stages as regards the accent, which are necessary to explain the phenomena of vowel gradation. We may believe that stems in *-os* or *-es* which show no gradation are creations of a period later than the normal working of gradation. We may equally accept the doctrine that heteroclite nouns of the *wédor* Gen. *udnés* type, which are obsolescent in the separate speeches, are old; that thematic are later than athematic verbs; and

¹ W. Brandenstein, *Die erste indogermanische Wanderung* (1936).

² *Indogerm. Grammatik*, v, 402, 403.

that the feminine was of gradual evolution in Indo-European.³ There is, therefore, nothing in principle unsound in supposing that we may be able to arrive at earlier and later words and meanings, whence we may derive information as to the habitat of the Indo-Europeans at different times in their history. Sometimes the forms of words aid us in placing them in chronological order and thus illustrating the march of ideas. The fact that the first four numbers are declined, and that the word for eight, I.E. *oktou*, is patently a dual, can be taken as *prima facie* proof that counting at first was based on the fours.⁴ *dekmt*, 'ten' then can be explained from *de*, 'up to', and *kmt* which denotes 'together', and as meaning 'up to completion', presumably of the fingers of the two hands. In the same spirit twenty can be explained as 'two completes', *wikmti*.

Applied to the subject of development of meanings in Indo-European we find that in certain speeches, the Indo-Iranian, there are to be found only the simpler significations of certain terms, which in the other Indo-European languages have developed later senses. We can therefore assume that these languages separated from the general I. E. speech earlier than the others, which remained in a more or less unitary condition. If, then, we can from words which are I.E., including Indo-Iranian, draw up a picture of the location of the I.E., and if we can sketch a different picture from words common to the rest of the I.E. speeches, we are entitled to hold that we have a real piece of evidence of the early movements of the Indo-Europeans. Everything, it is clear, depends on the validity of the instances adduced and their number.

The examples adduced for the early character of Indo-Iranian are of weight. From the root *gwer* in its longer form *gwerāu* we have the noun *grāvan* in Sanskrit. The meaning is clearly stone, as

3 Meillet, *BSL.*, xlii, 1 ff.

4 Brandenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24. This, of course, is much disputed.

used for pressing Soma. In languages other than Indo-Iranian the sense is developed to 'millstone' as in Armenian, and in the others it bears that sense or that of 'handmill'. Plainly the development is from 'stone' to 'mill', and is later than Indo-Iranian.

A like argument can be derived from the root *melg* which gives us *mṛś*, 'rub', 'stroke' in Sanskrit, while in other I.E. languages it has the definite and distinctive sense of 'milk'. Here again the development is quite clear and reasonable. In the case of the root *sei* the sense of sowing is not found in Sanskrit, which presents us with the simpler meaning of throwing a missile (*sāyaka*). The root *mel* again has in Sanskrit the simpler sense of 'make weak', but only later that of 'grind'. *Agros* again in the sense of 'open country' is older than in the sense of 'arable land', 'field'; the adjective *agrius* has indeed not acquired the narrower sense. In the same direction points *airā*, for in Sanskrit *erakā* it does not advance beyond the sense 'grass' as opposed to 'weed'; and the latter development implies the practice of agriculture. So again *keqos*, in Sanskrit *śāpa*, means an 'edible vegetable', and it is in other speeches only that it is used to denote 'fodder for cattle', a distinction which is due to the advance in culture of the peoples concerned. Again the Sanskrit representative of *perkom* denotes a 'rift in the ground', such as may be caused by heat, while in other languages we have the sense 'furrow' testifying to the progress of agriculture.

Of the soundness in principle of the argument there need be no great doubt. The difficulty, of course, is to accept the examples adduced, even when supplemented by other instances of development of sense, as sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case. It will be noted that it is assumed that Hittite is not to be regarded with some scholars as earlier than Indo-Iranian in its separation from the main body of languages.⁵ That is not, however, a serious objection to the theory,

5 Cf. Petersen, *Language*, ix, 12 ff.

for the view which makes Hittite a sister language to Indo-European is very far from convincing. It is in any case interesting to consider how far the adoption of occurrence in Indo-Iranian as an evidence of early Indo-European speech serves to present a consistent picture of the earliest ascertainable Indo-European home.

The early Indo-Europeans seem to have been familiar with rocky steppes. There are many words for hills, stones, rocks, as is natural with those who live among them and learn to discriminate by different names specific formations and features, as do dwellers in the Alps. There are words also suggestive of rushing torrents carrying drift with them. But there is evidence also of dust and sand, of the earth splitting up through extreme heat, of water falling, of the wells yielding drops only, of the fear of being without water, and of thirst. There are signs also of the feeling of wide open spaces (*pr̥thivī*). On the other hand no word for marshes exists, for *panqom*, Sanskrit *pañka*, probably denotes the sand and mud deposited by the streams, though shallow lakes may have been known, for *bbudhm(e)n(o)*, 'the bottom of a dish', is used metaphorically for the bottom of a gathering of water.

On the other hand, the later Indo-Europeans seem to have moved into regions of a marshy character. We find both new words indicating the existence of marshy lands, and the alteration of the sense of older words. Streams no longer are rushing mountain torrents but slow moving, and terms to denote dry land appear. Significantly, though new words for stones are in the main lacking, those found seem to describe rounded stones formed from the debris produced by glacial action, which accords with the view that the Indo-Europeans had advanced into areas which had been left in a swampy condition by the close of the last glacial period.

These conclusions may be strengthened by evidence from words denoting motion. There are a couple of early I.E. roots denoting climbing, while others refer to hastening or running, or to the driving

of cattle. The bodily conditions induced by quick movement are so familiar that to them are given special names. Further, there are words hinting that speed was no longer characteristic of the movements of the Indo-Europeans, that they had acquired defined places for grazing their cattle, that they preferred to travel by wagon, and the word for 'wander', which now appears, may reflect the limitation of freedom of movement as compared with the unlimited steppes. The idea of changing one's place similarly implies knowledge of two known spots which are exchanged.

In the early period there is no proof of knowledge of regular paths; later the word for 'going' passes over to 'path', and the term *pontis* takes on the sense of a means of passage through swampy ground. On the other hand no substantial change can be traced in the very simple wheeled cart which seems to have attained its characteristics early.

On the other hand in regard to streams there is a marked distinction. The older period contemplates the crossing of streams only at fordable spots, and their use for transport by force of the current, not by use of oars. Later we find simple bridges, which are at once rendered necessary and possible by the presence of many slow flowing streams. Their construction is a symptom of the stabilisation of life which renders more or less permanent bridges desirable. At the same time a word appears for a ford through stagnant, as opposed to running, waters. Even now however there is no proof of the use of oars; the word for oar⁶ and oar-blade, must have developed in the individual speeches as their variant formation proves.

In accordance with the natural conditions words in the earlier period which denote washing have reference to swift flowing water, while later stress is laid on the necessity of rubbing off the dirt, water being stagnant.

6 Greek *eretmos*, Latin *remus*, Lithuanian *erklas*, DHG. *ruodar*.

An important confirmation of the theory of two periods can be derived from the evidence of the climate. That of the early I.E. period was continental; the summer was dry and hot under a blue sky; the winter cold, stormy and marked by snow; further, spring and autumn were distinguished, and the location of the home in the sub-arctic steppes is rendered assured by the fact that the transitions from light to dark and *vice versa* were sharply marked, which notoriously is not the case in the south. The spring, with its freshness, brought thawing of the ice, but was still cool. The summer has an obscure name, for it cannot mean 'half-time'; from any point of view that term would be inapplicable to the position of the season as one of four, and the colourless appellation is out of keeping with the other names of the seasons. We may perhaps trace the names, which appear to come from *es* and *sem*, to a *esemr* with heteroclitite declension *smnes*. There are many words suggesting its blinding brilliance; its clouds were white, and two terms in Sanskrit *varṣa* and *śikara* suggest that the only rain that fell was a little drizzle. Other terms suggest dust and sand and much dryness. The name of the autumn, Sanskrit *śarad*, marks it as a lukewarm period, while words for vapour and mist probably refer to this season of the year. Nor is there any doubt from the evidence that the distinction of the light of dawn and of the full day and of the dusk before the darkness of night was early known.

The later I.E. period is marked by the increase of expressions for damp and rain; terms which earlier meant mist, or white clouds, denote clouds, or dark clouds or rain. Storms of rain with the sighing of the wind were known, and a term which originally denoted a period of moisture is used to denote evening, a fact explicable because only in regions where there is much water do evenings characterised

7 This claim which is important is open to question. Cf. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, i. 429 f.; Carnoy, *Les Indo-Européens*, pp. 83 f.

thus occur. In the early period we learn only of the corruption of animal matter, but late of mould, mildew and decay due to the wet climate. We find also that hard crusts formed on the earth from the effect of strong winds drying up wet ground. The term for summer takes the meaning of harvest time, while a new word appears denoting it as the hot season, which suggests that spring and autumn had grown colder, with which accords an increase in terms for cold and ice.

Even the words for disease may yield evidence. The climate of the early period seems to have been sound, so that few diseases were known; but, as might be expected from the conditions of life on the steppes, there are words for 'limping' and 'bent'. Later the damp climate had untoward results. We find what may be fevers, rheumatism, and ruptures perhaps due to carrying heavy burdens of produce. Ulcers are known and glandular swellings, while wounds tend to suppurate, and diarrhoea is characteristic.

The two periods can be located on the strength of these data with a certain measure of accuracy. The climatic state of the early period is consistent only with the climate of the steppes, and that accords again with the nomad condition of the people, necessitated by the condition of vegetation which compels the movement of herds. There are two obvious areas to be considered, that in southern Russia between the Dnieper and the Volga, and the northern Kirgis steppes, south and east of the Ural mountains. In favour of the latter tells decisively the rocky character of the early home. A location further east is open to the objection that salt steppes begin east of the Irtysh, and the Barabinsk steppes between Barnaul and Schlangenbergl are conspicuously poor in vegetation. Further east of the Ishim the land is too flat. The south is excluded by the climatic conditions, the absence of hills and of rapid streams, and the fact that the waste zones there are not mentioned. The choice must therefore fall on the northern part of the Kirgis steppes between the Ural

and Irish. For the home of the later period we must look to the marshy land which extends from the Carpathians to the Baltic, the land of the eastern Poles. The rain here is three or four times as great as in the area suggested for the early home. Probably some 5000 years ago the marshes may have extended further east, for Europe was not so dried up as it now is.

It is of interest to compare these results with the evidence so often already involved as to the animal life known to the Indo-Europeans. The evidence from this source is notoriously difficult to evaluate. The existence of taboos among hunters may prevent the original name surviving, leading to the substitution of a mere epithet.⁸ The departure of a people to a region where a certain animal ceases to be found may lead to the transfer of its name to another. Again the same name may be given quite independently in two different countries if it is based on some obvious feature such as colour; thus German *bär* and Sanskrit *bhalla* may be derived separately from I.E. *bberos*, 'brown.'

It appeared that the early Indo-Europeans knew the elk, otter, wild boar, wolf, fox, bear, hare, beaver, mouse, perhaps the marmot, and possibly the weasel, polecat, and squirrel. The absence of the tiger, leopard, and camel render unlikely a location in the northern slopes of the Iranian plateau or Turkestan. The elk is found both north of the steppes and on them, and there also are found the otter, the beaver, the tree martin, and the squirrel. If the marmot of the steppes was known, it is significant that it is common in the Urals. The auroch, which is typically European, seems to have been unknown, for comparison of Sanskrit *usra* and *urus* is not conclusive. In the later epoch we have stags and roes and certainly hedgehog and weasel. The former point to well wooded lands.

8 Cf. Old Church Slavic *medv-edi*, 'honey eater', for bear.

For birds we have a generic name, *awei*, which points to the presence of considerable numbers of birds of different species, and we have the names of a number of birds which are usually found in groups, the wild duck, the wild goose, crows, quails and some species of fowls (moorcock, partridge, perhaps bustard.) One or two birds of prey and the woodpecker are known. Of these the wild goose nests only up to the 45th degree of latitude, thus excluding a more southern location than a line drawn roughly from the mouth of the Volga to the Sea of Aral. There are missing such European birds as the stork which is found around the Caspian, and the starling. In the later period these birds are found, and also song birds, rare in the steppes, and birds usual in areas rich in water.

In the early period fish seem to have been little known or used, and a generic expression for fish is lacking. Later, on the other hand, we find terms which probably denote little fish and big fish as well as special names. That of the salmon, *laks*, is confined to Germanic, Balto-Slav and Tocharian, suggesting that it falls after the separation of the Indo-Europeans, and that only one group of them reached the vicinity of the Baltic, whose affluents contain the fish. In Celtic we have quite another name" going back to *esoks* which is probably, borrowed in Italic. From the many variants for eel the sound conclusion is that the work has been created in each speech separately, often on the basis of the patent resemblance of the eel to the snake.⁹ In any case it is an error to assume that it is foreign to the Mediterranean and to build on that fact geographical conclusions.

Of reptiles the early period knows few, two names for snake, perhaps the crab and the lizard. Later appear the toad, snail, new names for the snake, and above all in Greek and Slavonic the tortoise.

⁹ Irish *eo*, Breton *rok*. Connection with OHG. *asko*, now *äsche*, 'grayling', is suggested. There is no probability of true I. E. origin.

¹⁰ Greek *egkbelus*, Latin *anguilla*, Lithuanian *ungwis*.

But this may be due to later borrowing by both these peoples from some foreign source, for the word can hardly be derived from the adjective 'yellow', since that colour is in no way characteristic of the tortoise.¹¹ If it is Indo-European, then it is to be noted that it is not found on the Baltic but in the area between the Carpathians, the Pripet marshes, and the Black Sea.

The insects of the early period seem to be those whose presence is natural where cattle are, while those of the later point to the existence of water and accumulations of animal refuse such as accompany sedentary life. The bee raises difficulties. It is not found in the steppes, in western Siberia, or Turkestan. The word for 'honey' however, is generally assigned to the I.E. in its earliest form because of Sanskrit *madhu*, and its parallels. To meet this difficulty Brandenstein insists that the original I.E. *medhu* meant not honey, but the result of pressing out berries which would ferment into an intoxicating drink like mead, to which honey was added as a sweetening. The use of *madhu* for honey belongs to the individual speeches. Sanskrit did not acquire the foreign word *melit*; Balto-Slav and Tocharian avoid it. In the other speeches the term denotes a drink from berries or mead as in Avestan. Sanskrit and Germanic, or secondarily an intoxicating drink, as in Avestan, Greek and Celtic, while even in Slavonic there is a verb derived from it with the sense 'ferment'. In the later period we find honey and the bee, and also the hornet. Certainly the evidence¹² is strong enough to render it difficult any longer to accept the evidence of honey as early known to the Indo-Europeans.

The evidence to be derived from domestic animals is controversial. We cannot assume that the Indo-Europeans learned to domesticate the dog in Europe, where centres of domestication may

¹¹ Contrast Walde, *op. cit.*, i. 631.

¹² Brandenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

be found in Spain and the north east. It must have been domesticated somewhere in Asia within the limits of the habitat of the wild sheep, which today is still found from the Ust Urt plateau to Turkestan. The name *kuon* may well be derived from *kau*,¹³ its cry, for the Sanskrit *kōka* for 'wolf' suggests such an origin, and the domestic dog may well be derived from the wolf, no other source being probable.

As regards cattle the position is complex. In the neolithic age the auroch was common in central Europe but was not domesticated. The *brachyceros* species, on the other hand was domesticated in East Galicia and probably also in West Asia, whence it reached Asia Minor. At the close of the neolithic period the *primigenius* appears in Europe. On one view it is the descendant of the auroch; but where it was domesticated is uncertain, probably in Spain or the Atlas, for about the same period we find the Mediterranean area giving the mutton and the important metal, copper. With this would accord the fact that at this time we find in the later Indo-European a new word *tauros*, the variation in the forms of which in the several speeches may show that it was borrowed by each separately.¹⁴ It occurs in Semitic also¹⁵ and is probably a borrowing from a Mediterranean language, for the alleged derivation from *teu* 'swell', is implausible. The earlier term in I.E. *gwous* has also been suspected of foreign origin, Ipsen¹⁶ insisting that it is borrowed from Sumerian *gud*, after it had lost its *d* about 2700 B.C. but the assertion is very far from proved or even probable. Other centres of domestication of these animals may be disregarded. The auroch

13 Cf. Brandenstein, op. cit., p. 71.

14 Cf. Celtic *tarwos*; Old Church Slavic *turū*; doubtful is Germ. *Stier*.

15 Aramaic *tor*. Hebrew *Sor*. Proto-Semitic *tauru*. It has been suggested that it is a Semitic borrowing: Walde, op. cit., i. 711.

16 I.F., I. 247 ff. Cf. Keith, *Oriental Studies in honour of C. E. Pavry*, p. 193; Brandenstein, op. cit., pp. 20-2.

was domesticated in west Turkestan in the period of the use of copper, and the humped buffalo was early present in the Indus valley,¹⁷ but has no claim to have been Indo-European.

The sheep is of great importance for purposes of location. It is clear that herds of sheep were known and that they had long wool. Now the area of domestication may be assigned to west Turkestan in the sixth millennium B.C., and the Trans-Caspian wild sheep still has a range from the Ust Urt plateau to Turkestan, and no doubt in earlier times extended further north to the spurs of the Urals, so as to fall within the habitat suggested for the early Indo-Europeans. Beside this sheep, Sanskrit *urabhya*, *urā*, the wild sheep was perhaps used for crossing as may be suggested by Sanskrit *avikā*, 'mother sheep'. In Europe the turbarry sheep of the Swiss pile dwellings, which may have reached Europe from Asia via Asia Minor and the Balkans, while the domesticated sheep of Asia went via the Urals and Poland, was doubtless found by the later Indo-Europeans, for new names are recorded.

The case of the goat is less simple. The goat known to the early Indo-Europeans seems to have been the *Capra prisca* of European origin which therefore, must have reached the early Indo-Europeans by importation from the Carpathians or the Balkans. This view may be supported by the obscurities of form in the different words, I. E. *aig̃s*, *agos*, and *bbūg̃os*, suggesting that they were borrowed terms without I.E. connections. This goat was widely propagated in Europe at the close of the neolithic period by the Indo-Europeans. They found in Europe the sabre-horned goat, itself of Asiatic origin, which had reached Europe via Asia Minor like the turbarry sheep, and this explains the appearance of new names, of which *kapos* is probably Indo-European, while others are confined to groups of

¹⁷ B. Prashad, *Animal Remains from Harappa*, pp. 31-46. All assertions of origin of domestic animals are wholly contested.

speeches, Old Church Slavic *koza*, Latin *baedus*, German *ziege*, Old Irish *gabor*.

The horse of the early Indo-Europeans was doubtless domesticated from the wild horse of the steppes at an early date. The reference of *ekwos* to the idea 'swift', Sanskrit *āsū*, is most improbable. An ingenious suggestion¹⁸ makes it the 'neigher', from the sound *eka* or *eke*, with the affix *-wo*, which renders the disappearance of the second vowel natural under the rules of gradation. The Viennese *ihaba*, ironically used of horseflesh sausages, may represent the sound, just as German *baba* accords with Sanskrit *kakhati*, having obeyed the normal laws of sound change. It is probable that the appearance of the horse in Europe after the close of the neolithic era accords with the arrival then of Indo-Europeans, who stand in such close connection with the horse. Unquestionably the facts regarding the horse afford one of the best arguments for the Asiatic home of the Indo-Europeans.

The pig, as an animal hard to drive, seems never to have been domesticated by the early Indo-Europeans; nomads proper never trouble with it. It appears to have been domesticated in east Asia, south of the Alps, and in the region of the Baltic, and it became known to the later Indo-Europeans only, who named it either by a derivate from the wild pig, *suinos*, or from its grubbing propensity, *porkos*.

The ass has no Indo-European name. It was early domesticated in Egypt whence through Asia it reached southern Europe. The camel was equally not known to the Indo-Europeans. It was domesticated in Turkestan perhaps c. 2000 B.C., probably after the close of the early Indo-European epoch, and the range of the wild camel may have been further east. The Iranians named the camel *uštra*,

¹⁸ Brandenstein, op. cit., p. 77.

a term which in India probably applies properly to the buffalo of the hump backed type.¹⁹

The botanic evidence suggests that the early Indo-Europeans knew no more than trees grouped here and there, the Sanskrit *vana*, not great forests. Even the later Indo-Europeans seem not to have frequented such areas as the woody parts of the Carpathians or the land west of the Oder. There are the usual difficulties of identification, due to the ease with which a word may be used of one kind or other of tree, since there are far greater generic similarities between trees than between animals. But it seems that we must recognise the oak, some type of willow, a useful elastic tree, *dbanu*, presumably the larch, a resinous tree, and the birch. On the other hand there are lacking such specifically European trees as the beech, ash, elm, hazelnut and yew, while the maple is also wanting. The birch is important, for it is not found south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude, thus pointing to the northern steppes. The oak is not traced beyond the 57th degree of longitude or the woods between Samara or Orenburg. It is, of course, possible that this part of the Indo-European area was reached late, a suggestion supported by the absence of the word for acorn. But the evidence is clearly against a location far to the east. The lack of the *Pinus silvestris* excludes a location more than a degree north of the line Samara to Orenburg, and that of the lime tree a location west of the Volga. The presence of the birch has been adduced²⁰ to prove a location between the Vistula and the Niemen, but the evidence is quite insufficient.

The beech, which has played so great a part in the argument, is not known to the early Indo-Europeans. The meaning of the term *būz* in a Kurdish dialect is elm, of Russian *bozŭ* elder, and so late a word is valueless for comparative purposes. The beech grows

19 Prashad, *op. cit.*, p. 59 thinks that Harappa knew a domesticated camel.

20 J. Bender, *The Home of the Indo-Europeans*, p. 33.

west of a line roughly running from Königsberg to the Carpathians. The form of the word suggests that it is a borrowing from some foreign speech. Certainly it is impossible logically to derive the name of the tree from the root meaning 'bow' or 'bend'.²¹

The later period knows trees with a definitely western habitat, such as the lime west of the Volga, the ash and Norway maple west of the Urals, the hazelnut west of the south Russian steppes, and the *Pinus silvestris* whose south east limit is a line from Moscow to the east margin of the Carpathians. A location further west is negated by the absence of the fir which is rare in Volhynia, but common in central Germany and in the Carpathians. The elm is found in Volhynia, but is rarer towards the east and is not found in west Siberia. On the other hand the absence of the black elder in the south Russian steppes is unfavourable to a location there.

Of great importance is the absence even in the later period of words for fruit trees, which accords with their origin in the south and the south east. The Indo-European unity must have dissolved before they reached them. The apple was known to the dwellers in the neolithic pile buildings of Austria. The names of these trees were borrowed by each speech separately, as has long been recognised in view of the impossibility of finding a common original for the variant forms.²²

From plant names some confirmation can be obtained. The most important point is the absence of the mistletoe in the early period, for it is wanting in the steppes and west Siberia. The later period also knows plants common in marshy regions, heath, rushes, reeds, mushrooms. The onion and leek are also found.

21 Brandestein, op. cit., p. 82. It must be remembered that Greek *phagos*, means 'oak', Latin *fagus* 'beech' or perhaps 'Spanish chestnut', at least in some cases.

22 E.g., Greek *elaia*, Latin *oliva*, Armanian *ewl*; Greek *oinos* Latin *vinum*, Armenian *gini*; Greek *sūkon*, *figus*, Armenian *thuz*. Cf. Meillet, *Langue Grecque*, pp. 63 ff.

From these and other less secure data Dr. Brandenstein draws the conclusion that for some unknown reason the Indo-Europeans left their habitat on the north west Kirgis steppes and proceeded west to the region now Poland. A remnant stayed behind, proceeding west later, but part turned south over the Caucasus. They developed after the separation into the Indo-Iranians, whose later migrations can be followed from the suggestions of Professor Kretschmer.²³ It is certain that they made settlements on the Volga and the Caucasus. This part of the theory is specially open to question. No sufficient ground appears why the Caucasus should be the only route ascribed. It is perfectly possible and even more probable that the Indo-Iranians followed the route via the Jaxartes and the Oxus. The Indo-Europeans in the Caucasus may well have been those who supplied the I.E. element in Hittite, for the theory which brings them to their place in Asia Minor via the west is very impossible. Moreover, the efforts of Professor Kretschmer to trace the route of the Indians to India via Baluchistan must be rejected as quite unproved. It brings the entry of the Aryans into India down too late if we argue that the Aryan elements in Mitanni are proto-Indians en route to their later home. It is far more likely that they merely represent one of the many Aryan bands whose presence can be traced in Mesopotamia and even in Syria, though in the long run they failed to establish themselves definitely, except in Iran and in India, where presumably resistance for one reason or another was less effective.

With this suggestion of change of habitat can be brought into connection the distinction between the mode of life of nomad herdsmen and agriculturists. It has long been admitted that it is impossible to ascribe to the Indo-Europeans a knowledge of agriculture, if we rely on the testimony of Indo-Iranian as well as European

²³ WZKM., xxxiii. 1 ff.; KZ., lv. 75 ff. cf. Porzig, ZII., v. 265 ff.; Keith, *Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 81 ff.

speeches, while there is sufficient evidence for European groups familiar with the plough and the civilisation therewith connected. This agrees excellently with the fact that there is abundant evidence of the early practice of agriculture in the European areas where Indo-Europeans settled.²⁴ Coming upon it they made it their own and extended it.

The merits of the new theory appear very clearly when it is contrasted with that which National Socialist fervour has made so popular in Germany, that the original home of the Indo-Europeans is to be found in that country, or with the variant view which places the development of the Indo-Europeans in Denmark or Southern Scandinavia. The evidence of language can be made consistent far more easily on Dr. Brandenstein's view than on the Germanic hypothesis. The salient facts in this regard are the patent antiquity of Indo-Iranian on the one hand and of Lithuanian and of Old Church Slavic on the other, despite the very different dates of our records in these cases, and the serious changes which took place in early Germanic. On the new theory these matters are in order. Indo-Iranian present Indo-European in an early stage of development in the literature of the priests of Indo-European tribes, which are in the process of blending with the non-Indo-European population, which held Iran and India before their advent. The conservatism of Lithuanian and Slav speeches is in large measure due to the fact that, after the separation from the Indo-Iranians and the diffusion of Indo-Europeans from their next home, the ancestors of Balts and Slavs settled down in part of the regions they now occupy²⁵ and were able to continue in possession in considerable measure of their

24 Cf. Hirt, *Indogerm. Gramm.*, i. 82. The root *arā* is not Indo-Iranian, and is of late type; Nehring, *Actes du deuxième congrès international des linguistes*, pp. 191 ff.

25 The area of characterisation of the Russians lies in Poland and the area between the Carpathians and Dnieper; Haddon, *Wanderings of Peoples*, pp. 47 f.

territories, thus avoiding the changes which are inevitably developed in speeches when a body of conquerors impose their speech on subjected peoples.

With this view accord well the facts of Germanic.²⁶ (1) We find that the pitch accent of the last Indo-European period suffers essential change. It is transformed into a stress accent, and, probably after this had taken place, the place of the accent was shifted to fall on the stem syllable, thus completely departing from the old model of a movable pitch accent. This is most easily explained by the view that the subject people had a stress accent on the stem; that they adopted the Indo-European speech brought to them, but applied inevitably their stress accent in lieu of the pitch accent; and later, as suggested by Verner's law,²⁷ they altered the place of the new accent to accord with their habits of articulation. It is probable that Celtic passed through very similar changes of accent,²⁸ and in that case also as the result of the influence of the speech of the pre-Celtic population. There is no doubt that the change of accent in Latin was thus induced.

(2) The shifting of consonants in Germanic is most easily explained by the influence of the earlier race, as in the case of Armenian or of *Paīśācī Prākṛit*. There is some movement in the same direction in Celtic, whose influence has been adduced to explain the Germanic change.²⁹ But the process does not go so far in early Celtic, and the transformations of the sonants when unaspirated into surds, and of the unaspirated surds into spirants, are carried out so regularly as to render it very difficult to find any natural explanation as a development within an Indo-European speech. All is easily explained if we accept the theory of a substratum whose influence ended in pro-

26 Feist, *Indogermanen und Germanen*, pp. 17 ff.

27 KZ., xxiii, 27 ff.

28 Van Ginneken, *Linguistique psychologique*, p. 474, n. 3.

29 See Van Ginneken, *op. cit.*, pp. 465 ff.

ducing the changes, as the outcome of adaptation of the new sounds to their speech habits.

(3) Race mixture again explains very simply the rapid decline of the Indo-European system of inflexions in Germanic. If, on the other hand, we regard the Germans as Indo-Europeans *par excellence*, we are faced with the necessity of inventing some theory to explain the rapid change of the Indo-European speech in the mouths of its historical representatives. To do so it is necessary largely to revise our ideas of the Indo-European speech, and to postulate for instance that much of the elaborate verbal system of Greek and Indo-Iranian is an independent development. This view is sometimes supported by the argument that Hittite shows a much greater poverty of forms than Indo-European, but it is much simpler, in lieu of treating Hittite as old in structure,³⁰ to regard it as representing Indo-European greatly mutilated by adoption in the midst of a foreign population which could make nothing of the delicacies of the speech of the ruling class, whose own command of it was soon lost. The treatment, for instance, of verbal forms in *r* in Hittite suggests not a primitive condition, but the working up later of Indo-European material.

It is also to be noted that Indo-European shows very slight affinity with Basque, which has unquestionably the right to be regarded as a very fair representative of an early form of European speech. The most clear case of borrowing is to be found in the use of twenty as a unit for numbering in Basque, where 30 is 20 + 10, 40 is 2 × 20, and so on. In Breton, in Welsh, and in Irish as also in French, in Danish and in Albanian, there are traces of this usage,³¹ which must be put down to borrowing from the earlier populations. On the other hand with Finno-Ugrian speeches there are many traces

³⁰ See Sturtevant, *Hittite Language* (1933); *Language*, ix, 1 ff.

³¹ Hirt, *Indogerm. Gramm.*, i, 92 f.

of connection³² as also with Semitic, suggesting that Indo-European developed rather in the east than in the west.

It is unfortunate also for the claim of Germany that the fate of Germanic speeches outside the main German area has been one of inability to resist absorption by the peoples among whom the Germans settled. The East and the West Goths, the Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks could not perpetuate their speech; the Normans in France and Sicily and the German colonists in Hungary, in the Sierra Nevada, in Upper Italy and elsewhere exchanged their own tongue for that of their subordinates or neighbours. Is it then likely that the Indo-European speeches were carried as far as India and established there by the ancestors of races who later could not maintain outside German borders their own speech? The argument can be answered by various conjectures; it is not conclusive, but it is a very serious difficulty in the way of the belief in Germany as the home of the Indo-Europeans.

Moreover the Germans, when we first learn of them, present a remarkable contrast in civilisation to the Indo-Europeans. The fondness of the latter for their horses is completely attested. It is significant that we have even a very old feminine for mare. The names *Aśvapati*, Iranian *Vistāspa*, Scythian *Aspourgos*, Greek *Hippomedon* or *Philippos*, Gaulish *Epopennus*, Irish *Eachceann*, Gothic *Euarix*, suggest that the Indo-Europeans were proud of their control over horses, which probably was a decisive factor in their successes in conquest.³³ But of Germany in his time Tacitus³⁴ could say *plus penes peditem robur*, and the Celts compare conspicuously with the Germans in their love of horses, for which the evidence of La Tène is conclusive corroboration.

32 Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 336-8.

33 Cf. A. Moortgat, *OLZ.*, 1930., 841 ff.

34 *Germania*, 6.

We have again the testimony of Tacitus³⁵ of the dislike of Germans for cities. But Indo-European times seem to have known something of dwelling in fortified places if we note the parallelism of Sanskrit *pur*, Greek *pólis*, Lithuanian *pilis* and of Sanskrit *dehī*, 'wall', Avestan *pairidaeza*, *-dizos* in Thracian *Tarpodizos*, Greek *teikhos*, and Oscan *féihúss*. The evidence is not conclusive, for the Indo-Europeans may have known no more than mere fortifications used for defence, not normally as places of habitation.

Of more importance is the difficulty of regarding Germanic society as according with the rigid patrilinear system which the vocabulary of Indo-European so plainly attests. We know that such a system was not prevalent among the Iberians whose rule, according to Strabo,³⁶ was that succession passed to daughters who provided for their brothers' marriages. With this accords the persistence among the Basques as late as the 18th century of the curious rite of the *couvade*. That was known also in the Irish saga and the custom lasted long among the Irish Cruthni.³⁷ The case of Boudicca may be adduced to prove that in Britain the daughter could inherit power. For Germany we have in Tacitus³⁸ the significant fact that nephews stood in a specially close relation to their maternal uncles, who were even deemed more closely related to them than to their own children, though the inheritance passed to the latter. In the *Nibelungenlied* we find such phrases as 'Sivrit, der Sigelinde kint', where naming of the mother suggests an older state than naming the father. More important is the stress laid on the cult of the *Matronae*³⁹ as against the worship of the *Pitaras* in India. It seems clearly to reflect the idea of the older stratum of population as opposed

35 *Germania*, 16.

36 iii, 4, 18.

37 *Zeitschrift für celt. Philologie*, ix, 101.

38 *Germania*, 20. An Irish parallel exists.

39 K. Helm, *Altgerm. Religionsgeschichte*, i, 391, ff., Carnoy, *Les Indo-Européens*, pp. 68, 266.

to those of the Indo-European invaders, just as in India itself the cult of the Mothers ultimately appears in full force, though it is no part of Vedic religion proper.

It accords with the arguments given above that Germanic has a vocabulary which in many spheres is largely non-Indo-European in character, names of fish, of birds, of beasts and of plants being frequently without Indo-European cognates. One set of terms is of importance, those referring to the sea. We have the words⁴⁰ Latin *mare*, Old Irish *muir*, Germanic, *mari*, Old Church Slavic *morje*, and Old Prussian *mary* and Lithuanian *māres*, 'haven'. But the further extension of the term cannot be established by citing Sanskrit *maryādā*, 'boundary', or the Greek Amphimarus, a son of Poseidon, or the noun *brúx*. Pliny⁴¹ ascribes to the Cimbri the term *Morimarusa* explained as *mortuum mare*, the second part of the word being clearly connected with the root *mer*, 'die'. Hence the original may have been *mori*, and Latin *mare* may be a borrowing from a dialect perhaps Illyrian which changed *o* to *a*. The term may originally have applied to inland lakes and then been applied to the North Sea; certainly the Black Sea cannot have been meant, as is shown by the fact that in Germanic we have the name of the salmon which is not found in the rivers of that sea. Both words probably are local borrowings by immigrant Indo-Europeans. The alternative is as usual to assume that they were lost as the Indo-Europeans advanced away from their Germanic home.

Further the argument insisted on for the European localisation of the Indo-Europeans, the name of the beech has been seen to be without any weight.

Nor can any weight be laid on considerations affecting somatic character. The view that Scandinavia and Germany were the home

40 Cf. Walde, *op. cit.* ii, 234 f.

41 *Nat. Hist.* iv, 95.

of the dolichocephalic, blond-haired, blue-eyed, bright coloured, tall race, which is to be recognised as the true Indo-European type, must be held to be incorrect, in so far as it asserts that this type was Indo-European. Language fails to cast any light on the Indo-European type and all that we have to argue from is contained in descriptions of the separate peoples at no very early period in their history. The Vedic evidence shows that the Indo-Aryans were light-coloured in comparison with the races already in India, but nothing more. If the epithet *xanthós* is used of Achaeans who may be regarded as Indo-European invaders, it is also used of the older Rhadamanthys,⁴² and the occurrence of names like Ahenobarbus, Fulvius, Flavus and Rufus among the Romans⁴³ is at too late a date to allow of any deductions as to the character of the Indo-European invaders. The existence of light coloured persons in Asia is attested at various times whatever be the racial origin of the obscure Wu-sun⁴⁴ in the 2nd century B.C., Chinese records preserve knowledge of their light hair and eyes and the Latin tradition makes the Alans of light colour, though most of our evidence as to Persia⁴⁵ shows dark hair as characteristic even in classical times. Early Egyptian representations suggest that possibly some Semites—though this is much disputed,⁴⁶ and Libyans were light in colour as opposed to the Egyptians themselves. Light coloured slaves from the north east were being sold at Babylon just before the Kassite conquest. There are now tall, fair, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic Kurds in the regions once occupied by the Mitanni, but we have no record of the colour of the latter people, and clearly the Indo-Europeans among them were few in number. Other Kurds are brachycephalic and of brown hue. Of the Kirgis people many are still blond and blue-eyed, a fact which,

42 *Od.* iv, 563 ff.

44 Feist, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 f.

46 *Ibid.* pp. 12, 92.

43 Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 159 ff.

45 Feist, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

for what it is worth, might be cited in support of that area as the centre of specification of the Indo-European race.

It is perfectly obvious that, if the evidence proves anything, it is merely that persons of light colour and blond hair formed part of European peoples as well as of non-European peoples. To ascribe dolichocephalism to them is impossible. We have in central and eastern Europe evidence of the existence of blond-haired, blue-eyed brachycephals, and such men were the Budinoi of Herodotos⁴⁷ whether we treat them as Slavs or as members of the Permian group of Finno-Ugrians. Brachycephalism can be assigned to some at least of the ancient Celts and to many modern Slavs as well as to Asiatic light coloured people such as the Galchas.⁴⁸ Ridgeway claimed the Achaeans as brachycephalic, and the Cretan Sphakiotes who may be pure descendants of the Dorians have been noted as brachycephalic.⁴⁹ All these arguments are of problematic value. If the Achaeans are accepted as specifically Indo-European in type, what of the earlier tribes who introduced Greek into Greece? It is quite impossible to ignore the fact that there were earlier Greek speakers in Greece, who on this theory must have been of the Mediterranean type. The position is further complicated by the theory that the brachycephals are the result of mingling of the dolichocephals with a dark brachycephal race. It is by no means easy to see the cogency of this conjecture as the explanation of the eastern brachycephals, and the fact appears to be that the coexistence of dolichocephals and brachycephals seems to be far older than any time when the Indo-Europeans still were together. In neolithic times even in Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia there were brachycephals as well as dolichocephals. We are

47 iv, 108.

48 The men represented in cave temples in Turfan seem brachycephalic.

49 Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 161. Ridgeway's views never accounted for earlier Greek tribes.

still without any real light on the causes which produce the one type or the other or allow of translation between them. One suggestion⁵⁰ is that the conditions of life and work of women in agricultural peoples tends to favour the birth of brachycephals, a theory which could be used to explain the large number of eastern brachycephals in Europe. But the obvious conclusion is that the whole of the matter is irrelevant to the question of the Indo-European home.

A variant of the Germanic origin of the Indo-Europeans stresses the shore of the Baltic as the original home. But the only argument which favours this view is the antiquity of the Lithuanian speech though of recent record, and the ancient features of Slav speeches which may still be regarded as closely related to the Baltic speeches. There is no doubt of the striking character of the accent of Lithuanian or the preservation of remarkable features in its noun declension, while some of the characteristics of Slavic in respect of its preference for open syllables, treatment of vowels, retention of the systems of kinds of action, etc., may be very old.⁵¹ But it is clear that the Indo-European home could not really have been on the sea coast, in view of their having no word for sea, ignoring the use of fish for food, and having no common words for sailing ships. More especially the absence of any Indo-European term for amber is important. Tacitus gives *glaesum* as indigenous, German has *glas*, Greek uses *elektron* which properly denotes an alloy of silver and gold, Latin *sūcinum*, Lithuanian *gintaras*, Lettish *dzitars*. It is incredible that a people which had once become familiar with amber would not have had a common word for it, and there seems every reason to accept the view that it was only late that the Indo-Europeans pushed up close to the coast where amber is found, and perhaps that they did not become masters of the area.⁵²

50 Brandenstein, op. cit., p. 22.

52 Brandenstein, op. cit., p. 83.

51 Hirt, *Indogerm. Gramm.* i, 75.

An alternative to these theories is that of Dr. Giles⁵³ which placed the Indo-European home in an area bounded on the east by the Carpathians, on the south by the Balkans, on the west by the Alps and the Bohemian Forest, and on the north by the Erzgebirge and the northern Carpathians, roughly speaking Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. He contended that this area offers land suitable for agriculture and for the breeding both of horses and of sheep, while it lacked none of the essential features of the Indo-European home either as regards flora or fauna. As the earliest home of the Indo-Europeans it may be ruled out because of the great probability that they were then essentially nomads; but for a later home there can be made out a more probable case. The plenitude of fish in the Hungarian rivers seems irreconcilable with the lack of recognition of the use of fish in the later Indo-European period. Archæological evidence⁵⁴ can also be adduced to suggest that the early Danubian culture was not Indo-European, the absence of arrow heads and weapons being significant. The cult of a Mother-Goddess is also adduced in this regard and is of some importance. It is further urged on psychological grounds that a peasantry such as the evidence reveals would be little likely to develop that intense activity which marked the Indo-European race. As Dr. Giles noted, the area is so surrounded by mountains as not to encourage emigration thence save under stress of circumstances. On the whole, though Indo-Europeans entered later the area, it seems quite needless to treat it as the place where the Indo-Europeans settled after their first great migration.

Yet another possibility is afforded by Southern Russia. Thanks to the effective presentation of the case for that area by Professor Schrader,⁵⁵ the case for that location of the Indo-European home is

53 *Cambridge History of India*, i, 68-70.

54 Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 138 ff.

55 *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (1906-7); *Die Indogermanen* (1919).

well known. It is of course, impossible to accept this area if taken as extending to the Black Sea as the original home in the sense that it was the centre for the dispersion of the Indo-Iranian as well as the other tribes, because of the difficulties suggested by linguistic evidence. The population there must have learned to practise seamanship, and to make use of fish, while there is abundant salt available, but the European name is foreign to Indo-Iranian. But the area has unquestionably strong claims to be treated as a possible place of abode of the later Indo-Europeans. The climate and physiographical features are held by Professor Schrader to accord with the Indo-European evidence. On the other hand might be urged the presence of terms suggesting that the home was situated in a region of more swampy character than that of South Russia.

It is, however, dubious if we can accept the suggestion that we are to identify the Indo-Europeans with the race which buried its dead in a contracted position, covered with red ochre, and surmounted the graves with mounds or kurgans.⁵⁶ It is impossible to find any trace of this remarkable habit in Indo-European speech, and it is extremely dubious if this fact is not fatal for the theory in question. We cannot, of course, claim that the Indo-Europeans burnt their dead, whether all or some only, and hold therefore that a people which buried its dead was not Indo-European. But equally it is remarkable if the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans practised a form of rite which left no record in their speeches. Especially would this be remarkable if such a rite were essentially bound up with specific religious ideas, as may fairly be assumed to be the case, for we should have some trace at least of such ideas as well as allusions in terminology to the custom.

In other matters the resemblances to Indo-European culture are superficial, touching on matters such as the domestication of sheep

⁵⁶ Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 183 ff.

cattle and the horse, doubtless one of the horses of Asia, that of the steppes or of Transcaspia. The wheeled wagon used also as a habitation and thus serving to prove nomadism appears to be a hut only.⁵⁷ The signs of the practice of agriculture are rather feeble. The people were in a chalcolithic state of culture; silver is found freely, gold only in the Kuban valley. If silver were known to the Indo-Europeans, how is it that they have no single term for it? As is well known Sanskrit has *rajata*, Greek *árguros*, Latin *argentum*, Gaulish *argento-ratum*, Old Irish *argat* Tocharian *ārkyant*, but Gothic *silubr*, Lithuanian *sidābras*, Lettish *sidrabs*, Russian *serebro*. The latter form is clearly a borrowed word, and the variant forms of the first word suggest that it again is a loan word influenced by attempts to make it accord with the sense 'white', 'bright'. There is no real probability that it is Indo-European. In the case of gold the position is no better. We have Sanskrit *hiranya*, Avestan *zaranya*, which do not completely agree; Gothic *gulth*, Old Church Slavic *zlato*, Lettish *zelts*; Latin *aurum*, Sabine *ausom*, Old Prussian *ausis*, Lithuanian *auksas*, Tocharian *was*, while Greek has the quite unconnected form *khrusós*. The utter divergence of naming suggests that we have to do with variant loan words, adapted in the case of *hiranya* possibly to the root *ghel*, 'be yellow', 'be green', seen in Sanskrit *hári*, Greek *khlōros*, Latin *helvus*, Old High German *gelo*, while the Phrygian name for gold is *glouros*. *Aurum*, it is suggested, may reflect the root *awes*, which gives us Sanskrit *usās* 'dawn', Greek *eos*, Latin *aurora*. More probably the word is simply a loan word. At any rate in the case of gold as of silver no support for knowledge in Indo-European times is to be found in language.

From the weapons found in the area also no conclusion can be drawn. Perforated axes of stone or copper are common, and some

57 Peake and Fleure, *The Steppe and the Sown*, p. 28.

are demonstrably imported from Mesopotamia.⁵⁸ But Sanskrit *paraśú* and Greek *pélekus* are isolated and are doubtless loan words, and no common word for axe therefore exists, though it might be expected to be known. The fact that copper blades are found which could equally be used as spearheads, or fitted with a short handle to form daggers, is cited to illustrate the change of sense from Sanskrit *śáru*, 'spear', to Gothic *hairus*, 'sword', but that has no evidential value, as there is nothing unique in such blades. Another point to be noted is that this area should have given a common word for honey and for the bee, but that is not the case. It can hardly, therefore, be said that the concordance between the archaeological and the linguistic data is striking.

Nor can any confirmation of the argument be derived from the fact that the civilisation of South Russia shows affinity with the Mesopotamian, in that concave chisels, spear heads, and perforated axes, which are of Asiatic as opposed to Egyptian, Minoan, or West European types, while Indo-European shows borrowings from Mesopotamia. The borrowings in question are much too lightly assumed, but the point is unimportant because obviously Mesopotamia influenced many civilisations, and therefore the parallelism is without cogent force of any kind.

It is therefore impossible to attain any definite result as to the European location of the Indo-Europeans. The evidence is still lacking upon which to found a definite decision. It is possible to reconstruct the history of the Indo-Europeans on the theory of an early home in Asia⁵⁹ or on that of one in Germany, but neither view admits of conclusive proof. The merits of Dr. Brandenstein's attempt lies chiefly in the fact that it opens up a new method of

⁵⁸ Childe; *The Aryans*, pp. 87, 185; Peake and Fleure, *The Steppe and the Sown*, pp. 93 f.

⁵⁹ Peake and Fleure accept a home from the Russian steppes to Turkestan; *op. cit.* pp. 37 f.

approach-which suggests that the older efforts necessarily failed to achieve sound results as they rested on erroneous assumptions. The value of the new method can only be decided after much fuller investigation and consideration of the weight of the evidence already presented and of that which may later be forthcoming. It has the merit of offering the possibility of a fruitful progress which seems excluded by mere adherence to the effort to find a single home.

It must be added that efforts to assign the Indo-Europeans to any of the many cultures now known to have existed in Asia⁶⁰ or Europe must be regarded as at present at least wholly premature. The differences of view among investigators, and the constant discovery of new evidence render all constructions of pre-history utterly problematical. The same remark applies to the numerous conjectures made as to the dates at which Indo-Europeans are to be presumed to exist in Asia and in Europe. The conclusions, for instance, which are drawn by Peake and Fleure⁶¹ from the names Attarissiyas, Ahhiyava, Antaravas, Ayavalas, and Tavagalavas, and which support many chronological conclusions, are rendered without value by Sommer's proof that the Hittite records have been misunderstood.⁶² It is still a mere guess when first Indo-Europeans entered Greece⁶³ or Italy. It will be possible later on perhaps to arrive at more assured results on these heads. For the time being all is utterly uncertain and mere conjecture. Equally without weight are their conjectures on the mode of the origination of the Indo-European speech and the differentiation of users of *p* and *k* sounds.⁶⁴

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

60 Childe, *New Light on the most ancient East* (1934).

61 *The Horse and the Sword*, pp. 2, 26, 42.

62 *Abhiyavā-Urkunden* and *Abhiyavā-Frage* (1932 and 1934).

63 Peake and Fleure, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8; Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 42 ff.

64 Peake and Fleure, *The Steppe and the Sown*, p. 38; *The Horse and the Sword*, p. 92.

Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time

In *Ain* 30, Book II, of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann, pp. 537-47), there is an important list of the learned men of Akbar's time. There are 140 names altogether and among them 32 are Hindu. Blochmann, while adding valuable notes on most of the Mahomedan names, had to leave the Hindu names bare and no scholar seems to have taken any serious notice of them.

It should be noted that the Mahomedan scholars enumerated in this list, as far as they have been identified, mostly flourished *early* in the reign of Akbar, several of them dying as early as 969 or 970 A. H. i.e., 1562-63 A.D. (cf. Nos. 11, 29, 34, 39, 100). Almost all of them were dead when Abul Fazl wrote (1597 A.D.) and of the five only who survived him, three (Nos. 76, 81 and 86) were physicians and one (No. 131), who died in 1020 A.H., was 120 years old and another (No. 105) was over 90. It may therefore be concluded that the period of activity of the scholars found in this list is covered by the 4th quarter of the 16th century *at the latest*.

The names are divided into five classes: (a) The first class "in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal and in their understanding and the breadth of their views fully comprehend both realms of thought." This apparently signifies highest scholarship in philosophy combined with mystic (*Yogic*) practices, generally confined to the life of renunciation. There are 12 Mahomedans in this class, all of whom (barring four whose dates of death are not cited by Blochmann) were dead long before Abul Fazl completed his work. There are the following nine Hindu names (Nos. 13-21) in this class (Blochmann p. 538):—

1. *Madhu' Sarsuti*

At first sight the name, as read by Blochmann, would seem to point to the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī; but in the original Persian text (Newalkishore Press, 3rd Ed., 1893 p. 166) there is a

clear *ālif* after *m* and a *wāw* after *b*. So the correct name is "Mādhava Sarasvatī," who may be identified with the celebrated Vedantist, the teacher (*vidyā-guru*) of Madhusūdana. He is not known to have written any book, and is mentioned as one of the distinguished pupils of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, who settled at Benares circa 1518 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 9). His period of activity lay in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 16th century

2. Madhsudan

There are no *ālif* and *wāw* in the text here, corroborating the correct form of the previous name. Coming immediately after Mādhava, this name denotes none else than his distinguished pupil, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the greatest exponent of the *Vedānta* of that age. As a pupil of Mādhava and consistently with the chronology of the list, his period of activity is roughly covered by the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 16th cent. and we can hardly bring him down to the 17th cent. The conciliatory attitude of Akbar towards men of all creed dates from 1579 A.D. (*Biography of Abul Fazl*, p. v) and Madhusūdana's traditional adventures at Akbar's court must have taken place in the eighties of the century. His encounter with Gadādhara of Navadvīp must, therefore, be a myth.

3. Nārāyaṇa-Āśrama

The fortunate mention of the appellative (*āśrama*) points to the celebrated Vedantist, the pupil and commentator of Nṛsimhāśrama, who was thus a true contemporary of Madhusūdana.

4. Harji Sur

The correct form of this name is probably *Harījaya Sūri* though we are unable to identify him unless it points to some *Jaina* saint.

5. Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa

cannot be identified. A Dāmodara Sarasvatī was a fellow-student of Mādhava Sarasvatī (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 9). A variant in the text reads the title differently as *Parat(?)* i.e., either *Bhārati* or *Panta*.

6. *Rāmatīrtha*

was another great Vedantist of the age and a prolific writer of commentaries and treatises. His mention in this list shows that he was still living in the early years of Akbar's reign; but, as he is referred to by Madhusūdana, he cannot be brought down farther than the 3rd quarter of the century. Among his teachers he mentions *Jagannāthāśrama*.

7. *Narasimha*

It is difficult to identify this familiar name without any distinguishing appellative. Mentioned immediately after Rāmatīrtha, the name better refers to the celebrated Vedantist Nṛsimhāśrama, another pupil of Jagannāthāśrama, than to anybody else. Nṛsimha wrote the *Tattva-viveka* in 1604 V.S. (1547 A.D.) and its *Dīpana* the next year and he must have survived in the early years of Akbar. Among his famous pupils were the above mentioned Nārāyaṇāśrama and Mahīdhara (who wrote the *Mantra-mahodadhi* in 1645 V.S.). Among other possible names we may mention here Śeṣa Narasiṃha (father of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa), Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Advaita-candrikā* on the *Bhedadbhikkāra* and Narasiṃha Yogī who commented on the *Vedāntasāra* in 1588 A.D.

8. *Paramindar*

The correct form is *Paramānanda*, though it is difficult to identify it. A Paramānanda Bhaṭṭācārya, who wrote a commentary on the Mokṣadharmā of the *Mahābhārata*, (*Descr. Cat. of Mss., A. S. B., vol. V., p. 157*) was a pupil of Rāmatīrtha and belonged to the *advaita* school. His title (Bhaṭṭācārya) seems to show that he was originally a *Naiyāyika* of Bengal.

9. *Adit*

It is either *Āditya* or *Advaita*, but the name seems to defy all attempts at identification. The preponderance of *Vedānta* scholars and ascetics, mostly settled at Benares, should be noted in this list.

(b) There are only two Hindu names (Nos. 35-36) among the scholars forming the second class, who "pay less attention to the external world: but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge." These apparently represent the type of the *Dikṣā-gurus*, who seldom come out of their seclusion. RĀMABHADRA, rather a common name, may be *Rāmabhadraśrama*, who was the preceptor of Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Advaitacandrikā* mentioned above, and was consequently a Vedantist, JADRUP (? Jātarūpa) cannot be identified.

(c) There are no Hindus in the third class. (d) The fourth class "look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion and handle nothing without proof." (Blochmann, p. 537). This has clear reference to the scholars of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* and possibly to the dialectics of the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vyākaraṇa* also. There are 15 Hindus (Nos. 56-70) against only 7 Mahomedans in this class.

1. *Nārāyaṇa*

He is probably the great *Mīmāṃsist* Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who was the leading *paṇḍit* of Benares for a long time. He was born early in 1514 A.D. and was living still in 1624 V.S. (1567 A.D.), when a copy of the *Nyāyasudhā* was made for him (L. 1347). He was a prolific writer (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, pp. 9-10).

2 & 3. *Mādhava Bhaṭṭa* and *Śrībhāṭṭa* cannot be identified.

4. *Viśvanātha*

is also difficult to identify. A Viśvanātha wrote a commentary (*Komalā*) on the *Śāradhārīya* (p. 5) and another Viśvanātha Tīrtha had a copy of Mādhava's *Āloka-dīpikā* written for him in 1632 V.S. (1575 A.D.) [Tanjore Mss. Cat. No. 6098.]

5. *Rāmakṛṣṇa*

Probably the Naiyāyika Rāmakṛṣṇa "Bhaṭṭācārya-Cakravartī" who was a pupil of Raghunātha (*JASB.*, 1915, pp. 276-77). The *Mīmāṃsā* scholar, Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote in 1543 A.D., may also have been living at the time.

6. *Balabhadra Miśra*

The great Maithila scholar who wrote a number of learned works on the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. He flourished in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 16th century, as the date of his worthy son, Padmanābha (1578 A.D.) proves (*Kiraṇāvali-bhāskara*, Intro. pp. 4-9).

7. *Vāsudeva Miśra*

Probably the nephew of Pakṣadhara Miśra. (*JASB.*, 1915, pp. 267-68). He may have lived long enough to witness the reign of Akbar.

8. *Vāmana Bhaṭṭa*

The name of the famous poet Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa naturally suggests itself, but he is generally placed in the 15th century. A Vāmana Bhaṭṭa was the author of a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-mañjarī* (Bhandarkar: Report, 1887-91, No. 781).

9. *Vidyānivāsa*

nephew of the celebrated Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. He was the accepted leader of the *Naiyāyikas* of Bengal and held disputes with Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in the presence of Todarmall (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 10). He lent his name to a document at Benares in 1583 A.D. (*Citlebbhaṭṭa-prakarāṇa*, p. 77) and was living still in 1588 A.D. (L. 2183). None of his works on *Nyāya* have survived, but a small work on *Smṛti, Dvādaśa-yātrā-paddhati*, is preserved in Mss.

10. *Gaurinātha*11. *Gopinātha*

Probably the Maithila scholar Gopinātha Ṭhakkura, author of the *Maṇisāra* (Trivandrum Series.) He also wrote a commentary on the *Āloka* (Tanjore Mss. No. 6104) as well as on the *Tarkabhāṣā*. Mention may be made here of a scholar of East Bengal, Gopinātha Tarkācārya, who wrote a commentary on the *Kalāpa-pariśiṣṭa* about this time.

12. *Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita*

The famous Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, the leader of Marhatta scholars of

Benares (*Citlebhaṭṭa-prakarāṇa*, p. 77). His commentary on the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* evoked long-drawn disputes among a generation of scholars. He also wrote the *Pārijāta-barāṇa-campū* and the *Kamśavadha*. He was living in 1583 A.D.

13. *Bhaṭṭācārya*

This title without any specification was the monopoly of the foremost scholars of Nyāya at Navadwip, though, the person who actually held that position in the reign of Akbar cannot be determined with certainty.

14-15. *Bhagīratha Bhaṭṭācārya and Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭācārya*

Apparently two unknown Naiyāyikas of Bengal.

(e) We have nothing to add to the names of the four Hindu physicians included in this class viz. Mahādeva, Bhīmanātha, Nārāyaṇa and Śivājī (Blochmann, p. 544) nor to the two names—Vijayasena Suri and Bhān(u)-cand(ra)—belonging to the fifth class who deal with “sciences resting on testimony” (*Ib.*, p. 547). There is a separate list of the poets of the age which contains no Hindu names.

This ‘official’ list of the Hindu scholars gives a fairly true picture of the prevailing tendencies in Sanskrit culture in the early Moghul period. Dialectics had already succeeded in practically absorbing all the branches of learning. That is how the fourth class forms the largest list and the fame of some of the *Nyāya* scholars of far-off Mithila and Navadwip reached the royal court at Delhi; and though, true to the current Indian tradition and perhaps also to his own convictions, Abul Fazl has given the highest rank to the austere *Vedānta* scholars, most of them happen to be the great dialecticians of the school of Śāṅkara.

Rāmapāla, the last great Pāla King

It is a rare thing in ancient Indian history to have an account of a period from a contemporary writer. The *Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākaranandī, the "Vālmiki of the *Kali Yuga*" as he styles himself at the end of his work, describes the achievements and glories of the reign of Rāmapāla who was, in the eye of the author, the Rāma of his age. A great portion of the work is devoted to the account of the struggle for the recovery of Varendra by Rāmapāla from the Kaivarta king Bhīma. The author's father Prajāpatinandī, was the *Sāndhivigrabika* of Rāmapāla. Sandhyākaranandī therefore must have had a first-hand knowledge of the Pāla court and the political vicissitude of the Pālas, and in his early age he might have witnessed it. His account and specially the commentary on his work are, therefore, of unique importance for the history of Bengal in the last half of the eleventh century.

The real cause of the Kaivarta revolution is not known. Vīgrahapāla III had three sons, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla III and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla II succeeded his father to the throne. After his accession he began to follow an unrighteous course of action against the advice of the ministers. Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla were put into prisons because it was reported by evil-mongers and designing men that Rāmapāla was respected by all and would occupy the throne by killing him. This apprehension led Mahīpāla to devise ways and means for the death of Rāmapāla who was kept in a solitary underground prison. Most probably taking advantage of this internal dissension in the royal family and the general discontent thereon, the Kaivarta chief Divvoka raised the standard of revolt. It is not clear what was the motive behind this revolt. Mahīpāla suddenly marched with a hastily collected force to meet the insur-

gents whose number was increased by the combined army of the most of the *Sāmantas* of the kingdom. This was done against the express wishes of the ministers and the result was, as the ministers foresaw, defeat. Mahīpāla himself was killed and Varendra was occupied by the Kaivarta chief.

At the time of the outbreak of the revolt Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla were in prison. It is not known how they managed to get free. The *Rāmacarita* does not mention Śūrapāla as a king but, according to the 13th verse of the Mahahali plate, Śūrapāla ruled, but for a very short time. The suspicion of R. D. Banerjee¹ that Śūrapāla was murdered at the instigation of Rāmapāla is unwarranted, as there is not the slightest hint of it anywhere. The purpose of the author was not to write a dynastic history of the later Pālas but to glorify the achievements of Rāmapāla and his silence over Śūrapāla's reign was probably due to the fact that it was a very short reign in which there was nothing worth recording. It is not known where he ruled and what was the boundary of his territory under him. The Kaivartas were in possession of Varendra, and Divvoka was succeeded by his nephew Bhima.

Rāmapāla succeeded Śūrapāla. A. K. Maitra suggested that he passed these days in Aṅga with this maternal uncle Mathanadeva, his right-hand man in the suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. During the critical days he was always closetted in discussion with his ministers and his son Rājyapāla in order to arrive at a decision as to the course of the action to be taken. It was perhaps settled that any hasty action might fare the fate of Mahīpāla and therefore before any action to be taken, it would be wiser to win the confidence and active support of the *sāmantas*. To this effect Rāmapāla now turned his whole attention and he met the important chiefs, implored their help and promised them reward of money and

¹ *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 280.

further extension of territory in case of victory. This produced the desired effect. The *sāmantas* were satisfied with his behaviour and assurance. In the commentary fourteen *sāmantas* are named who took part in this war for him. Most of the principalities over which they ruled have been located with some degree of certainty² and it is important to note that almost all of them were in western Bengal and Bihar.

Their support being won over, Rāmapāla collected the three-fold army—the cavalry, the infantry and the elephants. With arrangements thus complete, Rāmapāla began the campaign and asked the Rāstrakūṭa prince Śivarāja to cross the Ganges with the vanguard and to assure the people that the property of the Brāhmaṇas and religious endowment would not be interfered with in any way. True to the direction of Rāmapāla, Śivarāja kept himself informed of the property of the Brāhmaṇas and gods and expelled the front guards of Bhima. This was successful and thus the landing of the main army was made safe.

Rāmapāla at the head of the main army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats. Rājyapāla made all preparations for war and arranged the soldiers in customary arrays. The battle ensued and was one of the hottest that were fought in northern Bengal. Bhima was captured on his elephant's back and kept under the charge of an officer named Vittapāla. His army broke up but his friend and general Hari collected the scattered army and made a desperate attack. Once more the battle was fierce. But the Kaivarta army was finally routed and the general killed.

Thus ended the Kaivarta revolt. Of late there has been much discussion as to its origin and nature. The occupation of Varendra

² *Bāṅglāra Itihāsa*, pp. 248-290.

³ We cannot accept the statement in the *Rāmacarita* that Śivarāja delivered Varendra from the enemies. Then what was the necessity of campaign of Rāmapāla at the head of the main army? It seems that Śivarāja made a cavalry raid and expelled the guards.

by ousting the deep-seated Pāla power naturally rouses the suspicion that this revolution was organised on a large scale. A. K. Maitra⁴ expressed the opinion that Divvoka, like Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla power, was the chosen of the people. He went so far to assert that he was elected king by the people and that the common people had a great share in determining the succession to the Pāla throne. The *Rāmacarita* describes Rāmapāla as "*sarvasammata*"⁵ which he takes to mean "accepted by all" and from this Mr. Maitra concluded that Rāmapāla was the king-elect and Mahipāla II claimed the throne by the law of primogeniture. This was the underlying cause of the Kaivarta revolution. On this assumption he further concluded that Varendra as a whole was against the Pālas and Rāmapāla forced the Pāla rule against the declared voice of the people. The mainstay of the Pāla power was the popular support and this was lost for ever. His opinion that Divvoka was elected by the people has been supported by R. P. Chanda⁶ and J. N. Sarkar.⁷ But the crucial point is that if this would have really been the case, why the people did not elect Rāmapāla? If Rāmapāla was the chosen of the people, why after the death of Mahipāla II the Kaivarta chief occupied the throne? This is the most important point which Mr. Maitra did not try to answer. Mahipāla II was of suspicious nature and he deviated from the right course of action. His imprisonment of Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla can hardly be defended as a course of right judgment and was extremely impolitic because these two brothers would have stood by him in

4 Lecture on the "*Fall of the Pāla empire*" delivered by A. K. Maitra in the Calcutta University, a summary of which published by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the now defunct Bengali Journal *Marmavāṇī*; 1322 B.S.

5 Com. *Rāmacarita*, 1. 37. The word *Sarvasammata* actually occurs in connection with the reports of the evil-mongers and designing persons who reported Rāmapāla to be so to Mahipāla. Whether it was really so cannot be ascertained.

6 *Modern Review*, 1935, p. 347.

7 *Ibid.*, 1936, April issue.

the impending danger. Divvoka has been described with the modest appellation 'bbr̥tya' which is perhaps to be taken in the sense of an officer of the Pālas. He was certainly not a Bachai Sako, as it is clear from the commentary that he enjoyed considerable power and was a man of much importance in the kingdom. N. K. Bhattasali⁸ has drawn attention to certain passages in the commentary¹⁰ which go to show that he began the action against Mahīpāla as a matter of duty with ulterior motives in his mind. When Mahīpāla II fought with Divvoka, the combined army of the *Sāmantas* was with the latter. It is therefore very likely that the revolution at first broke out in favour of Rāmapāla because of Mahīpāla's unrighteous rule, or it was professed to be so, and subsequently Divvoka fished in the troubled waters. As it happens often that a revolution breaks out with certain end in view but is exploited by ambitious and designing men for their personal ends, the Kaivarta chief made himself master of the situation and usurped the throne. Discussing the whole episode, Dr. R. C. Majumdar¹¹ rightly observes that to rise against the ruling dynasty must always be regarded as an act of rebellion. The occupation of northern Bengal by the Kaivartas should be properly described as a political and military *coup de tat*.

After the recovery of his fatherland, Rāmapāla bent himself to lay the foundation of the Pāla kingdom more deeply by winning the love and affection of all people. He built a new capital which has ever since been associated with his name, the Rāmapati¹² or Ramauti, of

8 Com. 1. 38.

9 *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1343. B. S., pp. 32-41.

10 Com. 1. 38.

11 *Bhāratvarṣa* 1342 B. S., Aṣāḍhā issue.

In a recent paper in *Dacca University Studies*, vol. 1, No. II, Dr. Majumdar says that in the eleventh century the Pāla empire was breaking up, as independent dynasties and kingdoms were established at different parts of the Pāla kingdom and the Kaivarta rebellion was a sign of its disruption. We agree with this view but this does not necessarily alter our contention that Rāmapāla was the last great Pāla King who by suppressing the Kaivarta revolt granted a new lease of life to it.

the Muslim writers. He adorned this city with numerous Buddhist and Hindu images the chief of which were Saura, Śaiva and Skānda. This must have produced profound impression on the people at large. True to the Pāla tradition, he established the famous Buddhist monastery of Jagaddala whose fame travelled far beyond the borders of Bengal. Besides, he built many temples and excavated canals and tanks.

Thus making the foundation of the Pāla power once more secure, Rāmapāla engaged his attention for glory abroad. Eastern Bengal had seceded from the Pāla empire and a new independent power was established by the Varmans. The verse 44 (ch. III) states that a Varman king propitiated Rāmapāla by presenting him with his chariot and elephants. The Varman king referred to was probably Harivarman or Sāmalavarman and thus eastern Bengal was once more brought within the Pāla sphere of influence. In course of his *digvijaya* Rāmapāla advanced as far as the sea-coast of Orissa¹³ and reinstated the vanquished king of Utkala. Kāmarūpa was also conquered by one of his generals. These are clear indications of the revival of the lost supremacy of the Pālas over eastern India. In his old age Rāmapāla entrusted the task of the government to his son Rājyapāla and retired from active political life. When at Mongyr, he received the sad news of the death of his maternal uncle Mathanadeva to whom he owed so much of his political achievements and he

12 For location, *ASR.*, 1923-4 p. 76.

13 Mr. A. K. Maitra takes the *bhavabhūṣaṇa santati* used in this connection to refer to the Somavaṃśī kings of Orissa. Messrs. H. P. Shastri and R. D. Banerjee take it to refer to the Nāgavaṃśa. We are inclined to take the latter view because in verse-43 the word *nāga* actually occurs. It is not known who was the vanquished king reinstated by Rāmapāla. It may be mentioned here that the Nāgavaṃśī kings ruled during the 11th century in the present Bastar state (*El.*, IX, pp. 161-64). Mr. N. G. Majumdar conjectures that the Nāgavaṃśī king was defeated by Harivarman from the word *nāgāntaka* applied to his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva but was favoured by Rāmapāla (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 30).

died by immersing himself in the holy waters of the Ganges¹⁴ and this is confirmed by the *Śekhśubhodayā*.¹⁵

Rāmapāla was the last great Pāla king and was undoubtedly one of the greatest diplomats and statesmen of his age. He realised from the very beginning that the task that confronted him was by no means an easy one. He came to the wise and sane decision that without the help and support of the *Sāmantas* it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to recover Varendra. A rash and hasty policy would have met with the fatal result of Mahipāla's march against the Kaivarta chief. What by persuasion and what by promise of rewards the support of the vassals was secured. This is the clearest proof of his sobriety of judgment and diplomacy. In the actual war also he showed the qualities of a great general and statesman. His conduct and policy in the critical days of his life, as it can be gleaned from the incidental references in the commentary, reveal the statesmanlike traits of his character. He had the genius to conceive, to organise and to execute marvellously. Far from being revengeful of the enemies, the officers of the Kaivarta king were appointed in high posts, thus making them his loyal and grateful servants of the kingdom. He was wide in his sympathy and tolerant in religious outlook. With him the sun of the Pāla power began to set down, never to rise again in splendour.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

14 *Rāmacarita* 4. 8-10.

15 S. K. Sen, *Śekhśubhodayā*, p. 46.

Dhutangas

(or *The Ascetic practices of Purification in Buddhism*)

Though Early Buddhism appears to have discredited the severe practices of self-mortification, it seems that a premium was placed even in early days of Buddhism on milder forms of ascetic practices indicating the Buddha's love of a life of simplicity and a life which merely aimed at the satisfaction of no more than bare necessities of life. For a certain limited period of time, or for a certain specific purpose denying the ordinary comforts of life was perfectly legitimate. We find even in the oldest Pali books reference to a Buddhist mendicant taking recourse, for the purpose of meditation, to a lonely and solitary place—either a forest, or the base of a tree, a mountain, cave or a mountain-chasm, cemetery, a wood on a high table-land, an open uncovered place or even a heap of dry, withered leaves (*vivittam senāsanam bbajati—araññam rukkhamūlam, pabbatam, kandaram, girigubham, susanam, vanapattbam, abbhokāsam, palālapaññam*).

It was a general practice of the Buddhist mendicants that after their meal they retired to a lonely spot to pass the afternoon in meditation. In the evening when they came out of their places of retirement (*patisallānā vutthitā*) they used to go on visits to other brethren and carry on discussions on religious or philosophical matters. The Buddha wanted the mendicants to spend much of their time in meditation under trees or in lonely places of retirement [*etāni Cunda rukkhamūlāni, etāni suññāgārāni; jhāyatva Cunda mā pamādattha, mā pacchā vippatīsārino abuvattha; ayam vo ambākam anusāsani' ti (M. i. 46)*]. For the bare necessities of life such as food, clothing or shelter, the Buddha had laid down that the mendicant should always bear in mind that for the successful accomplishment of his ascetic life, he may not count upon anything

more than food obtained by begging, clothes prepared out of rags and his dwelling place in a forest under a tree (*Vin.* i. 95-96). If he gets anything better and higher than these things, he should consider himself lucky. He was not forbidden to take advantage of more fortunate circumstances. It is well-known to students of Buddhism that Devadatta, a cousin and a rival of the Buddha, did urge upon the Buddha to lay down a fixed rule that the mendicant should never eat any food that is not begged, should wear nothing but a robe of rags and should dwell nowhere but in a forest under a tree (*Vin.* ii. 197). But practical and foresighted as Buddha was, he did not give his consent to such hard and fast rules. He did not attach any importance to these external ways of behaviour. He recommended them simply because he thought them to be sure signs of a life of simplicity and probably because he could not vouchsafe anything higher to his followers.

In early days of Buddhism such practices were not given much importance, as they did not necessarily signify the attainment of any higher level in the sphere of morals. In fact, in early literature, (*M.* i. 282), some of the practices mentioned in these thirteen dhutaṅgas, such as '*rukhamūlika*' (sitting under a tree), or '*abbhokāsika*' (sitting under the open sky) are put along with others which are no more than other strenuous practices of self-denial or self-mortification, mere feats involving bodily discipline. They do not necessarily imply the holiness of life. In *A.* iii. 219 (*pāpiccho icchāpakato ārañṇako hoti*) it is pointed out that it is possible for a man to be overcome by evil desire and still be living in the forest and may be called an *ārañṇaka*. The same passage mentions five types of such people. Even he who follows a dhutaṅga-practice merely because the Buddha has prescribed it, is not considered to be the best. But he is called to be the best who follows it because he thinks it is an embodiment of a life of simplicity, a life of scanty desires. Buddhaghosa in the second chapter '*Dhutaṅga-niddesa*' of the *Visuddhimagga* explains

that the mendicant who harbours evil desires and still lives in the forest may be called *ārañṇaka* in as much as he lives in the forest; but he cannot be properly said to possess the *dhutaṅga* of *ārañṇaka*, for the term *dhutaṅga* does connote 'the shaking off of sins'. Another passage (*M.* i. 30) makes it clear that such a mendicant in spite of his practising the *dhutaṅga* is not honoured, respected and revered by his colleagues in holy life.

Although such was the case in early Buddhism, these dhutaṅgas gradually came to assume more and more importance. The predilection of the Indian mind for the rigours of life to be expected of a holy ascetic could not but have an effect upon the Buddhist ascetics. There were already several wandering ascetics who caught the imagination of the people by taking recourse to several practices of self-mortification. The Jains and the Ājīvikas were the greatest exponents of the life of *tapas* and it is not unlikely that they also influenced the outward behaviour of the Buddhist mendicants. The number of the dhutaṅgas gradually increased to twelve or thirteen and they came to occupy a more secure place among the aids for the purification of conduct.

In the Dhammika sūta of the *Suttanipāta* we read (stanza 385) '*Dhammam dhutam tañ ca dharātha sabbe*'. Here we find the expression '*dhutam dhammam*' in the sense of more untarnished, more regulated and hence cleaner life of the ascetic or the householder. In a similar sense the word *dbuya* or *dbuta* seems, as far as can be seen from the contents of the chapter, to be used in the sixth chapter of the *Āyāraṅgasutta* of the Jains. Sāriputta is credited (*M.* i. 214) to be observing the practices of a forester (*ārañṇaka*), food-begger (*pindapātika*), wearer of rags of dust (*paṃsukūlika*) and a three-rober (*tecivarika*). Piṇḍolabhāradvāja is also described (*Udāna* 42) to possess the same aṅgas. He is styled *dhutavāda*. *Niddesa* 188 refers to eight dhutaṅgas only under *vataṃ* (*vrata*) adding to the four just mentioned the following: practices of *sapaḍānacārika*

(begging in a village from door to door without skipping any house), *khalupaccābbattika* (one who rejects any additional food after he had once taken it), *nesajjika* (one who takes recourse to sitting without lying down on the ground) and *yathāsanthatika* (taking to the dwelling-place that has come to his lot). *Puggala-paññatti* (p. 69) gives the list of the practitioners of eleven aṅgas only, omitting from the list the practitioners of *patta-piṇḍikaṅga* and *sapadānacārikaṅga* which are omitted also from the list of *Mahāvvyutpatti* (see below p. 48). The names of some of the individual constituents of these thirteen dhutaṅgas occur frequently in the earlier texts of the Vinaya or the Nikāyas, but the mention of the complete list occurs in the *Theraḡāthā* (844-56) and in *Vin.* v. 131, 193. It is interesting to note that in both the lists in the Vinaya, *pattapiṇḍikaṅga* comes last. The word *dhutaḡaṇa*¹ occurs in the *Suttavibhaṅga* (*Vin.* iii. 15). The following dhutaṅgas complete the list—the practice of *ekāsānika*, (taking food at one continuous session), *pattapiṇḍika* (one who makes use of only one begging-bowl for receiving food or drink), *rukkmūlika* (one who sits under a tree), *abbhokāsika* (sitting under the open sky) and *sosānika* (living in a cemetery).

Not only did the dhutaṅgas gain in numbers, i.e., quantity, but also they gained in quality. The author of the *Milindapañha* devotes a whole section for the glorification of these dhutaṅgas (*Miln.* 348-62). Arhatship in one single life was considered improbable without the practice of the dhutaṅgas previously (*Miln.* 353). The author went even to the length of declaring that penetration into the religious truths was not possible for those who have not purified themselves by dhutaṅgas (*Miln.* 353). Buddhaghosa also in his introductory paragraph of the second chapter of the *Visuddhimagga* says that these practices should be followed in order to attain those good

1 Dhutaṅga, dhutaḡaṇa or dhūtagaṇa seem to be used in the same sense.

qualities by means of which conduct attains (the perfection of) its purification. Mahākassapa was considered to be the stalwart advocate of these dhutaṅgas ('*Etadaggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhutavādānaṃ yadidaṃ Mahākassapo*' *A.* i. 23). *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 61, 395) also confirms this statement.

ii

Although according to the tradition of the Hinayāniṣṭas we get the number thirteen of the dhutaṅgas, the constituents of them are not always the same. For instance, the Chie-t'o-tao lun (Nanjio no. 1293), the translation in Chinese of the *Vimuttimaggā*, also gives thirteen dhutaṅgas but substitutes '*bhojane mattaññutā*' (moderation in food) 受節量食 for the *pattapīṇḍikāṅga* of the Pali texts.

The Mahāyāna tradition also does not neglect these dhutaṅgas, but it gives the number of these as twelve. [See *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* by Har Dayal, pp. 134-140]. The constituents of these are not always the same. For instance, *Mahāvīyutpatti* 1128-39 (ed. by Sakaki) gives twelve dhutaṅgas, omitting *sapadānacārikāṅga* and *pattapīṇḍikāṅga* of Pali texts and adding one new, namely *nāmatika* (the practice of wearing felt). Chinese *Dharmasaṃgraha* (Weller's edition, 1923, XXXIV, pp. 31, 118), on the other hand, omits *yathāsanthatika* and *pattapīṇḍika* but adds the same *nāmatika*.² Here it may be noted that the *pattapīṇḍika* is omitted in both these books of the Mahāyāna tradition as well as in the *Puggala-paññatti* and the *Vimuttimaggā* of the Hinayāna tradition. We have also seen that it is mentioned as the last in both the lists in the *Vin.* v. 131, 193. It therefore, appears that the number and constituent factors of the dhutaṅgas varied not only according to the different schools, but also according to the

2 For the discussion of this term see *Cullavagga*, V, 11, 7, 19.1.27.1; X, 10, 4; and the *Tibetan Dictionary* by Sarat Chandra Das, p. 836 under 'phyiñ-pa'. Also see *Itsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakusu, pp. 56-57.

different traditions of one and the same school. And it would not be far from correct if one explains this fact by saying that no doctrinal importance was very much attached to these practices.

iii

Similarly it appears that the term 'dhubavāda' was interpreted differently in different traditions of the same school. For instance, in Buddhaghōṣa's *Visuddhimagga* towards the end of the second chapter on Dhutaṅga-niddesa, the following interpretation is met with—

- (i) *Dhubo ca na dhubavādo—Yo attano kilese dbuni, paramā pana dhubaṅgena na ovaḍati, na anusāsati* (One who has removed his own taints but does not instruct others in the practice of removing those taints).
- (ii) *Na dhubo dhubavādo—Yo pana na dhubaṅgena attano kilese dbuni, kevaḷam aññe dhubaṅgena ovaḍati, anusāsati* (One who has not removed his own taints but does instruct others in the practices of removing those taints).
- (iii) *Atthi neva dhubo na dhubavādo—Yo ubhayavipanno* (One who has neither removed his own taints, nor does he give instruction to others).
- (iv) *Atthi dhubo ceva dhubavādo ca—Yo pana ubhayasampanno* (One who has removed his own taints and gives instructions to others).

Dhammapāla who belonged to the same tradition as that of Buddhaghōṣa follows his predecessor in the interpretation of this term. In his Commentary on *Uḍāna* (p. 177 of the Sinhalese edition vol. VI, published in the Simon Hewavitarāṇa series) Dhamma-

pāla practically says the same thing though in different words. But Upatissa the author of the *Vimuttimaggā*, which also belonged to the Hīnayāna school, interprets these expressions differently. His interpretation is as follows:—

- (i) *Arabā, dhutaṅga-samādānena na samannāgato* (An Arhat but does not practice the dhutaṅgas).
- (ii) *Sekho ca puthujjano ca, dhutasamādānena samannāgato* (He is an ordinary man or a man under training but practices the dhutaṅgas).
- (iii) *Sekho ca puthujjano ca, dhutasamādānena na samannāgato* (He is merely an ordinary man or man under training and does not practice the dhutaṅgas).
- (iv) *Arabā ca dhutasamannāgato* (An Arahāt and still practices the dhutaṅgas).

This interpretation of *dhutavāda* as *dhutasamannāgata* may be contrasted with the interpretation of Buddhaghōṣa and Dhammapāla who explain the term as meaning 'One who preaches about or instructs in dhutaṅgas'. This interpretation found in the Chinese version of the *Vimuttimaggā* is entirely corroborated by the fragment of the Tibetan version of the same book recently discovered by me and noticed in my paper "A Fragment of Tibetan Version of a Lost Indian Work" published in *Proceedings Vol. (pp. 131-35) of the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda (1935)*.

The interpretation given above also shows that in spite of the statement made by the author of the *Milinda-pañha* that it is not possible to penetrate into the religious truths without the practice of the dhutaṅgas—a statement made rather through undue glorification of the dhutaṅgas—it was considered possible—according to some tradition at any rate—for a person to become an Arhat and still not to have practised dhutaṅgas.

It will therefore be clear from above that the dhutaṅgas had some basis even in the earliest history of Buddhism; that they gradually evolved, through the influence of contemporary ascetic schools, into twelve or thirteen dhutaṅgas; that they were considered to be additional rather than essential qualifications for a Buddhist mendicant; and that therefore latitude seems to have been allowed with regard to their practice, number, constituents, or interpretation put upon them not only in different schools but also in different traditions of one and the same school.

P. V. BAPAT.

Instrumental and Locative in Ardha-Māgadhi

The syntax of the Prakrit languages is important in more than one way. It forms the connecting link between the earlier syntax of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit and the later syntax of Modern Indian languages. Further it shows the transitionary period in a development of a synthetic language into an analytical one and as such shares the peculiarities of both. But the earlier Prakrits like Ardha-Māgadhi and Pāli do not show many traces of an analytical syntax, the method of formation current in a synthetic language being the usual one in them. This early syntax has passed through a stage of vicissitudes in which the distinctions between the different cases were obliterated and the seven cases were ultimately reduced to two: the Nominative and the oblique case in the Modern languages. One important instance of such a case-mixture and case-confusion is investigated here.

In the older books of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon and the early works in Jain Māhārāstri we find very often a confusion between the uses of the Instrumental and Locative cases where each one takes the place of the other besides their correct uses which are also preserved side by side. I collect below such instances where some kind of confusion between these two is found:—

1 In the early works of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon there are many instances in which Instrumental is used in place of the regular Locative. *eehi muṇi sayanehim samane āsi patelasa vāse*. Ay. 1. 9. 2. 4 'the sage was a monk for thirteen years in those places'; (Cp. Śilāṅka. *eteṣu pūrvokteṣu śayaneṣu sa munih* p. 279) *sayanehi tassuvasaggā bhīmā āsi aṅgarūvā ya*, Ay. 1. 9. 2. 7 'in those places he encountered many fearful obstacles'; *sayanehim tattha pucchimsu egacarā vi egayā rāo* Ay. 1. 9. 2. 11 'in those places he was asked why he was wandering alone and alone in the night'; (Śilāṅka reads *sa janehim* probably to evade the difficulty), *lādbehim tassuvasaggā*

babave Ay. 1. 9. 3. 3. 'in the country of Lādha there were many obstacles for him'; (*Śilānka lādḥā nāma janapada viśeṣaḥ teṣu ca dvirūpeṣu*), *duccaragāni tattha lādḥebim* Ay. 1. 9. 3. 6 'in that country of Lādha the places were difficult to wander through' (*Śilānka tatra teṣu lādḥeṣu* p. 282); *vibāya daṇḍam pāṇebim* Ay. 1. 9. 3. 7 'abstaining from punishment from living beings'; *evam pi tattha lādḥebim aladdhapuvvo vi egayā gāmo* Ay. 1. 9. 3. 8 'thus in that country of Lādha he did not once get a village to live' (*Śilānka tatra lādḥeṣu* p. 282);

2 A further development of the confusion between these two cases is the interesting fact that on the model of the Locative absolute construction the Ardha-Māgadhi canon shows an Instrumental absolute construction. *taṃ jābā, soyaparinnāṇebim pariḥāyamāṇebim cakḅbuparinnāṇebim pariḥāyamāṇebim abbikkantaṃ ca khalu vayaṃ peḥāe* Ay. 1. 2. 1 'for example while the cognizing power of the ears, eyes etc. is waning and knowing the period of life to be short' so also, *sottaparinnāṇebim aparihāyamāṇebim* Ay. 1. 2. 1; *sayanehim vūmissehim itthiṃ tattha se parinnāyā* Ay. 1. 9. 1. 6 'in the places mixed up with householders he knew the real nature of women' (*Śilānka, śayanāni vasatayaḥ teṣu vyāmiśriteṣu grhas-thatirthikaib*); In fact this construction has led *Śilānka* to write in Sanskrit *taib śrotaparijñānajaib(? naib) jarāprabhāvāt pariḥāyamānaib sādḅbhiḥ* p. 15 an anomaly which cannot be otherwise explained. The supposition of such a construction will greatly facilitate the interpretation of passages like *saebim pariyaēbim logam būyā kade tti ya*, Sut. 1. 1. 3. 9 'in their own views they speak the world to be created'; *amohābi paḍantibim gibamsi na raīm labe* Utt. XIV. 21 'while the nights are flying uselessly I cannot get delight in the house'; *chinnābi sābāim tameva khāṇum* Utt. XIV. 29 'with the branches cut it is called a stump'.

3 In a great number of cases we find the Instrumental used where with the rules of a refined grammar the Locative should be

found. In fact in many other cases the Locative is used in the canon in similar instances along with this curious use of the Instrumental case. *sattā kāmehi māṇavā* Sut. 1. 1. 1. 6 'men are attached to pleasures'; *abhinūmakadehi mucchie tivvaṃ se kammehi kiccā* Sut. 1. 2. 1. 4; *ajjhovavannā kāmehi mucchiyā* Sut. 1. 2. 3. 4 'infatuated and attached to pleasures'; *pāṇehiṃ sañjāe* Sut. 1. 2. 3. 12 'restrained towards the living beings'; *jāipabaṃ anupariyattamāṇe tasathāvarehiṃ vinighāyamei* Sut. 1. 7. 3 'wandering through the course of births he comes to destruction in the births of movable and immovable beings'; *saddehi rūvehi asajjamāṇaṃ savvehi kāmehi. viñiyagehiṃ* Sut. 1. 7. 27 'without sticking to all kinds of forms and removing attachment towards all pleasures'; *virae gāmadhammehiṃ* Sut. 1. 11. 33 'abstaining from the pleasures of the senses'; *savvehi pāṇehi vibhāya dandaṃ* Sut. 1. 13. 23 'abstaining from punishment from all living beings'; *virae pāvakammehiṃ* Sut. 1. 16. 1 'abstaining from sinful deeds'; *kannasokkhehi saddehiṃ pemaṃ nābbhivessa* Das. VIII. 26 'one should not show attachment towards words delightful to the ears'; *visannā pāvakammehiṃ bālā paṇḍiyamānino* Utt. VI. 10 'fools thinking themselves wise are stuck to evil deeds'; *appamatto pamattehiṃ piṇḍavāyaṃ gavesae* Utt. VI. 16 'himself careful he should search the alms among careless persons'; *aba coddasabhiṃ thāṇehiṃ vattamāṇe u saṃjāe* Utt. XI. 6 'one who behaves according to these fourteen points is a self-controlled one'; *savvehi bhūehi dayāṇukampī* Utt. XXI. 13 'full of compassion and pity towards all living beings'.

4 In all such cases the correct use of the Locative is also met with throughout the canon and their number far exceeds this use of the Instrumental in such a context. *Annamannesu mucchiyā* Sut. 1. 3. 3. 9 'infatuated of each other'; *agiddhe saddaphāsesu ārambhesu anissie* Sut. 1. 9. 35 'unattached to words and objects of touch, not engaged in preliminary sin'; *saddesu rūvesu asajjamāṇe* Sut. 1. 12. 22 'not attaching oneself to words and forms'; *kāmagunesu*

giddham Utt. XX. 39 'attached to tastes'; *asamsattam gihatthesu* Utt. XXV. 28 'not clinging to the householders'; *tao se dandam-samārabhai tasesu thāvauresu ya* Utt. V. 8 'then he begins to inflict punishment on movable and immovable beings'; *nārisu novagijjbejjā itthi vippajabe anagāre* Utt. VIII. 19 'one should not be attached to women, a houseless monk should abandon women', *vihamgamā va pupphesu dāṇabbattesaṇe rayā* Das. I. 3 'taking delight in begging food and gifts as the birds in the flowers'; *gamaṇāgamane cevi bhattapaṇe ya samjāe* Das. V. I. 89 'self-controlled in going and coming as well as food and drink'; *amucchio bhoyanammi* Das. V. 2. 21 'unattached to food'; *samjame ya tave rayam*, Das. VI. 1 'taking delight in self-control and penance'; *na ya rūvesu manam kare*, Das. VIII. 19 'he should not put his mind on beautiful forms'; *na ya bhoyanammi giddho* Das. VIII. 23 'not infatuated with food'; *gadhie mihokāsu* Ay. 1. 9. 1. 'attached to mutual talk'.

5 Sometimes we find both the usages side by side and mixed up in a complex manner. *Suyalābhe na majjejjā jaccā tavasi buddhie* Das. VIII. 30 'he should not be proud of scriptural acquisition of birth, penance and intellect'; *apegaiyā meham kumāraṇa batthebim samghattenti evam pāebim sise potte kāyamsi* Nay. 1. 1 'some strike prince Meha on his hands, feet, head, belly and body'.

6 There are further good many cases where Locative should be more appropriate but the use of Instrumental can be also imagined as being in agreement with the thought, the actual relation being two sided and viewed from two different aspects. As such the correct use in Prakrit for such cases must remain doubtful. *Anne annehi mucchie* Sut. 1. 1. 1. 4 'others attached to still others'; *eehi tīti thānebim samjāe sayayam munī* Sut. 1. 1. 4. 12 'the monk is always self-controlled as regards these three points'; *kivā jattha ya kissanti nāisamgehi mucchiyā* Sut. 1. 3. 2. 12 'where the weak persons attached to the relatives are troubled'; *ajjhovavānnā kamebim noiijantā gayā giham* Sut. 1. 3. 2. 22 'being infatuated with pleasures

and being pressed went back to the household life'; *ajjhouvannā kāmebim* Sut. 1. 3. 3. 13; *giddhā sattā kāmebim* Sut. 1. 4. 1. 14 'men attached to pleasures'; *kuvanti samṭhavam tāhim* Sut. 1. 4. 1. 16 'they make acquaintance with them'; *tao verebi rajjai* Sut. 1. 8. 7 'he takes delight in hatred'; *aṇiyae ayam vāse nāyaeḥi subhi ya* Sut. 1. 8. 12 'uncertain is this residence among relatives and friends'; *mettim bhūebim kappae* Sut. 1. 15. 3 'he should have friendship with living beings'; *bbūehi na virujjhejā* Sut. 1. 15. 4 'he should not be on inimical terms with living beings'; *jo rāgadoseḥi samo sa pujjo* Das. IX. 3. 11 'who thinks attachment and hatred as equal is worthy of honour'; *iba kāmaguṇehi mucchiyā* Utt. X. 20 'here attached to pleasures'; *vādehim pamjarehim ca sanniruddhe sudukkhe* Utt. XXII. 14 'much pained and restrained in enclosures and cages'; *evam alittam kāmebim* Utt. XXV. 27 'thus unsoiled with pleasures'.

7 The contrary practice of using Locative for Instrumental is much less common in the canon but to be found greatly in the later work, the *Paumacariya* of Vimala. *Usucoiyā sattisu hammamāṇā* Sut. 1. 5. 1. 8 'urged on with arrows and beaten with spears'; *savvesu kāmajāisu pāsamāṇo na lippāi tāi* Utt. VIII. 4 'the protector who is observant is not soiled with all the sensual pleasures'; a few doubtful cases are, *pāosināṇāisu natthi mokkhe* Sut. 1. 7. 13 'there is no liberation by early bathing etc.'; *jo vā dae sattiagge pabāram* Das IX. 1. 'one who may strike with the point of a lance'.

8 In the *Paumacariya* we find the Locative regularly used for the Instrumental along with its use in other cases. *uragamabā-phanimanāsu pajjaliam* 1. 6 'which was lighted up with the jewels on the big hoods of the serpents'; *ujjānesu ya samantao rammo* II. 7 'charming everywhere with gardens'; *vappinasaesu aimanaharālovam* II. 12 'of a very beautiful appearance with hundreds of fields'; *damaṇesu tādaṇesu ya...dukkham anubhavantā* II. 72 'suffering misery on account of training and beating'; *kāūna udarabharanam... kumjarāiḥabuesu* II. 112 'filling his belly with many elephants etc.';

gaesu āngam pellijai II. 109 'the body is crushed with elephants
tisu ya valayesu boi parinaddho III. 20 'is surrounded with three
 layers *jinaceiesu ramma* III. 30 'charming with the temples of the
 Jinās *nānesu tisū sabio* III. 69 'possessed of three kinds of know-
 ledge *Jinabbavañesu mañabaram* III. 155 'beautiful with the
 temples of the Jinās *annapañadāñāsanesu sampūiyāna* IV. 77
 'having honoured with food, drink, gift and seats *pañbarapabaresu
 bamantā* IV. 83 'beaten with stones' this list can be extended to
 a considerable extent, but the present illustrations are sufficient to
 give a fair idea of the author's usage of the Locative for the
 Instrumental.

Dr. Jacobi has suggested the reason for this striking fact while
 discussing the Apabhraṃśa features of the language of the *Paumacariya*
 (Bhavisattakaha, Introduction, p. 60). As the *Paumacariya* had
 illustrations of the interchange of these two cases in the plural only,
 he points out that this must have been also the tendency of the popu-
 lar speech of the time, a fact which is also found in the later literary
 Apabhraṃśa where the Locative and Instrumental plural forms are
 identical. The author of the *Paumacariya* has in this as in many
 other cases allowed the popular language current at his own time to
 influence his own style to a certain degree probably to make his work
 more popular. This very feature is further inherited by the literary
 Apabhraṃśa.

Now with the more copious materials collected above from the
 early books of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon we can see that this inter-
 change of the two cases stands in a different light. The writer of
 the *Paumacariya* is merely following a long-standing usage only with
 a little marked aptitude for it. Further our collection of the illu-
 strations do not confine themselves exclusively to the plural number
 even though the majority of them are of that type. And we know
 that the literary Apabhraṃśa has no similar forms for the singular
 number of these cases. Jacobi has rightly rejected the probable

explanation of a metrical necessity on the ground that the metrical value of the two forms is the same, and further we now have cases in prose as well, which goes to confirm such a rejection.

That even in Sanskrit two cases of this type were mixed up in the mind of the author is proved by the fact that many prepositions govern more than one case. Further the breaking up of the old syntax helped such a confusion more and the tendency has grown up slowly in course of time to make the use of these two cases quite indiscriminate. It appears that the Instrumental first got mixed up with the Ablative and later on with the Locative. With verbs meaning 'to carry' both Instrumental and Locative are found used as in *skandhe* or *skandhena dbr*; as also with verbs to mean 'conquer' as *yuddhe* or *yuddhena*; while on the other hand we find such expressions as *samudra iva gāmbhīrye* and use of words like *śāsane* and *mate* where the sense is more in agreement with the use of Instrumental. Further cases for shadowing this confusion would be *udnā na nāvam anayanta* RV. 8 'as a ship by water' *cha yātam patibhir devayānaih* RV. 'come here on the god-trodden paths'; *jagmur vibhāyāsā* Mabh. 'they went through the sky'; an illustration in which the same relation has two aspects which can be expressed by Instrumental and Locative is *made abim indro jaghāna* RV. 'in intoxication Indra killed the dragon'. *Na tvāyātra mayāvasthitena kāpi cintā kāryā* Pañc. shows that there may be here some kind of Instrumental absolute construction in germs.

From these sporadic cases in Sanskrit both Vedic and Classical of such tendencies it can be reasonably assumed that a further development of these very tendencies makes its appearance in Prakrits in a more marked way. While the Sanskrit tradition continued to be preserved with a more or less systematic and scholarly syntax the Prakrits brought into greater play the latent forces of development making for a simplification in this field of language as in others.

'Imagination' in Indian Poetics

द्वे वर्त्मनी गिरां देव्याः शास्त्रं च कविकर्म च ।

प्रज्ञोपज्ञं तयोराद्यं प्रतिभोद्भवमन्तिमम् ॥¹—Bhaṭṭa Tauta (?)

It has been observed that Indian Poetics and Western Poetics view their subject-matter from somewhat different, if complementary, angles—the latter deals with Poetry as the expression of the poet's mind while the former is chiefly occupied with its culmination as a unique experience of the reader. The great contribution of India to Comparative Poetics is the doctrine of *Rasa-Dhvani*, the process by which the reader re-creates for himself and re-lives the poet's original experience. Western Poetics, on the other hand, studies how the multitudinous impressions of the external world melt, alter and combine in the crucible of the poet's mind and emerge as a harmonious whole, shining with the added gleam—the light that never was, on sea or land. It is the poet's Imagination that works this magic, and accordingly its study occupies an important place in Western schools of Poetics. A philosophical critic like Coleridge or Croce builds a system of Aesthetics with Imagination as its key-stone. Professional psychologists like Ribot and Spearman devote special treatises to the analysis of the 'Creative Imagination'. Even an off-hand answer in the West to the question "What is Poetry?" is more likely than not to contain this omnipotent word. Have the Indian theorists nothing to say on this aspect of the problem?

No system of Poetics can claim to be complete without taking account of both the poet and the reader, and bearing in mind the imaginative as well as the emotional element in Poetry. Neither

¹ Quoted by Vidyādharaçakravartin in his commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. (Trivandrum Edn., Part I, p. 14). I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras for this reference.

the Indian nor the Western system can be so blind as to ignore half its subject-matter; only, the stress laid on this or that aspect of Poetics is different in either case. The Indian theorists too had the poet in mind; in fact, the early works of Indian Poetics like those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin were primarily intended for the instruction of the aspiring poet. Naturally theoretical speculations had little place in them; but it would be untrue to say that the springs of Poetry received no consideration at their hands. No doubt they were not discussed as set themes in elaborate detail; but in the great works of the creative period of Indian Poetics at any rate, we find many valuable observations, some of them going to the very heart of the matter, on Imagination and its activity. They occur scattered, mostly as hints and suggestions, dropped inadvertently as it were by the writer. The purpose of the present paper is to piece together and correlate some of these significant utterances, with reference, if helpful, to the familiar notions of Western Poetics on this subject.

What is 'Imagination'? There is a whole gamut of allied senses in which the word is used,² from the simplest which is little more than the power of vivid visualization to the highest, the activity of the whole mind of a poet in which conceptions swarm into the stream of consciousness and are integrated into a beautiful whole. Perhaps, its nature can be better understood if we quote two passages from two great thinkers, describing its method of work and its mode of vision, respectively. "The poet described in ideal perfection, brings the whole soul of man into activity, with the subordination of its faculties to each other according to their relative worth and dignity. He diffuses a tone and spirit of unity, that blends, and (as it were) *fuses*, each into each, by that synthetic and magical power, to which I would exclusively appropriate the name of Imagination.

² I.A. Richards in his *Principles of Literary Criticism* (pp. 239 ff.) distinguishes at least six distinct senses of the word.

This power.....reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities: of sameness, with difference; of the general with the concrete; the idea with the image; the individual with the representative; the sense of novelty and freshness with old and familiar objects; a more than usual state of emotion with more than usual order; judgment ever awake and steady self-possession with enthusiasm and feeling profound or vehement....."³ "It is a way of seeing and feeling things as they compose an integral whole. It is the large and generous blending of interests at the point where the mind comes in contact with the world. When old and familiar things are made new in experience, there is imagination. When the new is created, the far and strange become the most natural inevitable things in the world. There is always some measure of adventure in the meeting of mind and universe, and this adventure is, in its measure, imagination."⁴

The exact equivalent of Imagination in Sanskrit Poetics is *pratibhā* (also *pratibhāna*). It is often rendered as 'fancy', 'genius', etc.; but these terms do not convey all its implications. There was a time when 'fancy' was considered to be entirely different from Imagination; Coleridge held this view. Though modern psychology knows no such distinction between the two, 'fancy' is still used in literary discussions to denote that aspect of Imagination which concocts superficial conceits having no deep basis in reality. 'Genius' is the innate super-normal capacity which lies at the root of all great work; the word *pratibhā* and its equivalent *śakti*⁵ are sometimes used

3 Coleridge: *Biographia Literaria*, ch. XIV.

4 John Dewey: *Art as Experience*, p. 267.

5 *Śakti* is identified with *Pratibhā* by most *ālaṅkārikas*. Cp. Rudraṭa: अस्मै शक्तिः ॥ प्रतिभेव्यपरैरुदिता... (*Kāvya-larṅkāra*, i. 15-6); Kuntaka: प्रतिभायाः कविशक्तेः (*Vakrokti-jivita*, p. 58); Abhinavagupta: शक्तिः प्रतिभानं वर्गानां यवस्तु विषयन्तानोक्लेग्र-शक्तिवम् (*Dhvanyalokaloṅkāra*, p. 137). Rājaśekhara seems to be the only person that deliberately distinguishes between the two. His view is that *Śakti* (genius) is the sole cause of Poetry and that both *Pratibhā* (imagination) and *Vyutpatti*

in this sense in Sanskrit works. But since genius is a vague and general term, and moreover is always seen in Poetry in the excellence of the poet's imagination, we need not feel any hesitation in equating *pratibhā* with Imagination."

Pratibhā literally means a flash across the mind—a revelation characterised by "immediacy and freshness." Many systems of Indian philosophy have developed doctrines of *Pratibhā* to explain the transcendental knowledge gained by immediate vision without resorting to the laborious and often inadequate exercise of the intellect. Aesthetics is but a branch of philosophy; and it has been

(culture) take their rise from it: सा [=शक्तिः] केवलं काव्ये हेतुः । ...शक्तिकर्तृ के हि प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्तिकर्मणी । शक्तस्य प्रतिभाति शक्तश्च व्युत्पद्यते । (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 11). With reference to Ānandavardhana's use of the word Śakti in the sense of *pratibhā* (*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 137) Rājasekhara says that it is a case of *upacāra* (p. 16).

6 A word or two must be said here about the *śamādhiguṇa* of Vāmana and the *bhāvikaḷaṃkāra* of the early rhetoricians. Vāmana's list of *guṇas* is a strange assortment of heterogeneous poetic elements, and hence it easily came under the vigorous criticism of Mammaṭa. Surely the strangest among them is the *arthaguṇa* 'samādhi' which Vāmana defines as अर्थदृष्टिः समाधिः (*Kāvyāḷaṃkārasūtra*, iii. 2. 5). *Samādhi* is the intuition of *artha*, and it is so called because the intuition needs concentration of mind (अवहितं हि चित्तमर्थान् पश्यति ।). It will be seen that this *śamādhi* is no ordinary quality (*guṇa*) of a poem, but is the very cause of its birth. *Samādhi* is in fact a mode of the working of *pratibhā*.

Again, the salient features of *bhāvikaḷaṃkāra* as defined by Bhāmaha and others is that it should pervade the whole poem and so depict even remote actions that they are seen to take place before our very eyes; moreover these actions should be full of varied, dignified and marvellous elements Bhāmaha's *Kāvyāḷaṃkāra*, iii. 52-53). Surely this is not the definition of a technical *alaṃkāra* at all, but a description of the activity of a vivid and powerful imagination. We may also note in this connection that Dr. S. K. De has stressed the phrase कवेरभिप्रायः 'the inward conception of the poet' that occurs in Daṇḍin's definition of this *alaṃkāra* (*Kāvyādarśa*, ii. 363-65) and regards this as one of the few places in Indian Aesthetics where poetry is viewed primarily as an expression of the poet's mind. See S. K. De: 'Bhāmaha's Views on *Guṇa*' (*K. B. Pāṭhak Commemoration Volume*).

7 See 'The Doctrine of *Pratibhā* in Indian Philosophy' by Principal Gopinath Kaviraj (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Poona, vol. V, 1924.) For the statements made in the present paper about the philosophic doctrines of *Pratibhā* I have depended upon this valuable paper.

clearly shown that important theories of Indian Poetics, especially those which explain the realization of Rasa follow closely distinct schools of Indian philosophy.⁸ The statements of our ālamkārikas about kavi-pratibhā too can be easily traced to the doctrines of intuitive knowledge developed by different schools of philosophy like the Āgama, the Nyāya and the Jaina. We may note here one obvious illustration." It was in Kashmir, the home of the Pratyabhijñā school, that Indian aesthetic thought reached its fullest height; writers like Abhinavagupta achieved eminence in both fields of speculation. No wonder then that statements regarding the nature of pratibhā in Poetry should in many cases be a reflection of the Śaivāgama view. Indeed, Abhinavagupta's stanza

यदुन्मीलनशक्यं व विश्वमुन्मीलति क्षणात् ।
स्वात्मायतनविश्रान्तां तां वन्दे प्रतिभां शिवाम् ॥

(*Dhvanyālokalocana*, p. 60)

which describes *parā pratibhā*—the Supreme Power of Śiva ever residing in Himself and revealing the entire creation in the process of self-revelation, can equally well apply to *kavi-pratibhā*—the Poet's imaginative vision to which the whole universe becomes open.¹⁰ We may be certain that Abhinavagupta intended his lines to characterize both the pratibhās.

But let us dally no further with this subject of philosophical origins and correspondences which, though fascinating, cannot be discussed with any competence by the present writer. We shall

8 See 'Indian Aesthetics' by Prof. M. Hiriyanna (*Proceedings of the First All-India Oriental Conference*, Poona, vol. II).

9 Reference will be made to the Nyāya and the Jaina views later on.

10 The expression स्वात्मायतन with reference to Kavi-pratibhā seems to mean स्वहृदयायतन thus distinguishing it from an exercise of the intellect. Cp. Abhinavagupta's own phrase in another connection, "..... कवेरपि स्वहृदयायतन-सततोदित-प्रतिभाभिधान-परवारदेवतानुग्रहोत्थित-विचित्रापूर्वनिर्मायाशक्तिशालिनः प्रजापतेरिव कामजनितजगतः ।" (*Abhinavabhāratī on the Nāṭya Śāstra*, G.O.S., vol. I, p. 4). This phrase gives in a nutshell much of what Indian theory has to say about Prātibhā,

confine our attention to the views on Pratibhā as manifested in Poetry. It is customary for the majority of ālaṅkārikas to dismiss this subject with a few remarks while discussing the requisites of the poet. But Rājaśekhara with his usual interest in topics which are somewhat out of the beaten track devotes a whole chapter and even more of his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* to Pratibhā. He has many interesting things to say about it; one of his most valuable contributions to the subject is the recognition of the Responsive (Bhāvayitri) Imagination of the reader beside the usual Creative (Kārayitri) Imagination of the poet. A writer who deserves far greater tribute, however, is Kuntaka. It may be said that his *Vakrokti-jīva* is nothing but a treatise on the function of Imagination in Poetry. At the outset he admits the ultimate supremacy of the poet's Imagination (..... कविप्रतिभाप्रौढिरेव प्राधान्येनावतिष्ठते, p. 13); he regards it as the source of every proper charm in a poem (यत्किञ्चनापि वैचित्र्यं तत् सर्वं प्रतिभोद्भवम्, p. 48), and holds it to be the very life of every poetic element, especially of ālaṅkāras यद्यपि रसभावालंकाराणां सर्वेषां कविकौशलमेव¹¹ जीवितं तथाप्यलंकारस्य विशेषतस्तदनुग्रहं विना...मनाड्मालमपि वैचित्र्यमुत्प्रेक्षामहे¹², p. 146). Again and again, almost on every other page of the *Vakrokti-jīva* the word pratibhā (or some equivalent of it) is brought in to explain this or that charm of Poetry. And, alone of all ālaṅkārikas it is Kuntaka that has something direct to say about the shaping of the poet's conception in the course of expression. In fact, the very pivot of his system, the *Vakra-kavyāpāra*¹² (the striking activity of the poet) seems to

11 कविकौशल is but another name for कविप्रतिभाव्यापार । See in this connection Dr. S. K. De's Introduction to the *Vakrokti-jīva*, p. xxvii. (The references are throughout to the 2nd edition of this work).

12 A few words may be said here about the term *Vyāpāra*. It is also used by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka to characterize Poetry. Cp. द्वयोः [=शब्दार्थयोः] गुणत्वे व्यापारिप्रधान्ये काव्यगर्भवेत् । (Quoted in the *Db. Ā. Locana*, p. 27). Accordingly we find that Śaṃudrabandha in his oft-quoted classification of the Schools of Indian Poetics (con. in the *Ālaṅkāras-treasa* p. 4) brings together Kuntaka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as theorists

mean nothing but *kavipratibhā-vyāpāra*, since every mode (*prakāra*) of its working is the transcending of the matter for the achievement of something imaginative.

Among the other *ālaṅkārikas* that we can consult with great profit there are of course the two master-minds, *Ānandavardhana*¹³ and *Abhinavagupta*; the hints and chance-remarks that they drop off and on illumine the whole regions of the subject of *Pratibhā*. Then, there is *Abhinavagupta*'s own teacher *Bhaṭṭa Taṭita*. Unfortunately, we possess only a few fragments from his still un-recovered *Kāvya-kantuka*, but they are quite precious. Lastly, we must not forget to mention *Mahima Bhaṭṭa*, the chief critic of the *Dhvani* school. In his *Vyaktiviveka* there is a short passage on the nature of *Pratibhā*, introduced incidentally in the discussion of the figure *Svabhāvokti*. It is so significant that we cannot help regretting the loss of his philosophical work *Tattvoktikośa* in which he had specifically expounded *pratibhā-tattva*.¹⁴

The picking of these six great names out of a vast number of *ālaṅkārikas* should not imply that the rest have nothing to say about *Pratibhā*. But individual references to all the authorities cannot be made here, since an exhaustive or elaborate treatment of the

who held that *śabda* and *artha* in Poetry were distinguished by *Vyāpāra* (*व्यापारमुखेन*), the nature of the *Vyāpāra* differing in each case (*भणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगकृत्त्वेन वेति द्वैधम्*), *Vyāpāra* is process, an activity (*क्रियाक्रमः* V. J., p. 14). *Kuntaka* views Poetry as process by which the reader realizes *Rasa* in it. We may refer to the *Vyāpāras* the expression of the Poet's imaginative activity, while *Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka* discusses the as *Kavipratibhā-vyāpāra* and *Sahajdaya-carvaṇā-vyāpāra* respectively. Thus the two theorists are viewing Poetry from its two different ends, as it were. It is interesting to recollect here the antithesis between Western and Indian Poetics discussed at the beginning of this paper.

13 Throughout the present paper no distinction has been made between the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* portions of the *Dhvanyāloka*; *Ānandavardhana* is referred to as the author of both.

14 Cp इत्यादि प्रतिभातत्त्वमस्माभिरुपपादितम् ।

शास्त्रे तत्त्वोक्तिकोशाख्य इति नेह प्रवृत्तितम् ॥ - *Vyaktiviveka* p. 108

subject is beyond the scope of the present paper. This does not however prevent us from paying attention to the important views of other ālamkārikas too wherever feasible.

It is the creative aspect of Imagination—its power to conceive ever-new thoughts and images and to express them in living words—that easily catches one's attention. The celebrated definition given by Tauta points out particularly this feature of Pratibhā. The full passage, so far as it has been preserved for us in quotations (e.g. *Kāvyañūsāsana*, 2nd Edn., p. 3), runs as follows:—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोल्लेखशालिनी¹⁵ प्रतिभा मता ।

तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥

तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम्¹⁶—

In a passage probably inspired by the foregoing, Abhinavagupta characterizes Pratibhā in fuller terms: प्रतिभा अप्रवेष्टुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा । तस्या विशेषः रसविशेषैशद्यसन्दर्भकाव्यनिर्माणक्षमत्वम् ।

(*Dh. Ā. locana*, p. 29). Abhinavagupta points out here that it is Imagination from which all creative work springs; Poetic Imagination is but one variety of it. We may also notice the vital expression *rasāveśa*; its significance for Poetry will be reverted to later.

Perhaps the simplest description of Imagination, marked even by naivety, is this one by Rudrata (*Kāvyaālamkāra*, i. 15):

मनसि सदा सुसमाधिनि विस्फुरणमनेकधाभिधेयस्य ।

अङ्किष्ठानि पदानि च विमान्ति यस्याममौ शक्तिः ॥

The following words of Rājasekhara may be taken to be an extended commentary on it: या शब्दप्राप्तमर्थसार्थमलंकारतन्त्रमुक्तिमार्गमन्यदपि तथा विधनधिहृदयं प्रतिभासयति सा प्रतिभा । अप्रतिभस्य पदार्थसार्थः परोक्ष एव । प्रतिभावतः

15 There is also another reading: नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी । *Ullekha* refers more to the creative and *Unmeṣa* more to the revelatory aspect of Imagination. Pratibhā is defined as a kind of *prajñā* because it is cognitive in character.

16 Cp. काव्यं लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म (*Kāvya-prakāśa*, i. 2. Vṛtti). The definition as well as the derivation of *Kāvya* as *Kaveḥ karma* is another evidence that the Indian theorists were not unaware of the conception of poetry as the expression of the poet's mind.

पुनरपश्यतोऽपि प्रत्यक्ष एव । (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, pp. 11-12). Rājaśekhara quotes four splendid stanzas, all from the works of Kālidāsa, to illustrate the power of the poet to imagine the conditions of places and times and the secrets of the human heart, of which he can have no direct knowledge.

But Poetry has often come to trouble with philosophers for the very thing that critics grow enthusiastic over—its power to create a world of Imagination. To the matter-of-fact mind Poetry seems to offer mere Appearance in place of Reality; it is at best "pretty falsehood."¹⁷ In our own country there have not been want of puritans who laid down काव्याल्लापांश्च वर्जयेत् thus ruling out all poetry; and commentators have had to resort to ingenious interpretations of this injunction to have their favourite works of poetry from its anathema.¹⁸ More generous-hearted thinkers even have suffered Poetry only so long as it subserved the interests of Morality. But, Poetry is autonomous. A poet's Imagination has a way of looking at Reality which is as legitimate as the method of Reason.¹⁹ In fact, the Imagination and the Intellect are the two spiritual eyes of a human being and he needs both of them. Ānandavardhana gave expression to this fundamental truth in the following supplication to the Deity:

17 Cp. असत्यार्थमिधायित्वान्नोपदेष्टव्यं काव्यम्, one of the objections against poetry noticed by Rājaśekhara (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, p. 24).

18 Cp. काव्याल्लापनिषेधवचनस्यासत्काव्यविषयत्वेन व्यवस्थापनात् । (Kāmadhenu com. on Vāmana's Kāvya-lamkārasūtravṛtti, p. 5).

19. Cp. ".....intuitive knowledge has no need of a master, nor to lean upon any one; she does not need to borrow the eyes of others, for she has most excellent eyes of her own." (Croce: *Aesthetic*, pp. 2-3).

"What distinguishes poetic from religious or philosophic apprehension is not that it turns away from reality, but that it lies open to and in eager watch for reality at doors and windows which with them are barred and blind. The poet's soul resides, so to speak, in his senses, in his emotions, in his imagination, as well as in his conscious intelligence; and we may provisionally describe poetic apprehension as an intense state of consciousness in which all these are vitally concerned." (C.-H. Hereford: *Is there a Poetic View of the World?*).

या व्यापारवती रमान् रमयितुं काचित् कवीनां नवा

दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेपा च वैपश्चिती ।

ते द्वे अप्यवलम्ब्य विश्वमनिशं निर्वर्णयन्तो वयं

श्रान्ता नैव च लब्धमवधिशयन त्वङ्गकितुल्यं सुखम् ॥ (Dh. Ā. p. 227).

Here, Ānandavardhana is no doubt subordinating both the imagination of the poet and the intellect of the philosopher to the religious attitude but we are not concerned with it for the present. What is to be noted is that he gave both Poetry and Philosophy an equal status in the interpretation of Life. His use of the word *dṛṣṭi* 'the eye (of Imagination)' is very significant, especially with the illuminating commentary of Abhinavagupta in this passage :

...काचिदिति लोकयात्रापतिबोधवस्थाख्यागेन उन्मालयन्ती । अतएव ते कवयः वर्णनायोगात् । नवेति क्षणे क्षणे नूतनैर्विचित्रैर्जगन्त्यासूत्रयन्ती । दृष्टिरिति प्रतिभाहृया ।...ते द्वे अपर्णाति । न ह्ये कया दृष्ट्या सम्यक् निर्वर्णनं भवति ।...

What is the individual way in which the poet's Imagination views the world? We find an eloquent answer to this question in the one available passage dealing with *Pratibhā* from Mahima Bhaṭṭa's writings. That Mahima Bhaṭṭa was a *naiyāyika* is obvious from his elaborate attempt to reduce *Dhvani* to a type of *anumāna*; hence it is not surprising that he should have described *Pratibhā* in terms of the *Nyāya* philosophy making use of its distinction between the *sāmānyarūpa* and the *viśeṣarūpa* of an object. We shall, however, refrain here from entering these philosophical waters, and only note what Mahima Bhaṭṭa has to say directly on *Pratibhā*:

विशिष्टमस्य यद्रूपं तत् प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरम् ।

स एव मत्कविगिरिं गोचरः प्रतिभाभुवाम् ॥

यतः

रमानुशुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः ।

क्षणां स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः ।

मा हि चक्षुर्भगवतस्तूर्तायमिति गीयते ।

येन साक्षात्करोत्येव भावांस्वैकान्यवतिनः ॥ (*Vyaktivocaka*, p. 108).

According¹ to Mahima Bhaṭṭa, it is the unique nature of an object that is revealed by the words which flow from the Pratibhā of a poet. When he sits in concentration, brooding over word and sense that will be in harmony with his dominant poetic mood, all at once there wells up in him an insight which touches the essence of things; this is Pratibhā. It is verily the third eye of Lord Śiva, which reveals to Him all things past, present and future. There is great truth in this view. To the ordinary man, occupied with the practical affairs of the world, one object looks much like another. Since he is chiefly interested in making everything that he comes across serve his personal ends, he has neither the time nor the inclination for seeing a thing as it really is. But before the disinterested gaze of the poet the objects of the world shed as it were their mark of familiarity and generality; and each thing reveals its own unique self. The Poet's Imagination seizes its individual qualities—the qualities which give even the meanest object great significance and make the ugliest appear most charming—and represents in fit words such a vision of Reality.

Hence, a poet need not go beyond the commonalty of life to create Beauty. There is Beauty before him if he can but look at it with the right eyes; and a bare, unadorned representation of it can become true poetry—indeed, it may surpass in charming descriptions cloaked in adventitious finery.²⁰ This seems to be the real significance of admitting *Svabhāvokti* in Poetry. Whether it should be technically brought under the *alamkāras* proper or not is a problem of minor importance. What we should specially bear in mind in our present discussion is the fact that in *Svabhāvokti* the poet adds nothing of his own; he represents a thing as he sees it. No doubt his vision is fresh and selects only the unique features of the object he is describing; but there can be no art without selection.

²⁰ Cp. भावस्वभावप्राधान्यन्यक्कृताहार्यकौशलः । (*Vakroktijivita*, i, 26).

'Imagination' in Indian Poetics

That fidelity to Life—as it has a place in poetry—is further recognised by the theorists in the inclusion of *vastu* along with *alamkāra* and *rasa* under Dhvani. Abhinavagupta takes care to point out that even the other two kinds of Dhvani ultimately resolve into *rasa*;²¹ but that *vastu* (unadorned fact)²² should be given at all the status of Dhvani under appropriate conditions is surely significant. This point becomes still clearer when we observe its further division into *kavipraudboktiniṣpanna*, 'evolved by the poet's imaginative expression' and *svataḥ sambhavi* 'existing in actuality'. The latter is thus elucidated by Ānandavardhana: यः औचित्येन वहिरपि संभाव्यमानसद्भावः न केवलं भणितव्यशैर्नैवाभिनिष्पन्नशरीरः (Db. Ā., p. 106). In Western Poetics there has been a long-drawn quarrel over the question whether Poetry is essentially 'Imitation' or 'Creation' (*Mimesis* or *Poesis*). In India, the problem did not long remain unsolved (though in the earlier stages of Poetics there was some fight over the body of *Svabhāvokti*). Both the modes came to be admitted because both of them could achieve *rasapṛakāśa*, the most important aim of Poetry. Neither 'Imitation' nor 'Creation'—or to use our own terminology, neither 'svabhāvokti' nor 'vakrokti'—is an end in itself; it is only a means to the realization of *Rasa*, and has to be justified only in relation to this end.²³

So far we have been stressing the nature of Imagination as a kind of *Dr̥ṣṭi*—a way of looking at the universe. Now we have to revert to its more familiar aspect—*Sṛṣṭi* (Creation), and make an

21 Cp. the famous statement: रस एव वस्तुत आत्मा । वस्त्वलंकारध्वनी तु सर्वथा रसं प्रति पर्यवस्येते ॥ (Db. Ā., *Locana*, p. 27).

22 It must be remembered, however, that *Vastu* becomes poetic only when it is suggested. Again, *Vastu* can signify a supernatural fact as well as a natural fact. All suggested sense which is neither *rasa* nor *alamkāra* is termed *Vastu*.

23 A statement of Abhinavagupta made in a different context bears out this point: काव्येऽपि च लोकनाट्यधर्मिस्थानीये स्वभावोक्तिवक्रोक्तिप्रकारद्वयेन अलौकिकप्रमत्त-मधुरौजस्विशब्दममर्थमाणविभावादियोगादियमेव रसवार्ता । (Db. A. *Locana*, p. 69).

attempt to understand more exactly what it means. The poet is often compared to the Creator, sometimes to the detriment of the latter. The Poetic world is said to be free from the laws of Destiny (cp. नियतिकृतनियमरहिताम्, *Kāvya prakāśa*, i. 1) and created by the Poet without the least material cause (cp. अपूर्वं यद्वस्तु प्रथयति विना कारणाकृताम्, *Db. Ā. Locana*, p. 1). That is to say, the poet is supposed to weave it out of the shapes and sounds that his own Imagination bodies forth. But, in art as in life, something cannot come out of nothing. The poet's Imagination must feed on something outside it, be the food as rare and tenuous as "the aerial kisses of shapes that haunt thought's wildernesses." Psychologists have shown that even the most original Imagination can only work on the impressions of the world it has received; "it may produce new modes of combination, but no new elements."²⁴ Indian theorists too were not unaware of this even when they grew eloquent over the Poet's creative magic. For instance, when Ānandavardhana says:

अपारे काव्यमंगारे कविरेव प्रजापतिः ।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥
भावानचेतनानपि चेतनवृत्तेनानचेतनवत् ।
व्यवहारयति यथेष्टं मुक्ताभिः काव्ये स्वतन्द्रतया ॥ (*Db. Ā.*, p. 222.)

he admits clearly that the poet works upon the material presented by the world and does not create his poem out of the void. Note especially the word *parivartate*. 'transforms': it holds the key to the secret of poetic creation.²⁵

24 *Readings in Psychology*, p. 339.

Cp. also ". . . all so-called inspirations occur strictly within the limit of the individual's capacity, training and previous cognitions." J. E. Downey: *Creative Imagination*, p. 158.

25 In this connection we may quote a stanza by Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita, which goes to the very heart of linguistic expression:

नामरूपात्मकं विश्वं दृश्यते यदिदं द्विधा ।
तत्राद्यस्य कविर्विधा द्वितीयस्य प्रजापतिः ॥

It is Kuntaka, however, that has devoted some space to the discussion of this problem. He remarks unequivocally: यन्न वर्ग्यमान-स्वरूपाः पदार्थाः कविभिरभूताः सन्तः क्रियन्ते, केवलं सत्तामालेण परिस्फुरतां चैषां तथाविधः क्रोऽप्यतिशयः पुनराधीयते, येन कामपि सहृदयहृदयहारिणीं रमणीयतामधिरोप्यते । (*Vakroktijivita* p. 149). By this he means that the poet does not set about creating non-existent objects, but taking them as they occur bleak in life he endows them with some special charm in the process of describing them. Then, Kuntaka goes on to say, this special charm contributed by the poet conceals effectively the original character of the object, and in the form revealed through the poet's Imagination the object shines like some new creation. It is this which entitles the poet to the appellation of Creator.²⁶ These remarks of Kuntaka apply to *utpādyā* as well as *prasiddha* themes. For even when a poet *invents* an incident he does not create it absolutely. What he does is to fuse together the various features of the things that, owing to the inherent relation between one and another, spring at the moment to his Imagination of their own accord. As a result of this integration we perceive indeed a new thing, but in reality it is only its *atīśaya* that has been the original work of the Poet.²⁷ Kuntaka's account of this process is a little obscure here and there; but there is no uncertainty about his general position: "प्रस्तुतातिशय-

Compare the implications of this with the statement of Croce: "The philosophy of language, in a word, is identical with the philosophy of poetry and art, the science of intuition-expression, aesthetics; which embraces language in its whole extension..." (*Sv. 'Aesthetics', Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIV, Edn.*).

26 तदेवं सत्तामालेणैव परिस्फुरतः पदार्थस्य क्रोऽप्यलौकिकः शोभातिशयविधायी विच्छित्ति-विशेषोऽभिधीयते येन नूतनच्छायामनोहारिणा वास्तवस्थितितिरोधानप्रवणो न जावमासोद्भासित-तत्स्वरूपेण तत्कालोत्थित इव वर्णनीयपदार्थपरिस्पन्दमहिमा प्रतिभासते येन विधातृव्यपदेशतां प्रतिपद्यन्ते कवयः । (*Vakroktijivita, p. 140.*)

27 यत्ताप्युत्पाद्यं वस्तु प्रबन्धार्थपूर्वतया वाक्यार्थस्तत्कालमुल्लिख्यते कविभिः, तस्मिन् स्वसत्तासमन्वयेन स्वयमेव परिस्फुरतां पदार्थानां तथाविधपरस्परान्वयलक्षणसंभ्वन्धोपनिबन्धनं नाम नवीनमतिशयमात्ममेव निर्मितविषयतां नीयते, न पुनः स्वरूपम् । (*Ibid., p. 142.*)

विधानव्यतिरेकेण न किञ्चिदपूर्वत्वमनास्ति ।" (V. J., p. 143). Indeed there is much truth in the well-known saying:

त एव पदविन्यासास्त एवार्थविभूतयः ।

तथापि नव्यं भवति काव्यं प्रथमकौशलात् ॥

By thus questioning the poet's title to the rank of creator in the absolute sense, we are not by any means reducing the marvel of poetic creation. The picture as it emerges from the poet's Imagination does indeed look new, because he has endowed it with a transcendental charm. And, the elements which have gone to make it may seem incredible when viewed separately, but somehow they have become welded into a most harmonious whole. Again, who has not wondered at the endless flow of ever-fresh conceptions from the poet's lips?

एष अ तारा षडङ्ग ओही एष अ ते दीसन्ति क्व वि पुनरुक्ता ।

जे विभ्रमा पित्राणां अन्था वा सुकङ्कवाणीणाम् ॥ (Db. Ā., p. 241).

Thus does Ānandavardhana characterize the poet's speech, comparing it with the enchanting graces of one's beloved.²⁸

In almost every definition of Pratibhā, we observe that artha and śabda, abhidheya and abhidhāna, darśana and varṇanā, or prakhyā and upākhyā²⁹—i.e., the conception (or intuition) and its verbal expression—are both attributed to the imaginative activity. That is as it should be. A conception, however original it might be, leads but a shadowy existence until it is embodied in appropriate words. There are philosophers who hold that one possesses an intui-

28 This Prakrit stanza is quoted by Ānandavardhana from his now lost *Viśambāṅgalilā*. The chāyā runs as follows:

न च तेषां घटतेऽवधिः न च ते दृश्यन्ते कदापि पुनरुक्ताः ।

ये विभ्रमाः प्रियाणामर्था वा सुकविवाणीनाम् ॥

As Abhinavagupta notes in his comment on this passage, Beauty itself had already been described in similar terms by Māgha:

ज्ञेये ज्ञेये यन्नवतामुपैति तदेव रूपं रमणीयतायाः । (Śiśupālavadhā, iv. 17).

29 प्रख्या प्रकृष्टा ख्यानं प्रतिभात्मकम् ।...उपख्या वचनमभिधानलक्षणम् ।

(Db. Ā. *Locana Kaumudī*, Madras Edn., p. 7).

tion only to the extent one is able to express it, at least to oneself.³⁰ However this may be, there is no doubt that a poet truly becomes a poet only when he has woven his rich conceptions into verbal patterns. Bhaṭṭa Tauta, as quoted by Hemacandra, has something significant to say on this point:

नामृषिः कविरित्युक्तं ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।
 विचित्रभावधर्माशतत्त्वग्रह्या³¹ च दर्शनम् ॥
 स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः ।
 दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥
 तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेसुर्नैः ।
 नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥ (Kāvyañūśāsana, p. 379).

"It is said that a *kavi* is necessarily a seer (*ṛṣi*); and a seer is one who has vision (*darśana*): 'Vision is the intuition (*prakhyā*) of the Reality underlying the manifold objects of the universe and their qualities. To be termed 'kavi' in the *śāstras*, it is enough if one possesses this vision of Reality. But in common parlance the term 'kavi' becomes current if one possesses expression (*varṇanā*) as well as vision. Thus, though the *ādi kavi* (i.e., Vālmiki), being a sage, ever possessed vision, the world did not accord him the appellation of 'kavi' until his Expression was born (i.e., until he composed the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

In the famous invocatory stanza of the °*Locana*, describing *Sārasvata-tattva*, Abhinavagupta suggests that expression (*upākhyā*) follows intuition (*prakhyā*): क्रमात् ग्रह्योपाख्याप्रसरसुभगं भासयति the significance of the word *kramāt* here being explained by the

30 Cp. "... intuition is only intuition in so far as it is, in that very act, expression. An image that does not express, that is not speech, song, drawing, painting, sculpture or architecture—speech at least murmured to oneself, song at least echoing within one's own breast, line and colour seen in imagination and colouring with its own tint the whole soul and organism—is an image that does not exist." (Croce: *Aesthetics, Encyc. Brit.*, XIV, Edn.).

That is to say, one must be at least a *hrdayakavi* in the terminology of Rājaśekhara: Cp. यो हृदय एव कवते निहृते च स हृदयकविः । (*Kāvyañimāmsā*, p. 19).

31 The meaning of this expression is not quite clear.

commentator as प्रथमं हि प्रख्या तदनन्तरमुपाख्येति क्रमः³². If this is understood to mean that the intuition is perfect before it is expressed in words, it needs modification. For, as Kuntaka has rightly observed, a conception taking its rise in the Imagination of the poet will not have attained perfection at the very first flash. At best it will be like a precious stone dug out of the mine, with its native appearance hardly to be distinguished from that of a bit of stone. It needs chasing and polish before it can shine with full lustre; this it undergoes in the process of expression.³³ That is to say, it is in being expressed that an intuition defines itself. Theorists recognise at stage called *aveksāna* (examination)³⁴ in poetic composition, in which the poet removes one expression and inserts another because his mind is still in hesitation,³⁵ indicating that the conception itself has not become quite definite. *Śabdapāka* (perfect expression) is said to occur when the words in a composition become irreplaceable. But in reality this *Śabda-pāka* is nothing but *arthapāka* (perfect intuition).

Again, it is possible that the original conception may sometimes become richer owing to the very exigencies of expression. Kuntaka has made use of a very fine stanza from the *Tāpasavatsarāja* of Ānaṅgahaṛṣa Mātrarāja to illustrate this process. Vatsarāja is going

32 Kaumudī on *Dh. Ā. Locana*, p. 7.

33 क्वचित्तसि प्रथमं च प्रतिभाप्रतिभासमानमघटितपाषाणशकलवत्पमणिप्रख्यमेव वस्तु विदग्धकविविचितवक्त्रावयोषारुढं शाणोल्लीडमणिमनोहरतया तद्विदाह्लादकारिकाव्यत्वमधिरोहति ।
(*Vakroktijivita*, p. 9).

34 पदाधानोद्धरणमवेक्षणम् । Vāmana: *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, I. iii. 15.

35 Cp. आश्रानोद्धरणे तावथावहोलायते मनः ।

• पदस्य स्थापिते स्थैर्ये हन्त सिद्धा सरस्वती ॥

यत्पदानि त्यजन्त्येव परिवृत्तिसहिष्णुताम् ।

तं शब्दन्थासनिष्णाताः शब्दपाकं प्रचक्षते ॥

Ibid., *Vṛtti*.

to meet his beloved wife Vāsavadattā and on the way ponders thus over his inordinate infatuation :

तद्वक्त्रेन्दुविलोकनेन दिवसो नीतः प्रदोषस्तथा
 तद्गोष्ठ्यैव निशापि मन्मथकृतोत्साहैस्तदङ्गार्पणैः ।
 तां संप्रत्यपि मार्गदत्तनयनां द्रष्टुं प्रवृत्तस्य मे
 बद्धोत्कण्ठमिदं मनः किम्—

Vāstarāja has spent the whole day without losing sight of her; he has beguiled the evening again in her company; and he has passed the night too in her arms. Now again he is proceeding to meet her, while she herself is eagerly awaiting his arrival. He has enjoyed all that love can offer; but, why is it that his heart is yearning so intensely?—Here ought to terminate Vāstarāja's simple pondering with its final question. The original intuition of the poet has exhausted itself; but all of a sudden, put to fresh exertion even probably for the trivial necessity of completing the stanza, the poet's Imagination springs a surprise. Vāstarāja continues: —अथवा प्रेमासमाप्तोत्सवम् —“or, is it that love has pleasures yet untasted?” The unconscious irony of this last reflection will be felt by every one who knows the unique story of Vāsavadattā's self-sacrifice at the altar of her love for Vāstarāja; she has already resolved to leave her husband and smash her own happiness in order to save him from the evil consequences of his extreme infatuation for herself. Yes; Vāstarāja has not yet exhausted the 'pleasures' of love. He has still to go through tortures of separation and is already on the way to them. Kuntaka rightly comments on this passage: “अथवा प्रेमासमाप्तोत्सवम् इति येन पूर्वेषां जीवितमिवापितम् । (V.J., p. 13). The simple utterances made by Vāstarāja earlier are galvanized into life by the very significant suggestiveness of his last reflection.

Works on Poetics usually indulge in some discussion concerning the various requisites of the poet: Śakti or Pratibhā (Imagination), Vyutpatti (culture comprising both *babujñatā* and *ucitānu-*

citaviveka)³⁶ and *Abhyāsa* (practice). Among these *Pratibhā* is admitted to be the very seed of Poetry—without it poetry cannot arise, and even if composed somehow is sure to become the laughing-stock of the world.³⁷ The question that is hotly debated is 'Can *Pratibhā* alone produce Poetry?' Mammata who represents one school of opinion says that all the three together (*samuditāb*) form the cause (not causes) of Poetry.³⁸ But others, of whom Jagannātha Paṇḍita has perhaps discussed this question most elaborately, hold that *Pratibhā* is the sole cause.³⁹ No doubt, as Ānandavardhana has pointed out, the poet's Imagination can work such magic that faults of taste and the failure of the critical faculty may remain unnoticed in particular contexts, while the poverty of his Imagination at once springs to the eye.⁴⁰ It is also true that we rarely find in the same poet a union of great intellect, study and application with innate imaginative power.⁴¹ Yet, no poet that lacks the knowledge of life and the balance of mind which are connoted by the term *Vyutpatti* can hope to become a great poet. Without these requisities his

36 बहुज्ञता व्युत्पत्तिः" इत्याचार्योः । 'उचितानुचितविवेको व्युत्पत्तिः इति यायावरीयः । (*Kavyamīmāṃsā*, p. 16). शक्तिः प्रतिभानं वर्णनीयवस्तुविषयान्तर्नोल्लेख्यशान्तिवम् । व्युत्पत्तिः तदुपयोगिममन्वस्तुपूर्वापर्यपगामर्शकौशलम् । (*Db. A. Locana*, p. 137).

37 कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानम् । (*Vāmana: Kavyālaṅkārasūtra*, I. iii. 16). कवित्वस्य बीजं जन्मान्तरागतमंस्कारविशेषः कश्चित् । यस्माद्विना काव्यं न निष्पद्यते, निष्पन्नं वा अथहासायतनं स्यात् । (*Vṛtti*). Compare with this passage Mammata's शक्तिः कवित्वबीजरूपः संस्कारविशेषः कश्चित्, यो विना काव्यं न प्रसरेत् प्रसृतं वा उपहर्षनीयं स्यात् । (*Vṛtti* on i. 3 quoted below).

38 शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशान्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणान् ।
काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्याम इति हेतुस्तद्गुञ्जे ॥ (*Kāvyaprakāśa*, i. 3).

39 तस्य च कारणं कविगता केवला प्रतिभा । (*Rasagāṅgādhara*, p. 8); cp. also परकायशिक्षानपेक्षनिजप्रतिभागुणानिप्यन्दभूतः काव्यार्थः । (*Db. A.*, p. 241).

40 अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः ।
यस्त्वशक्तिकृतो दोषः स भट्टित्ववभासते ॥ (*Db. A.*, p. 137).

41 बुद्धिमत्त्वं च काव्याङ्गविद्यास्यभ्यासकर्म च ।
कवेष्वोपनिपन्त्यक्तिस्रयमेकत्र दुर्लभम् । (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 13).

poetry becomes unequal and on the whole unsatisfactory, even though it may be excellent in parts. Rājasekhara with his usual love of compromise hits the mark when he says: प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्तो मिथः श्रेयस्यौ ।

We must however bear in mind that it is one thing to admit the desirability of Vyutpatti in the poet and quite another to hold that without it and other accessories like Abhyāsa poetry cannot arise at all. For, Pratibhā is ever the only *direct* source of Poetry. A poet who lacks it lacks everything: ⁴² तस्मिंस्त्वसति न किञ्चिदेव कवेर्वैस्त्वात्त remarks Ānandavardhana (*Db. Ā.*, p. 240). Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa contribute but indirectly to the creation of Poetry by regulating and refining the working of the poet's pratibhā. Hemacandra has made the best pronouncement on this question and we can quote it here with full approval: प्रतिभास्य हेतुः ।...व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासाभ्यां संस्कार्या ।...अत एव न तौ काव्यस्य साक्षात्कारणं, प्रतिभोपकारिणौ तु भवतः । दृश्येते हि प्रतिभाहीनस्य विफलौ व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ ।...[व्युत्पत्ति-] संस्कृतप्रतिभा हि तदनतिक्रमेण काव्यमुपनिबध्नाति ।...अभ्याससंस्कृता हि प्रतिभा काव्यामृतकामधेनुर्भवति । (*Kāvyañānuśāsana*, pp. 7-9.)

How does a person become endowed with this all-important Pratibhā? Its springs are hidden in mystery; most writers refer its origin to the ante-natal saṃskāra of the poet.⁴³ But Jagannātha

42 That there were other views, however, is indicated by Rājasekhara's reference to Maṅgala's opinion: कवेः संत्रियतेऽशक्तिव्युत्पत्त्या काव्यवर्त्मनि (*Kāvyañimāmsā* p. 16. This is quoted in contrast to Ānandavardhana's अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः). Daṇḍin while admitting the necessity of innate (naisargikā) pratibhā for the birth of poetry, also held out hopes to those that did not possess it; he was sure that learning (śruta) and effort (yatna) would find some favour at the hands of Sarasvatī (*Kāvyañdarśa*, i. 104). Kṣemendra in his *Kavikāṅkṣābhāṣya* has elaborated the method of training a person to become a poet. Probably, all this was quite necessary for an age in which a person was deemed wanting in accomplishment if he had not mastered Kāvyañkalā too, and could not turn out neat verses on proper occasions. But warnings against bad poetry were also not wanting:

नाकवित्वमधर्माय व्याधये दण्डनाय वा ।

कुक्कवित्वं पुनः साक्षान्मृत्तिमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

(*Bhāmaha: Kāvyañlamkāra*, i. 12).

43 Cp. पूर्ववासनागुणानुबन्धि प्रतिभानमद्भुतम् (*Kāvyañdarśa*, i. 104): जन्मान्तरा-

traces it to at least two different sources : it may be due either to some supernatural (*adr̥ṣṭa*) cause such as the favour of a deity or holy men or to an exceptional development of culture (*vyutpatti*) and practice (*abhyāsa*)—the latter cause being evidenced by the sudden outburst of poetry in persons in an advanced stage of life who were till then innocent of it.⁴⁴

At this point we may invoke the help of modern psychology to throw some light on this problem. It observes that every one can exercise his Imagination if he can but control the secret of it. "The imaginative individual differs from the unimaginative in the freedom with which he uses the material at his disposal. The richer and more vivid that material and the more subtle his sense of relationship, the greater the possibilities for creative synthesis."⁴⁵ It is said that the ordinary man suppresses most of his impressions and impulses "because he is incapable of managing them without confusion." He never gives them a chance to rise above the threshold of consciousness. Hence his vision becomes conventional and matter-of-fact. But in a poet most of these inhibitions are relaxed; hence his impressions freely flow into his consciousness. This accounts for the wealth of imagery that the poet has at his command. Again, much of the poet's constructive work takes place in his sub-conscious mind. This fact explains the shock of surprise the poet himself feels when a splendid thought or image flashes across his mind. His poem seems to compose itself for him. If one is averse to give credence to ante-natal *saṁskāras* and supernatural

गतसंस्कारविशेषः कश्चित् (Vāmana, *K. A. Sūtra*, Vṛtti on I. iii. 16); अनादिप्राक्कन-
संस्कारप्रतिभानमयः... (Abhinavabhāratī on *Nāṭyaśāstra*, vol. i, p. 346); etc.

44 तस्याश्च हेतुः क्वचिद्देवतामहापुरुषप्रसादादिजन्यमदृष्टम् । क्वचिच्च विलक्षणव्युत्पत्ति-
काव्यकरणाभ्यासौ । न तु लयमेव ।...नापि केवलमदृष्टमेव कारणमित्यपि शक्यं वदितुम् ।
क्रियन्तंचित् कालं काव्यं कर्तुंमशक्नुवतः कथमपि संजातयोर्व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासयोः प्रतिभायाः
प्रादुर्भावेस्य दर्शनात् ।... (*Rasagāṅgādhara*, p. 8).

45 Downey: *Creative Imagination*, p. 164.

blessings, this is the only explanation that one could accept of the creative mystery. It can also help one to understand the exceptional cases of poetic outburst mentioned by Jagannāthapāṇḍita—how at the end of a long period of silence a person suddenly finds his tongue and begins to sing. Probably a great intellectual or emotional crisis has loosened many of his inhibitions, and all the wealth of experience which had been till then locked up comes back to his consciousness in fresh associations to be moulded into Poetry.

It is very interesting here to turn to what Hemacandra, following Jaina philosophy, has to say on the coming into play of Pratibhā. He divides Pratibhā into two classes: innate (*sabajā*) and conditioned (*aupādhibikī*), the latter being caused by incantations, divine blessing, etc. But both kinds spring into activity in much the same way. The soul is luminous by nature like the sun. But certain *karmas* (called *jñānāvaranīya-karmas*) veil it like a cloud and prevent it from shining. When they are removed (*kṣaya*) or suppressed (*upaśama*) Pratibhā bursts forth in splendour. (If this process takes place of its own accord we have 'innate' Pratibhā, but if supernatural aids are necessary to remove the veil we have the 'conditioned' variety.)⁴⁶ The correspondence between Hemacandra's view and that of modern psychology becomes striking once we equate the *āvaraṇa* of Hemacandra with the 'inhibitions' of the latter school in this particular respect.

So far, we have deliberately refrained from dwelling on the most important condition of the Poet's imaginative activity—the lever which sets it in motion. In the creative period of Indian aesthetics

46 सावरणक्षयोपशममात्रात् महजा । मवितुरिव प्रकाशम्भावस्यात्मनोऽध्रपटलमिव
ज्ञानावरणीयाद्याचरणम् । तस्य उदितस्य क्षयेऽनुदितस्योपशमे च यः प्रकाशाविर्भावः सा महजा
प्रतिभा । मात्रग्रहणं मन्त्रादिकारणनिषेधार्थम् ।...॥ मन्त्रादेरौपाधिकी । मन्वदेवतानुग्र
हादिप्रभवा औपाधिकी प्रतिभा । इयमप्यावरणक्षयोपशमनिमित्तैव । देवोपाधिनिबन्धनत्वात् तु
औपाधिकीत्युच्यते । (*Kāvya-mūlāsana*, pp. 5-6.)

the critics of the Dhvani theory were one with its champions in acclaiming *Rasa* the soul of Poetry. It is *rasānubhava* from which poetry springs and it is *rasaparakāśa* at which it aims. No wonder then that *rasa* controls the working of the Poet's Imagination too. Now we understand the significance of the expressions, *rasāveśa-vaiśadya*—and *rasānugunāśabdārthacintā*—in the definitions of *Pratibhā* given by *Abhinavagupta* and *Mahima Bharṭa* respectively. For the very awakening of the Poet's Imagination there must be an initial emotional thrill in his heart. The faggots must be lit before the flame can shoot up. Again, the Imagination of a poet who is genuinely under the influence of *rasa* can conceive only such fancies and images and order them only in such ways as are most in harmony with his predominant emotional mood. If through carelessness his fancy breaks loose and produces conceptions which bring a break in the *rasapratīti*, he has to cancel them ruthlessly for the sake of achieving harmony. A poet has to be doubly watchful in the matter of *alaṅkāras* for *alaṅkāras* more than anything else are the specific creatures of the Imagination.⁴⁷ An *alaṅkāra* has a place in poetry when it can be conceived by the poet as he is borne along the current of *rasa* and does not put forth any extraneous effort for its development. An *alaṅkāra* (ornament) justifies its name only when it is developed with care and in place. In the words of the *Dhvanyāloka*, ii. 17-18.

रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।

अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलंकारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥

ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे सर्माद्य विनिवेशितः ।

रूपकादिरलंकारवर्ग एति यथार्थताम् ॥

Ānandavardhana again and again stresses this point. A poet's fancy may have the power to mint a hundred images; but he must

47 That a specific activity of the Imagination is at the basis of every *alaṅkāra* is fully recognised by our *ālaṅkārikas* from *Kuntaka* onwards. (See *S. K. De: Vakroktijivita*, Introduction, Sec. 7, where the matter is fully discussed.) As we have noted already, the fight over *Svabhāvokti* too ultimately revolves round this point.

use only those that are in harmony with the *rasa* (cp. अलंकृतीनां शक्ता-
व्यानुह्येषां योजनम्, *Db. Ā.*, iii. 14). Alas, then, as now, there were
not wanting poets who snapped their fingers at *rasa* and indulged
their fancy to the utmost in heaping *alaṅkāra* on *alaṅkāra*.

What has been said just now must not of course be taken to
mean that Ānandavardhana is averse to the full play of the Imagina-
tion. All that he wants to stress is that *rasa* should be its guiding
star. Once this is admitted, he yields to none in appreciating the
supreme importance of Imagination in poetry. As we have already
noted he goes so far as to declare: तस्मिंस्त्वसति न किञ्चिदेव कवेर्वेस्त्वस्ति
Nor is he prone to judge the propriety of an *alaṅkāra* by a cast-iron
rule. He knows that there tumbles into the imagination of an in-
spired poet conception after conception, each of which leaves the
reader gaping with wonder. The poet does not go seeking after
them; they crowd at his door eager to get a nod from him.⁴⁸ In
fact, it is on the super-normal excellence of a poet's *Pratibhā*, as re-
vealed in his poetry, that his greatness depends:

सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निष्यन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम् ।

अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यञ्जि प्रतिस्फुरन्तं प्रतिभाविशेषम् ॥ (*Db. Ā.*, i. 6.)

As Ānandavardhana has pointed out in his comment on this
kārikā, the world has indeed seen numberless poets of the most varied
types; but it is some five or six like Kālidāsa that have been accorded
the epithet 'mahākavi'.⁴⁹ It is the exceptional quality of their
Imagination that has won for them this rank.

At the outset of the present enquiry we observed the bias of
Indian Poetics towards the reader's point of view. Nowhere else
has the reader of poetry received such an exalted position. He is

48 Cp. अलंकारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटनान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः
कवेरहंपूर्विकया परापतन्ति ।" (*Db. Ā.*, pp. 86-87).

49 Cp. येनास्मिन्नतिविचित्रकविपरंपरावाहिनि संसारे कालिदासप्रभृतयो द्वित्राः पञ्चपा वा
महाकवय इति गणयन्ते ।

the *sahrdaya*—one with a kindred heart—in whom the outpouring of the poet's heart finds its goal and fulfilment. The poet and he are the two aspects of a single entity—the *Sārasvatatattva*.⁵⁰ Hence the reader too needs Imagination to understand poetry and re-live it. Rājaśekhara calls it *bhāvayitrī pratibhā* (Responsive Imagination) distinguishing it from the *karayitrī pratibhā* (Creative Imagination) of the poet. It is this which enables the reader to respond to and realise the poet's effort and conception.⁵¹ There are critics who hold that the same person cannot be both a poet and a critic because he either lacks the power to compose poetry or cannot enjoy the poetry of another through jealousy or complete self-regard.⁵² It is also said that a poet cannot appreciate properly his own poetry either, but has to leave it to the enjoyment of the *rasika*,⁵³ probably because he cannot rise above his personal concern in the poem and regard it objectively. But these views cannot stand much examination since they militate against the very conception of *sahrdayatva*. Poetry fails in its purpose if the same experience does not animate both the poet and the reader. It may be the misfortune of some poets not to be able to enjoy properly the work of another poet or even their own. But this is due to extra-poetic causes and does not concern us at present. What we are anxious to point out is the similarity that exists between the reader's appreciative activity and the poet's own creative activity. There is no doubt some difference between the reader and the poet, since the former's Imagination is less active and

50 Cp. ...सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाह्वयं विजयते । Maṅgala-Sloka of *Db. Ā., Locana*).

51 Cp. भावकस्योपकुर्वाणा भावयित्री । सा हि कवेः श्रममभिप्रायं च भावयति । तथा खलु फलितः कवेर्व्यापारतरुः । (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 13).

52 Cp. कश्चिद्वाचं रचयितुमलं श्रोतुमेवापरस्तं
कल्याणी ते मतिरुभयथा विस्मयं न स्तनोति ।... (*ibid.* p. 14).

...यः सम्यग्विवनक्ति दोषगुणयोः सारं स्वयं सत्कविः

सोऽस्मिन् भावक एव नास्त्यथ भवेद्वाच निर्मत्सरः ॥ (*ibid.*)

53 Cp. the saying: कवितारसमाधुर्यं रसिको वेत्ति नो कविः ।

less original than latter's. While the poet's Imagination has to seek, select and build and so create poetry, the reader's has simply to re-experience what is given to it. But the latter is none the less a creative act. Unless the reader, by imaginative response, feels the very glow that thrilled the poet's heart, he cannot hope to re-live the experience that the poet once lived through and expressed in words. The appreciation of Poetry is not a cold intellectual apprehension. The reader has to feel the original inspiration in every fibre of his being. As Abhinavagupta puts it: प्रतिपत्तुन् प्रति सा [=कवेः] प्रतिभा न अनुमीयमाना, अपि तु तदावेशेन भासमाना इत्यर्थः । यदुक्तमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्ट-तैत्तिन—'नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्ततः' इति । (Db. *Ā. Locana*, p. 29).

Again, we must not forget the essentially suggestive nature of Art. A poet can never hope to make explicit (*vācya*) through words his glimpse of beauty. He can, at best, point in its direction; and the reader has to use his own eyes to visualize it. The enjoyment of Poetry is no listless passivity. The reader has to meet the author at least half way. Abhinavagupta utters but the bare truth in remarking that the very life of Dhvani lies in the co-operation of the reader's Imagination with the poet's: वक्तुं प्रतिपत्तुं प्रतिभासहकारित्वं हि अस्माभिद्योतनस्य प्राणत्वेनोक्तम् । (Db. *Ā. Locana*, p. 19).

We can draw to a close now. There can be no apter conclusion to this enquiry than a quotation from the *Vakroktijivita* (p. 129) indicating almost all the aspects of the subject—*sūksmārtbadarśana*, *apūrvārthanirmāna* and *kavisahrdaya-pratibāsahakāra*:

लीनं वस्तुनि येन सूक्ष्मसुभगं तत्त्वं गिरा कृष्यते
निर्मातुं प्रभवेन्मनोहरमिदं वाचैव यो वा बहिः ।
वन्दे द्वावपि तावहं कविर्वरौ वन्देतरौ तं पुन-
र्यौ विज्ञातपरिश्रमोऽयमनयोर्भ्रातारवतारक्ष्मः ॥

The Eastern Cālukyas*

VIII

The Teki plates¹ of Rājarāja-Coḍagaṅga, son of Rājendra-Cola II (Kulottuṅga I), reports, on the other hand, that his father became the ruler of Veṅgi before he ascended the Cola throne. 'He being desirous of conquering the world, formerly conferred the kingdom of the country of Veṅgi on his paternal uncle Vijayāditya.' "And ruling the earth for only fifteen years, this godlike prince of the earth (i.e. Vijayāditya), who resembled the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (now) gone to heaven." This statement has been repeated in the Pithapuram inscription² and the Chellur inscription³ of Vira-Coḍa, son of Rājendra-Cola II. But the inscription of Śaktivarman II, as has already been noticed, discloses the fact that Vijayāditya usurped the throne of Veṅgi. The expression 'godlike', attributed to Vijayāditya VII in the inscriptions of the sons of Rājendra-Cola II, does not necessarily indicate that Rājendra-Cola II was in friendly terms with his uncle. Śaktivarman II, in his inscription,⁴ praises Rājarāja I as the foremost of the Candra-vaṃśa though his father was an enemy of the latter. Bilhana⁵ states that Rājiga, king of Veṅgi, overthrew Adhirājendra (1070 A.D.). But it will be seen below that Rājendra-Cola II, after his accession to the Cola throne, made some attempts to capture the throne of Veṅgi from his uncle Vijayāditya. It seems that the object of the Teki and other plates, which purport to say that Vijayāditya was a viceroy under Rājendra-Cola II in Veṅgi, is to show the continuity of the line of

* Continued from vol. XII, p. 52.

1 *Et.*, vol. VI, pp. 338, 344.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 78, Vs. 13, 14.

3 *SII.*, vol. I, pp. 59, 60.

4 *JARS.*, vol. V, p. 44.

5 *Vikramāṅka-carita*, ch. VI, v. 26.

succession on the throne of Veṅgi from Rājarāja I to Rājendra-Cola II.

Vijayāditya VII (A.D. 1061-1076), *Cālukya-Bhīma*, *Viṣṇu-wardhana*, *Karavāla-Bhairava*, *Kali-Yudhiṣṭhira*, and *Sarvalokāśraya*.

Vijayāditya assumed the titles of Karavāla-Bhairava, Kali-Yudhiṣṭhira, and Sarvalokāśraya. He bore the names of Cālukya-Bhīma, and Viṣṇuwardhana.⁶ Six inscriptions of his reign have been brought to light. Three of them have been found in the Bhīmeśvara temple, at Drakṣārāma, in the Rāmacandrapuram Taluk of the Godavari District. The inscriptions mention the name of the ruling sovereign as Viṣṇuwardhana-Mahārāja. The dates of the inscriptions and the regnal years, referred to there, indicate that the king was none other than Vijayāditya VII, who was also known as Viṣṇuwardhana.

(a) *Drakṣārāma inscription*, No. I.⁷

The inscription records the gift of a lamp by a Brāhmaṇa Suppa-Nāyaka in the third year of the reign of Viṣṇuwardhana-Mahārāja, in Ś. 986 = A.D. 1064.

(b) *Drakṣārāma inscription*, No. II.⁸

The inscription states that a merchant of Viśākhavaṭṭana (Vizagapatam) made a gift of lamp in the eighth year of the reign of Viṣṇuwardhana-Mahārāja, in Ś. 990-1068 A.D.

(c) *Drakṣārāma inscription*, No. III.⁹

The inscription registers that the queen of Kīrtirāja of the Haihaya family made a gift of lamp in the thirteenth year of the reign of Viṣṇuwardhana-Mahārāja, in Ś. 995 = 1073 A.D.

These three inscriptions indicate that the regnal years of Vijayāditya were counted from the date of his accession to the throne of

6 *IARS.*, vol. II, p. 289; *SE.*, 1925, p. 77.

7 *IMP.*, (*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, by V. Rangacharya), vol. II, p. 724, Gd., No. 93.

8 *Ibid.*, no. 92.

9 *ibid.*, no. 91.

Veṅgi after the close of the reign of Rājarāja I i.e., from A.D. 1061.

(d) *Ryali plate*, No. I¹⁰

This plate and the one to be discussed below were discovered in the village of Ryali, in the Godavari District. It records that the Sarvalokāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja-Śri-Vira-Vijayāditya, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted the village of Māviṇḍeru, in the Guddavāṭi-Viṣaya, to a Brāhmaṇa named Pampana Bhaṭṭopādhyāya. The inscription was composed by the poet Muttaya-Bhaṭṭa.

(e) *Ryali plate*, No. II.¹¹

The inscription was issued in the twelfth year of Vijayāditya's reign. It registers the grant of the village of Kruṇḍuru, in the Guddavāṭi-Viṣaya, to a Brāhmaṇa Pampanārya, a resident of Pāsudvva.

An inscription¹² states that Sarvalokāśraya-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja-Śri-Vijayāditya erected a *maṇḍapa* called Karavāla-Bhairava-Maṇḍapa.

In the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Veṅgi became the target of attacks of many kings, and Vijayāditya had to suffer many vicissitudes. He was, for a short period, deprived of his throne by the combined forces of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI and the Paramāra Jayasiṃha. He recovered his throne with the help of the Cola Virarājendra (A.D. 1063-1070). The Karuvur inscription,^{12a} issued in the fourth year of Virarājendra's reign, reports that the king "attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (i.e. Vikkalan-Vikramāditya VI) had again despatched into Veṅgai-nāḍu, cut off the head of the corpse of the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Cāmuṇḍarāja; and severed the nose from the face of his (Cāmuṇḍarāja's) only daughter called (Nā) galai; (*who was*) the queen of Irugayan (*and*) who resembled a peacock in beauty."

¹⁰ *SE.*, 1925, p. 9; App. A, no. 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 92.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; no. 9.

^{12a} *SH.*, vol. III, p. 37.

The Manimangalam inscription¹³ of Virarājendra, issued in the fifth year of his reign, narrates that the king having moved his camp, declared "(we) shall not return without regaining the good country of Veṅgai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able!" That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśavāḍai (and) which had for its chief Jananāthan, the Daṇḍanāyaka Rājanāyan, whose mast elephant trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan." It is further stated that¹⁴ Virarājendra "reconquered the good country of Veṅgai and bestowed (it) on Vijayādityan, whose broad hand (held) weapons of war, (and) who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet."

It is known from the Karuvur inscription,¹⁵ referred to above, that Virarājendra, on a previous occasion, decapitated the younger brother of Jananātha of Dhārā.¹⁶ I have elsewhere identified Jananātha of Dhārā with the Paramāra Jayasiṃha, who was an ally of Vikramāditya (VI).¹⁷ Pandit Nilkantha Sastri thinks that 'Dhārā Jananātha' is identical with Dhārāvarṣa, a Nāga king of Bastar.¹⁸ The attention of the learned Pandit is drawn to the fact that 'Jananātha' is referred to, in another inscription of Virarājendra,¹⁹ as an adversary of the king. Hence Jananātha is a proper name, and does not mean here a king.

Vijayāditya had not to encounter any more difficulty so long as Virarājendra was on the throne of the Colas. Virarājendra, in the latter part of his reign, contracted an alliance with Vikramāditya (VI), and gave his daughter in marriage to the latter.²⁰ After the death of Virarājendra, in the early part of 1070 A.D., a dispute for

13 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 69.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 37, line 9.

16 *Dhārā Jananātha tambī.*

17 *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 126.

18 *Colas*, vol. I, p. 325.

19 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 69.

20 *Vikramānka-carita*, ch. V, v. 28 to ch. VII, v. 3.

succession to the Cola throne arose between his son Adhirājendra and Rājendra-Cola II, son of Rājarāja I of Veṅgi.

Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi²¹ narrates that the wife of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cola (Rājendra-Cola I) was very much affectionate to her daughter's son Rājendra-Cola II. She "was that in all his limbs he resembled his parents, and said that he was worthy to be her (*adopted*) son, and to increase the fame of the Solar race. While still *yuvārāja*, he conquered Cakkarakoddam, and was a terror to Virutarāja."

Cakkarakoddam is Cakrakoṭa, in the Bastar State. Virutarāja is Vikramāditya (VI). An inscription²² of the fifth year of Rājendra-Cola's reign states that "in the time (*when he was still*) heir-apparent (*ilango*), he conquered Śakkarakoṭṭam, and seized a herd of elephants at Vayirāgaram" (i.e. Wairagarh, in the Chanda District, Central Provinces). During this period Rājendra-Cola II also fought with Vikramāditya (VI) and his father Someśvara I (A.D. 1044-1068). The Tirukkalukkunram inscription of the fifteenth year of Kulotunga-Cola's reign states that he "seized simultaneously the two countries (*pāni*) called Gaṅga-Maṇḍalam and Siṅganam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (*by the enemy*), crowds of women, (*the angles of*) whose beautiful eyes were as pointed as daggers, the goddess of fame, who gladly brought disgrace (*on Vikkalan*), and the great goddess of victory, who changed to the opposite (*side*) and caused (*Vikkalan*) himself and (*his*) father, who were desirous of the rule over the Western region, to turn their backs again and again on many days." (*SII.*, vol. III, p. 147, l. 16).

Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi²³ further reports that when Rājendra-Cola II was thus carrying on conquest in the north, and when the king of

21 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 329; Hultzsch thinks that Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi must have been composed later than A.D. 1095-1096. *SII.*, vol. III, p. 178.

22 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 142. The political status of Rājendra-Cola II before his accession to the Cola throne was anomalous.

23 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 332.

kings died, there was anarchy in the Cola country—"one trying to govern another, the temple of gods were neglected; women lost their chastity; and fortresses were destroyed.—While the land was thus shrouded in the darkness of evil, he (Abhaya i.e. Rājendra-Cola II) came to save the world, like the sun which rises above the roaring sea, driving away darkness." The Tirukkalukkuram inscription (*SH.*, vol. III, p. 146, l. 4) of the 15th year of Kulottuṅga supports the above assertion.

Bilhana's *Vikramāṅka-carita*²⁴ throws more light on the subject. It states that Vikramāditya, after his marriage with the Cola princess, received the news that the king of Drāviḍa (i.e. Virarājendra) went to heaven, and there was revolution (*viplava*) in the Drāviḍa country. He forthwith advanced towards the south, brought the rebels under control in the city of Kāñci, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies in the city of Gaṅgakunḍam. He then established the son of the Cola king (i.e. Adhirājendra) on the throne. But shortly after his return on the Tuṅgabhadrā he received tidings that the son of the Cola (*Cola sunoh*) was killed by Rājiga (i.e. Rājendra-Cola II), king of Veṅgi, who occupied the Cola throne.²⁵ Vikramāditya at once marched against Rājiga, who by that time, persuaded Someśvara II, king of Kaḷyāṇa, to join him for crushing the power of his younger brother Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya, when he confronted the army of Rājiga, discovered to his surprise that his elder brother encamped with his army on the rear. He bravely fought against both. Someśvara II was taken prisoner, and Rājiga fled. Vikramāditya, before he entered Kaḷyāṇa, had to fight once more with the Colas.²⁶

The war between Vikramāditya and Rājendra-Cola II, on this occasion, continued from about A.D. 1070 (date of the accession of

24 *Vikramāṅka-carita*, ch. VI, vs. 6-25.

25 *Vikramāṅka-carita*, ch. VI, v. 26.

26 *Ibid.*, vs. 27-90; ch. VII, v. 2.

Rājendra-Cola II on the Cola throne) to A.D. 1076 (close of the reign of Someśvara II).²⁷

Kulottuṅga-Cola I,—A.D. 1070-1118,—*Rājiga, Abbaya, Jayadhara, Karikāla, Parāntaka, Saptama-Viṣṇuvaradhana.*

About a hundred inscriptions of Rājendra-Kulottuṅga-Cola's reign have been discovered.²⁸ The objects for which they have been issued have not been discussed here as they will not serve any useful purpose. Some of these inscriptions definitely fix the date of the king's accession to the Cola throne in A.D. 1070.²⁹ According to Kielhorn the accession took place between 14th March and 8th October of that year.³⁰ The inscriptions, issued before the 5th year of the king's reign, mention him as Rājendra-Cola, and all others refer to him as Kulottuṅga.³¹ Pandit Nilkantha Sastri points out that some inscriptions of the 2nd and 4th year of the king's reign bear the name Kulottuṅga.³² But the inscriptions,³³ referred to, as has been suggested by the Government Epigraphist, may be assigned to Kulottuṅga-Cola II.³⁴ Rājendra-Cola II is mentioned in the Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi as Kulottuṅga-Cola; Karikāla-Cola, Abbaya, Jayadhara, and Virudarājabhayānkara. He is referred to in his inscriptions as Jayadhara, Parāntaka, and Saptama-Viṣṇuvaradhana.³⁵ The Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi mentions the name of the king's father as Paṇḍita-Cola,³⁶ which was the second name of Rājendra-Cola I.³⁷

Gaṅgāpuri or Gaṅgākūṇḍapura, which is identical with Gaṅgaikōṇḍacolapuram, was his capital. The city was founded by Rājendra-Cola I, and since then it had been serving as the capital of

27 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 444-445.

28 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 126.

29 *El.*, vol. IV, p. 70, etc.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

31 *SII.*, vol. III, nos. 64-67, 77, p. 140.

32 *Colas.*, vol. I, p. 356.

33 *SE.*, 156 of 1923; 101 of 1928; 468 of 1923.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 329; *El.*, vol. V, p. 105 ff.

36 Ch. III, v. 62; *El.*, vol. VI, p. 220.

37 *SII.*, vol. II, nos. 12, 13.

the Colas.³⁸ Kāñci seems to have been the second capital of Kulottuṅga. The inscriptions³⁹ of the 2nd year of his reign indicate that he held sway over South Arcot, Tanjore, and Chingliput Districts, and over Kolar in Mysore.

Kulottuṅga, after his accession to the throne, was bent on conquering his paternal kingdom of Andhra from his uncle Vijayāditya VII. Vijayāditya became helpless after the death of Virarājendra. Weakness of the sovereignty of Veṅgi roused again the ambitious spirit of the neighbouring kings. The Kalacuri Yaśahkarna, who ascended the throne of Tripuri shortly before 1073 A.D., defeated Vijayāditya, and overran the Andhra country. The Khairha plate⁴⁰ of Yaśahkarna, dated in 1073 A.D., states that "extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he revered with many ornaments the holy Bhimeśvara, passing close to whom the Godāvāri, with dancing waves as her eye brows, sings (his praises) with the seven notes of her (seven) streams sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo." Andhra was not, however, annexed to the Kalacuri kingdom. Yaśahkarna's invasion of Andhra was followed by that of Kulottuṅga. Kulottuṅga captured Veṅgi, and drove Vijayāditya from the Andhra country. Vijayāditya, in his distress, sought shelter under the Gaṅga Rājarāja (A.D. 1070-1078). Rājarāja helped Vijayāditya in regaining some eastern districts of the Andhra country. The Vizagapatam copper plate⁴¹ of Anantavarma-Codagaṅga, dated in Ś 10.10 = A.D. 1118, reports that "when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Veṅgi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Coḍas, he, Rājarāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region" (i.e. region to the west of the Gaṅga kingdom).

38 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 131.

40 *El.*, vol. XII, p. 216, v. 23.

39 *SE.*, 358 of 1917; 425 of 1912.

41 *IA.*, vol. XVIII, p. 171.

The Dirghasi inscription⁴² of Vanapati, dated in Ś 997 = 1075 A.D., reports that Vanapati, a Mahāpratihāra under Rājarāja of the Gaṅga dynasty, defeated in battle the army of the Coḍa king, the commanders of the troops of elephants of the Utkala, and often defeated the king of Veṅgi.

Vijayāditya ruled Veṅgi for fifteen years,⁴³ and lost his throne in A.D. 1076. Nothing further is known about him. An inscription,⁴⁴ dated in Ś 998 = A.D. 1076, issued in the 7th year of Kulottuṅga's reign, was discovered in the Guntur District.

Hostile operations of the Gaṅgas forced Kulottuṅga to send his general Karuṅākara against them. About this time the supremacy of the Gaṅgas extended up to the Gaṅjam District.⁴⁵ The main theme of Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi is to narrate the battle between the king of North Kaliṅga and Karuṅākara. It reports that⁴⁶ the kings of the countries viz., Pāṇdyas, Ceras, Cāpakas, Cedipas, Yādavas, Karnāṭas, Pallavas, Kaitavas, Kādavas, Kāripas, Kośalas, Gaṅgas, Karātas, Kavintas, Tumintas, Kādambas, Tulumbas, Vaṅgas, Lāṭas, Marādas, Virātas, Mayintas, Cāyintas, Siṅgalas, Baṅgālas, Cckunas, Cevanas, Ccyyavas, Aiyanas, Koṅkanas, Koṅgas, Kuluṅkas, Cauntiyas, Kuccharas, Kacciyas, Mattavas, Mattiras (?), Malavas, Magadhas, Matsyas, Mlecchas, Guptas, Turukkas, Kurukkas, Viyattas, and Kadakar paid Kulottuṅga their tributes. The king of North Kaliṅga refused to owe him any allegiance. Kulottuṅga, therefore, sent his prime-minister Karuṅākara of the Cola race, who was the chief of Vandainagara, and the king of the Pallavas (?), to bring all the Seven-Kaliṅgas under his sway. Karuṅākara in his way to Kaliṅga had to cross the rivers Palar, Kusaitalai, Ponnukari, Kolli, Pennai (?), Vayatar (?), Manipulvāi, Maṅṅāru, Kanri (?). He left

42 *EL.*, vol. IV, p. 314.

44 *EL.*, vol. VI, p. 278.

46 *IA.*, vol. XIX, pp. 333 ff

43 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 60.

45 *EL.*, vol. IV, p. 187.

behind him the great rivers, Kṛṣṇā, Godāvāri, Pampā, and the Gotamai. In the battle that followed Karuṇākara defeated the king of Kaliṅga, and planted a pillar of victory in that country.

Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi's report about the war between Kulottuṅga and the king of Kaliṅga is corroborated by some epigraphic evidences. An inscription⁴⁷ of the second year of the reign (A.D. 1077-78) of Rājarāja, son of Kulottuṅga, reports that Rājarāja led successful expedition against the king of Kaliṅga. The Tiruvidaimarudur inscription⁴⁸ of the twenty-sixth year of Kulottuṅga's reign records king's conquest of the Kaliṅga-Maṇḍalam. The Teki plate⁴⁹ of Rājarāja-Coḍagaṅga, (A.D. 1084-88) son of Kulottuṅga, states that Rājarāja ruled the country, which extended from the Mahendra mountain to the Manneru river. It follows from this that some part of the territories of the Gaṅgas including their capital Kaliṅga-nagara, modern Mukhaliṅgam, in the Parlakimedi Zamindari, in the Ganjam District, was annexed to the empire of Kulottuṅga for sometime.

Needless to mention that the statement of the Kulottuṅga-Paraṇi that Kulottuṅga received tributes from a large number of countries is an exaggeration.

Kulottuṅga carried on military operations in other directions also. An inscription of the fifth year of his reign⁵⁰ reports that he decapitated a Pāṇḍya king. An inscription of the 14th and 15th year⁵¹ of the king's reign states that he conquered Pāṇḍi-Maṇḍalam. "seized the pearl fisheries, the Podiyal (mountain) where the three kinds of Tamil (*flourished*), [the (*very*) centre of the (*mountain*) Saiyam] where furious rutting elephants were captured, and Kanni, and fixed the boundaries of the southern (i.e., Pāṇḍya) country". "while all the heroes in the Western hill-country (Kuḍamalai-

47 *SE.*, 1922, p. 98.

48 *SIL.*, vol. III, p. 158.

50 *SIL.*, vol. III, p. 140.

49 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 346.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

Nāḍu) ascended voluntarily to heaven, (*he*) was pleased to bestow on the chiefs of his army, who were mounted on horses, settlements) on every road, including (*that which passed*) Koṭṭāru, in order that the enemies might be scattered, and took his seat on the throne acquired in warfare." Koṭṭāru is now in the Travancore State, about ten miles north of cape Comorin, and near British Post office Nagercoil.⁵² According to Dr. Hultzsch⁵³ the above informations imply that Kulottuṅga subdued the south-eastern portion of the Peninsula as far as the Gulf of Manner, the Podiyil mountain (in the Tinnevely District), Cape Comorin, Koṭṭāru, the Sahya (Western Ghats), and Kuḍamalai-Nāḍu (Malabar)."

The Chellur plate⁵⁴ of Viracōḍa and Vikrama-Colan-Ulā⁵⁵ record Kulottuṅga's victory over the Pāṇdyas and the Ceras. The latter authority further reports that the king twice quelled the rebellion at Śalai. An inscription⁵⁶ from Chidambaram states that Kulottuṅga placed a pillar of victory on the Sahyādri, and his fame was sung by the women of Pāraśi (Persia).

The *Mahāvamsa*⁵⁷ narrates that, Vijayabāhu, king of Ceylon, in the 30th year (A.D. 1083-84) of his reign, received embassies from both Kulottuṅga and Vikramāditya VI. He also despatched an embassy to the court of the Cola king. But Kulottuṅga chopped off the nose of the embassy. On their return to Ceylon Vijayabāhu declared war against the Colas. But he could not carry on operations against them due to the sudden outbreak of rebellion in his own kingdom. He again in the forty-fifth year of his reign (1098 A.D.), sent a naval expedition against Kulottuṅga. An attempt was made to effect a compromise between the two kings, but it failed. The Ceylonese general returned to Ceylon without fighting any battle.

52 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 144.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

54 *Ibid.*, vol. I, no. 39, v. 10; cf. *EL.*, vol. IV, p. 72; vol. V, p. 104

55 *IA.*, vol. XXII, p. 142.

56 *EL.*, vol. V, p. 104.

57 Ch. LX.

Andhra, as has been noticed above, was annexed to the kingdom of Kulottuṅga. Kulottuṅga had to spend much of his energy for the defence of that province against the repeated incursions of the Cālukyas of the Deccan. He sent his sons one after the other as Viceroys there in order to meet the critical situation.

Kulottuṅga had three queens, Dinacintāmaṇi, Eḷisai-Vāllabhī, and Tyāgavallī.⁵⁸ The Chellur plate⁵⁹ of Vīra Coḍa reports that Madhurāntakī, daughter of the Cola Rājendradeva, was a queen of Kulottuṅga. Hultzsch thinks⁶⁰ that Madhurāntakī is perhaps identical with Dinacintāmaṇi. Madhurāntakī gave birth to a number of sons, who are compared, in the Chellur plate, with (seven) streams of the Ganges, (seven) suns, and the (seven) mountains. Fleet supports⁶¹ the view of Hultzsch that these sons were seven in number. The Teki plates⁶² state that Kulottuṅga had several queens, who bore to him a number of sons. We know the names of only four sons of Kulottuṅga, viz., Rājarāja *alias* Coḍagaṅga, Rājarāja *alias* Mummadi-Coḍa, Vira-Coḍa, and Vikrama-Coḍa. It is known from the Teki plates⁶³ that Rājarāja-Coḍagaṅga was the eldest. The same record and the Chellur and Pithapuram plates⁶⁴ report that Vira-Coḍa's elder brother was Rājarāja-Mummadi-Coḍa.

Kulottuṅga appointed his son Rājarāja-Mummadi-Coḍa as the Viceroy of Veṅgi under him.⁶⁵ An inscription⁶⁶ of the Sarvalokāśraya Śrī-Viṣṇuvarḍhana-Mahārāja Rājarāja has been discovered. It states that Rājarāja's coronation took place in *Kulira, bahula daśami*, Wednesday, *Tulā lagna*. The Government epigraphist suggests that the date is probably equivalent to July 27th, 1076 A.D. If it proves to be true the record is to be assigned to the reign of

58 *SII.*, vol. III, pp. 177-178.

60 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 178.

62 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 344.

64 *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 74 ff; *SII.*, vol. I, pp. 49 ff.

65 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 344.

59 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 59.

61 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 435.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 345.

66 *SE.*, 1922, p. 97.

Rājarāja-Mummaḍi-Coḍa. It is dated in the second year of Rājarāja's reign. The Chellur plate⁶⁷ states that Mummaḍi-Coḍa ruled for one year, and was succeeded by his brother Vira-Coḍa, on 22nd May, A.D. 1078. If Rājarāja had ascended the throne in July, 1076 A.D. his reign period covers one year and little less than ten months. Rājarāja's inscription records that he made Mummaḍi-Bhīma the chief (*ādhipatyam*) of one thousand villages in the Veṅḡipura-Viṣaya. Mummaḍi-Bhīma was the son of the chief, Saṅkiya, grandson of Bhīma, who belonged to the family of Kannaradeva, ruler of the earth from Himācala to Setu. His mother was Kāmidevī, and he was brought up by Vijayāditya VII from his childhood. He assisted Rājarāja in his invasions against the Gaṅga, Kāliṅga, and Kuntala kings. The inscription records the grant of twelve villages, which were bounded on one side by Niravadyapura. It was composed by Muttaya-Bhaṭṭa.

An inscription,⁶⁸ dated in Ś. 1002 = A.D. 1080, states that Rājendra was the minister of Rājarāja. Rājarāja, as has already been noticed, was succeeded to the Viceroyalty of Veṅḡi by his younger brother Vira-Coḍa, who was anointed "in the Śaka year, which is reckoned by the moon, the pair of ciphers, and the moon i.e., on 22nd May, 1078 A.D. Rājarāja retired early because "the kingdom is not such a pleasure as the worship of the illustrious feet of the elders."⁶⁹

Jananāthanagari and Vijayavāṭa (Bezvada) were the capitals of the Andhra country about this time.⁷⁰

Vira-Coḍa assumed the charge of the government of Veṅḡi twice. The period of his first Viceroyalty covered six years, from Śaka 1001 to 1006.⁷¹ The Teki plates⁷² narrate that "desirous of

67 *SIL.*, vol. I, p. 60; *EL.*, vol. VI, p. 345.

68 *IMP.*, vol. II, Gd. 86, p. 724.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

72 *Ibid.*

69 *EL.*, vol. VI, p. 345.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 345.

prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*bis*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to the obeisance to (*bis*) father and meditating on (*bis*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent six years in fear of transgressing the command of (*bis*) father." "The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*bis*) father and brothers."

Kulottuṅga, after the retirement of Vīra-Coḍa, sent his eldest son, Rājarāja-Coḍagaṅga, as a Viceroy to the Andhra country. An inscription⁷³ of Coḍagaṅga has been discovered in the village of Teki, in the Ramacandrapur Taluk of the Godavari District. It states that Coḍagaṅga was anointed in the Śaka year reckoned by the tastes (6), sky (o), the atmosphere (o), and the moon (1) i.e., Ś. 1006 = A.D. 1083-84. The Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārājādhirāja Coḍagaṅga informed, through this grant, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas etc. living between the Manneru (the Manyeru, in the Nellore Dist.) and the Mahendra (mountain) that "when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as Vijayavāṭa and all other towns, cities, villages and hamlets (?) by the residents belonging to the Teliki family at Vijayavāṭa" the married couple proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (to them) in a golden vessel, (as handed down by old custom." The Teliki family was divided into a number of branches viz., Velumanūllu, Pattipālu, Nariyūllu, Kumuḍāllu, Marrūllu, Povandlu, Srāvakulu, Uṇḍrūllu, Anumagoṇḍalu, and Addanūllu. The inscription is dated in the seventeenth year, obviously, of the reign of Kulottuṅga. It corresponds to A.D. 1086-87. It was composed by Viddayabhaṭṭa.

Codagaṅga was succeeded to the office of the Viceroy of the Andhra country by Vira-Coḍa in 1089 A.D. The Pithapuram inscription⁷⁴ reports that "While ruling the earth unopposed, he (Vira-Coḍa) was called (back) by (his) father, the emperor, (who was) desirous of gazing on the beauty of (his) body which was blooming with youth. Looking at him, the youth, who, like the (waxing) moon was day by day acquiring new splendour which gave delight to the eyes, the lord of kings could never satisfy his eyes, but sent (his) son back in the fifth year, in order to conquer the north." The date, referred to here, is to be counted from the date of Vira-Coḍa's retirement from his first term of office as a Viceroy of Andhra. This fixes the initial year of the second Viceroyalty of Vira-Coḍa in 1089 A.D.

Several inscriptions⁷⁵ of Vira-Coḍa's reign have been discovered. Two of them viz., Chellur plate and the Pithapuram plate inscriptions are of great importance.

The first⁷⁶ of them was discovered in the village of Chellur, two miles to the west by the south of Ramacandrapuram, in the Godavari District. The inscription records that Vira-Coḍa granted the village of Koleru, in the Guddavādi-Viṣaya for the maintenance of the God Viṣṇu, installed in a temple in the *agrabāra* of Chellūru, built by Meḍamārya also known as Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa, who was the commander of the army of the king. Meḍamārya established two *sattas* for feeding the Brāhmaṇas at Draṅṣārāma and at Pithapuram. He also excavated a large tank in the *agrabāra* where the temple of Viṣṇu was situated. The inscription was composed by Viddayabhaṭṭa. It was issued in the twenty-first year of the glorious reign (of Kulottuṅga i.e., A.D. 1091).

⁷⁴ *El.*, vol. V, p. 95.

⁷⁶ *El.*, vol. V, p. 70.

⁷⁵ *IMP.*, Gd., nos. 40, 95, 305.

The Pithapuram inscription⁷⁷ states that Vira-Coḍa constituted an *agrabāra* with the three villages viz., Mālavelli with its twelve hamlets, Ponnatorra, both situated in the Prolunāṇḍu-Viṣaya, and Ālami, in the Uttaravaruṣa-Viṣaya, and named it Viracoḍacaturvedimaṅgala. The income of this *agrabāra* was granted to some individuals, and also for the maintenance of the deities in some temples. The inscription was composed by Viddayabhaṭṭa. It was issued in the twenty-third year (of Kulottuṅga's reign).

The clash between Kulottuṅga and Vikramāditya VI took a very serious turn during the second Viceroyalty of Vira-Coḍa. Kulottuṅga, realising the gravity of the situation, sent Vira-Coḍa to the Andhra country in order to conquer the north i.e. to cope with the northerners, the Cālukyas under Vikramāditya VI. The Pāṇdyas of the Nolamba country (Bellary and Anantapur Districts, Madras) were feudatories of Vikramāditya VI. They carried on hostilities with the Cālukya-Colas on behalf of their master. An inscription,⁷⁸ dated in the fourth year of Cālukya-Vikrama era = A.D. 1080, states that these Pāṇdyas defeated Rājiga-Cola (Kulottuṅga), the great enemy of their suzerain. Vedula II, a feudatory of Vira-Coḍa, on the other hand, claims that⁷⁹ "following for a long time the commands of Vira-Coḍa, he defeated in battle the Pāṇḍya king together with a troop of vassals." But Vikramāditya eventually gained the upper hand and by the year 1093 A.D. wrested Andhra from Kulottuṅga and Vira-Coḍa. Two inscriptions⁸⁰ of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI), one dated in the Cālukya Vikrama era 17 = A.D. 1093, and the other in Ś. 1021 = A.D. 1099, have been dis-

77 *El.*, vol. V, p. 70. Transfer, to p. 16.

78 *IMP.*, vol. I, Bellary, no. 278.

79 *El.*, vol. IV, p. 50, v. 32.

80 *IMP.*, vol. II, Gd. nos. 160, 127. An inscription, dated in Ś. 977 = A.D. 1055, of the reign of Trailokyamalla has been discovered in the same temple (*IMP.*, vol. II, Gd. 90). Trailokyamalla was a *birnda* of the Cālukya Someśvara I. But attention is drawn to the fact that the feudatories assumed the name Trailokyamalla in the Andhra country, (cf. *El.*, vol. VI, p. 225).

covered in a temple at Drakṣarāma, in the Ramacandrapur Taluk of the Godāvāri District.⁸¹ Vikramāditya could not, however, keep his control over this new acquisition. An inscription,⁸² dated in Ś. 1021 = 1099 A.D., found in a temple at Simhacalam, in the Vizagapatam District, proves that Andhra and part of Kaliṅga passed into the hand of Kulottuṅga sometimes during that year. Nothing more of Vira-Coḍa is known to us. In the latter part of the reign of Kulottuṅga his son Vikrama-Cola is found to have assumed the charge of Andhra. Vikrama-Cola, in his youth, defeated the Teliṅga Viman (Bhīma), and burnt the country of Kaliṅga.⁸³

Vikramāditya VI renewed fresh military operations against the Colas in the closing years of the reign of Kulottuṅga. The situation in the Cola country was greatly changed when Kulottuṅga died in the 49th year of his reign (1118 A.D.). It appears that civil war broke out between the sons of the deceased king for the throne. Vikrama-Cola left the kingdom of Veṅgi entirely in charge of the Velanāṇḍu Goṅka I, and hurried to the Cola country obviously to try his luck there. He established his right of inheritance on the Cola throne by putting down all rival claimants. He had, however, to incur a heavy loss in other directions. Vikramāditya VI spared no pains in availing himself of the opportunity offered to him by the disorderly state of things in the Cola country. He plundered Kāñci, burnt Veṅgi and Jananāthapurā, defeated Goṅka and probably killed him in the battle. Andhra was again annexed to the empire of Vikramāditya VI for sometime. The Tanjore inscription⁸⁴ of

81 An incomplete inscription in a temple at Bhimavaram, in the Cocanada Taluk of the Godavari District, gives a genealogy of the Cālukyas from Taila to Tribhuvanamalla (*IMP.*, vol. II, Gd. 43, p. 716).

82 *Ibid.*, vol. III, Vz. no. 191.

83 *SII.*, vol. II, p. 311.

84 *Ibid.* Though it is only a repetition of a verse of an inscription, issued in the 15th year of Kulottuṅga (*SII.*, vol. III, p. 146, l. 4), it is not an extravagant one, as is proved by the Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadeva. It only proves that the difficulties with Vikrama-Cola, and Kulottuṅga on the eve of their accession to the Cola throne were of the same nature.

the 4th year of Vikrama-Cola's reign states that "he joyfully stayed (awhile) in the Veṅgai-Maṇḍalam and put on the garland of (the victory over) northern region." It is further stated that "he stopped the defilement of the Goddess with the sweet and excellent lotus-flower (i.e. Lakṣmī) of the southern region, and the loneliness of the Goddess of the good country whose garment is the Ponni (Kaveri), and put on by right (*of inheritance*) the pure royal crown of jewels." The Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadeva reports that when Vikrama-Cola "had gone to protect the Coḍa-Maṇḍalam, the country of Veṅgi become devoid of a ruler in that interval." An inscription,⁸⁵ dated 1126-27 A.D., narrates that Govindaraśa, a Daṇḍanāyaka under Vikramāditya VI, "burnt Veṅgipura, defeated a prince at Jananāthapura, and conquered Goṅka." An inscription,⁸⁷ dated 1117 A.D., claims that the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 1117-1137), a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, overthrew a prince named Narasiṅha (a feudatory of the Cola king), and caused the town of Kāñci to tremble. Another inscription,⁸⁸ dated 1137 A.D., states that he, by means of his general burnt Jananāthapura. An undated inscription⁸⁹ of his reign reports that Kāñci obeyed his commands; that he destroyed the pride of the Cola; and that he slew an Andhra king.

Kulottuṅga, as has already been noticed, sent his sons as viceroys to the Andhra country in order to conduct its defence against foreign aggression. The internal administration of the province appears to have been carried on by the Velanāṇḍu chiefs.

The Velanāṇḍu chiefs belonged to the Caturthānvaya, "which was produced from the lotus-foot of Him (*viz.*, Brahmā), which was praised by (*the god*) Mahendra." As regards the early history of this family it is told that⁹⁰ Indrasena, presumably its founder, had

85 *El.*, vol. IV, p. 241.

87 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 495.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 496.

86 *IMP.*, vol. II, Kl. no. 351, p. 941.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 497.

90 *El.*, vol. IV, p. 47 ff.

his capital at Kirtipura, in Madhya-deśa. In his family was born Kirtivarman I whose descendant was Mallavarman. Mallavarman was followed in succession by Raṇadurjaya (I), Kirtivarman (II), Raṇadurjaya (II), Kirtivarman (III), and Malla (I). Malla I entered into an alliance with Trinetra-Pallava, and proceeded to the Southern country for conquest. He subdued the Gaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaiṅgas, Magadhas, Andhras, and Pulindas, and the kings of Kuntala, Kerala, Gauḍa, Pāṇḍya, Bhoja, Marāṭa, Lāṭa and Kāṭaka. He obtained the Ṣaṣsahasra-Jagati.⁹¹ His capital was Dhanadapura. It is known from a record⁹² of the Kākatiya dynasty that the Ṣaṣsahasra country was situated on the southern bank of the Kistsna, and its capital was Dhānyāṅkapura i.e. Amarāvati, in the Guntur District. Dhānyāṅkapura and Dhanadapura may be identical. Malla was followed in succession by Eriyavarman, Kuḍiyavarman I, Malla II Piḍuvarāditya, Kuḍiyavarman II. Kuḍiyavarman II was a subordinate of the Cālukya Vimalāditya, who made over to the former the two Gudravāra, modern Gudivada, the head-quarters of a Taluk, in the Kistsna District. After Kuḍiyavarman II his son Erraya, and his grandson Nannirāja ascended the throne one after the other. Nannirāja had five sons, Vedula I, Gaṇḍa, Goṅka I, Mallaya and Paṇḍa. Goṅka I was the ablest of the princes. He ruled the Andhra-Manḍala as a vassal of Kulottuṅga-Cola. Prior to Goṅka I, his nephew Vedula II, son of Gaṇḍa, ruled the Veṅgi-Manḍala. He helped Vira-Coḍa, son of Kulottuṅga, in many battles, and defeated the Pāṇḍya king. Vira-Coḍa, being pleased with him, assigned to him one half of his throne, and in addition to that the Sindhuyugmāntara-deśa. Hultzsch suggests that the country, referred to, was that which was situated between the Kistna and the Godavari.⁹³ It was probably during the

⁹¹ Similar pretention is made for Beta in the Tendmada inscription of the Kākatiya Ganapambā (*EL.*, vol. III, p. 94).

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *EL.*, vol. IV, pp. 36, 50.

reign of Vedula II Andhra was annexed to the empire of Vikramāditya VI for sometime. Kulottuṅga, after its reconquest in 1099 A.D. devolved it to Goṅka I. Goṅka's son and successor was Coḍa. The Pithapuram inscription of Prthviśvara reports that Kulottuṅga-Coḍa adopted as son Coḍa, son of Goṅka I through his queen Sabbāmbikā, and "being pleased (*with him*), this best of kings gave to (*his adopted*) son, prince Coḍa, the Veṅgi-Manḍala of Sixteen-thousand (villages)." Coḍa's queen was Guṇḍāmbikā, who gave birth to her son Goṅka II.⁹⁴

The Teki plates⁹⁵ states that Kulottuṅga appointed his sons in due order in different Viṣayas. But evidences are not available to throw further light on this point. The Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Karikāla-Cola was administering Mottavāḍa-Viṣaya (in the Kurnool District) in the 37th year of Kulottuṅga's reign.⁹⁶ Pottapi-Kāmacoḍa-Mahārāja is found administering the same territory in Ś. 1033, in the 43rd year of Kulottuṅga's reign.⁹⁷ Mādhava Rājavallaḥha was a minister of Kulottuṅga.⁹⁸ (Kulottuṅga closed his reign in A.D. 1118).

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94 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

96 *IMP.*, vol. II, Kl. no. 357 A.

98 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 223.

95 *El.*, vol. VI, p. 344.

97 *Ibid.*, no. 355.

Side-Lights on the Later Kusanas

The Kuṣāṇa empire reached the zenith of its glory in the reign of Kaṇiṣka, extending as it did from Iran (Persia) to the borders of Bengal. In India, the territory ruled by the great Kuṣāṇas consisted of Gandhāra, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Central India, Sindh, Malwa, Bihar and probably Orissa. Outside India, the imperial sway extended over Kasgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Afghanistan. Even in his life-time, the Central Asian dominions were lost to Kaṇiṣka; and after his death disintegration seems to have set in. Opinion differs about the names of his successors; but, one fact is well-established that, with the death of Vāsudeva I, the last of the great Kuṣāṇa kings, the empire crumpled up. The evidence of this disruption is furnished by coins and the Chinese work *Wei-Lio*.¹ The historians have so long been at a loss to understand, why such a magnificent achievement dwindled and disappeared after a rule of two or three generations. It is now known that one of the causes was the rise of a new imperialistic power in Asia—the dynasty founded by Ārdāshir I (c. 224-241 A.D.); the other causes being internal dissensions, and a succession of weak rulers.

The Sassanian conquest of certain parts of India was being suggested for a long time, but strong evidences had not so long been forthcoming. In the following pages an attempt has been made to establish that the Sassanian conquest is no longer a myth.

A Literature

(1) Gibbon, relying on a Byzantine authority, declared that, Ārdāshir Pāpakhan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, fought with the Scythians and the effeminate Indians.²

¹ E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*; *Young-Pao*, 1905, pp. 520-28.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I, p. 349.

(2) *Tabāri* too relates that at Gors in Fars, Ārdāshir was visited by the kings of Kuṣān, Turan, and Mākuran, who acknowledged their allegiance.³

(3) *Feristā* records a tradition about an invasion of India by Ārdāshir. *Feristā*'s chronology is unreliable, but generally the information supplied by it is correct. Moreover, since the tradition is mentioned in three different works, written in different languages, in three widely separated places, it may be concluded that Ārdāshir's invasion of India was believed by many in ancient days and some substratum of truth may underlie these accounts.

B. Numismatics

(1) A coin collected by J. P. Rawlins in Jhelum district was brought to our notice by V. Ā. Smith. The obverse shows the familiar standing figure of the king as found on many Kuṣāṇa coins. The reverse is occupied by a heavy-topped flaming fire-altar or fire-receptacle with streamers hanging on it on the left side. On the obverse, near the right margin, outside the spear held by the king's left hand, occurs the legend *Sbiladā*, under his left arm *Pasana*; and *Nū* under his left arm.⁴

As pointed out by V. A. Smith the coin is a unique specimen. The obverse belongs to one class of coins, the reverse to another. The reverse design, according to M. Drouin, is found on the coins of Ārdāshir I. Smith finally observes that it is possible, rather probable, that the present reverse is the result of double striking over an obliterated reverse showing a throned goddess, and there are faint traces of the old device.⁵

3 *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen versehen. Leyden, 1879, pp. 17 and 19.

4 *JASB.*, 1897, pt. i, p. 5; *Revue Numismatique*, 1898, p. 140; *JASB.*, vol. IV (NS), pp. 88-99.

5 *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 244ff.

The figure of a Sassanian monarch could not have been put on a coin of Shilada Kuṣāṇa, unless he had submitted himself to the Persian king. It is not at all surprising to find indigenous Sassanian coins, whether of an earlier or later date in contiguous countries, due to commercial intercourse; but a later Kuṣāṇa coin counterstruck with Sassanian device hints at certain historical events.⁶

(2) The legends on Sassanian coins unmistakably point to the Sassanian domination over Kuṣāṇa territories. Along with Prof. Herzfeld, it would be convenient to call these Kuṣāṇo-Sassanian coins. According to the same authority, two different scripts are found on these coins: (a) Greek cursive script derived from Bactrian Greeks and continued by the great Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, and (b) legends in Sassanian Pahlavi of the third century A.D., or more correctly speaking Pārasik script: Both groups are linked together by some rare bilingual coins: Pārasik on the obverse and Greek on the reverse. There is an interesting analogy. Centuries ago, when Greeks occupied Bactria and Afghanistan, the conquerors began to stamp coins with Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī, then prevalent in North-western Provinces of India and Afghanistan, on the reverse.

(3) In many legends on coins, the Iranian kings are described as overlords of the Kuṣāṇas (*Kuṣāṇa mālkā* or *Kuṣāṇa mālkān mālkā*).

(4) On the obverse of a drachm (No. 98) in the British Museum, the legend is *Mazdayasn bāgi Pirozi rabā Kuṣān mālkā* (Mazda worshipping divinity Piroz the great king of the Kuṣāṇas).⁷

(5) Coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing legends in Indian script and the so-called Pārasik writing were current in North-western India to a very late date. E. J. Rapson is of opinion that,

6 F. D. J. Pharukh, *The Sassanian Coins*, pp. 79-81.

7 *Revue Numismatique*, 1895, pp. 60ff.; 1896, p. 170; Pharukh—*op. cit.*, p. 89.

they were issued by a Sassanian dynasty ruling over Multan and Sindh.⁸

(6) 175 silver coins, said to have been discovered in Merwara, were brought to our notice by A. F. R. Hoernle. These coins bore a striking resemblance to the genuine coins of Piroz (459-86 A.D.). The only remarkable exception is the absence of Pahlavi legends. Hoernle was of opinion that the coins were issued by the Huns, when they occupied the eastern dominions of the Sassanides. Is it not possible that, after Sassanian supremacy in these regions came to an end, these coins were issued by some local prince of Rajputana?

(7) The excavations at the 'Stūpa' area at Mohenjodaro resulted in the find of a large number of coins of late Kuṣāṇa period. These coins may be grouped into following three classes:

(i) 338 coins of Vāsudeva I, bearing the standing royal figure on the obverse and the figure of Śiva and the Bull, or throned goddess on the reverse.

(ii) 1,823 rectangular, or oblong coins bearing a nimbate figure, the cross and trident, series of pellets etc., on one side or the other; but without any legends.

(iii) 9 oblong or circular pieces with the device of the fire-altar on one side and a crude human figure on the other, and similarly without legends.

Coins of class (ii) are cast and not die-struck, and are fresh additions to our knowledge of Indian coins. Some of these were found mixed up with some coins of Vāsudeva I, according to R. D. Banerji. This does not mean that they are coeval with issues of the Kuṣāṇa king, but in all probability replaced them as local coins of Sindh. According to one scholar the altar found on class (iii) coins is a very welcome feature. Such a device occurs on coins of Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas, when they were under the influence of the Sassanians.

8. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, sec. 109, p. 30.

Their occurrence here probably suggests the same idea, *i.e.*, the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas issued these coins when Sindh was included within the Sassanian empire.⁹

C. Epigraphy

(1) An inscription found at Persepolis and deciphered by E. Herzfeld mentions Shāhpuhr-Sakānshāh, with the titles: *Sakānshāh hinde sakastān u Tukhāristān dabirān dabir* 'King (Viceroy?) of Sakastān, minister of ministers of Sindh, Sakastān and Tukhāristān'. It was written in the year II[?] (310-11 A.D.), of Shāhpuhr II (c. 309-79 A.D.).

(2) Another inscription found at the same place and deciphered by the same scholar records that, Slōk (Seleukos), high-judge of Kabul, was paying his respects to Shāhpuhr-Sakānshāh as his official superior. The record is dated in the year 47 (356-7 A.D.) of Shāhpuhr II.¹⁰

(3) Last but not the least, comes the fragmentary inscription from Paikuli (35° 7' = 16' N and 45° 34' = 35' E of Greenwich). It is the name of a locality in the mountains of Kurdistan. On a high mountain saddle on the southern slope of Zardakiaw, lie the ruins of a structure built in Sassanian times, now called *Butkhana* by the local people. It had a long inscription, probably built into its walls, but now in a very fragmentary condition. Thanks to the indefatigable zeal of Prof. Herzfeld the record has been successfully deciphered, but many interesting details seem to have been lost. It purports to give an account of the war of succession that followed the death of Vārhrān II between his son Vārhrān III (293 A.D.) and Nārsch, son of Shāhpuhr I (c. 241-72 A.D.).

9 The above account based on Sir J. H. Marshall's *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, vol. I, pp. 127-30, and see also vol. III, pl. clxiv and not clxiii as referred to in the book.

10 For these cf. Herzfeld, *Kušano-Sassanian Coins*.

The inscription was first brought to our notice by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who made an eye copy of it in 1836 and was edited by E. Thomas.¹¹ The whole area has now been scientifically explored and the inscription properly dealt with by Prof. Herzfeld.¹²

When Nārsch had won, the neighbouring king and vassals came to congratulate him on his success. A list of these is given in the inscription. In line 44, independent kings are mentioned; and in this category, we find, the Caesar and the 'Kushān-Shāh'. Then follows the names of kings, who are evidently vassals of the Sassanian emperor, but enjoyed internal autonomy. In this class are mentioned Spandorat king of Paradan (Pāradas), king of Makuran (Mekran), and the king of Ābhiras. After these one meets with the names of satraps of all kinds (*satrap gonak gonak*), such as, Khvarasman, lord of Mōkan,¹³ Bagdat (Bhagadatta), lord of Zurdian (Saurāṣṭra?), Mitr-|AL|asen lord of Boraspicin (Bharukaccha).¹⁴

Line 24 of the record states that the lord (*Kṣatrapa*) of Avanti (*Avandikān xvat|a|vya*) was an ally of the unfortunate Varhran III. This shows that the *Kṣatrapa* of Avanti was in all probability an independent monarch, because the inscription makes it quite clear that none of the princes of Sakastān, who owed their position to Sassanian favour, did not side with Varhran III.

D. *Miscellaneous*

The mounds at Jhukar or Jhukar-jo-daro are situated to the east of the village of Mithodero, about six miles due west of Larkana town in upper Sindh. There are two mounds at the site. The experimental explorations carried out at this place by the Archaeological

¹¹ *JRAS.*, 1868.

¹² E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1924; *Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst*, (No. III).

¹³ Le-Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*.

¹⁴ N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sindh, Paikuli*, pp. 117-19.

Department yielded interesting evidence of the occupation of the site from Chalcolithic period till Sassanian times. The excavations at one of the mounds resulted in the discovery of brick buildings of Sassanian period, terracotta sealings with Gupta characters ascribed to 5th century A.D., and coins of Vāsudeva I and his successors. A unique terracotta sealing found in a passage of the buildings in mound B has legend, probably in Pahlavi, and a male bust, the execution of which has a distinct echo of Sassanian art.

The occurrence of glazed pottery at Jhukar is one of the most important features of the site. Two glazed amphoras as well as fragments of numerous other glazed jars were found, some of them bearing striking resemblance to the glazed ware of Central Asia. This particular class of glazed pottery, however, occurs first in Persia, in Sassanian times.¹⁵ Thus Sassanian influence is quite distinct at Jhukar. This might have been due to commercial intercourse or political domination.

Conclusions

With the above as our data, we may now proceed to the task of reconstructing the history of the 'Dark Period' as far as it is possible. Pāpak, a descendant of Sasan, flourished near Shiraz as a feudatory of the fainéant Arsacidan kings of Persia. His son Ārdāshir I (c. 224-41 A.D.) founded an empire, assuming at first the title of *mālkā Airān* and later on *mālkān mālkā Airān*. He founded his kingdom in 224 A.D., four years after the death of Vāsudeva I. For this monarch, we have the account of the Byzantine authority, quoted by Gibbon, that he fought wild Scythians and effeminate Indians.¹⁶ *Tabāri* too relates that after Ārdhāshir's conquests of the countries bordering on Khorasan, Marv, Balkh and

15 *Memoirs of Archeological Survey of India*, no. 48, pp. 5-18.

16 Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. by J. B. Bury, vol. 1.

Khwarizm, he returned to Fars and halted at Gor where he was visited by kings of Kuṣāṇas, Turan and Makuran, who offered their allegiance.¹⁷ Turan, according to Prof. Herzfeld, represents the modern districts of Quzdar, south of Quetta. Makuran is the desert tract of land, stretching along the coasts of the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea.

We know that Balkh was conquered by Ārdāshir. Therefore within four years of Vāsudeva's death, the last link of the Kuṣāṇas with their homeland in Central Asia snapped. Moreover, the conquests of Khorasan, Marv, etc. brought the Sassanian dominions to the frontiers of Mekran, Turan and Kabul. Therefore, all three hastened to propitiate this new power by seeking Sassanian alliance. Whether Ārdāshir actually led any expedition into the arid regions of Mekran or against the later Kuṣāṇas of the Kabul valley must at present remain a moot point. *Tabārī's* language is probably exaggerated: 'offering allegiance' probably signifies that these kings sought Ārdāshir's alliance and friendship. The Kushānshāh (probably a later Kuṣāṇa king of Afghanistan), weakened by the disintegration of his ancestral empire in India and loss of Balkh, retreated to Kabul, and his meeting with the Sassanian monarch probably indicates that he took his loss philosophically and entered into a treaty of amity with his powerful new neighbour. We have to assume this, because there are indications that the Kabul region was annexed to the Sassanian dominions at a later date. Therefore, so far as Ārdāshir I was concerned, he merely blazed the trail. The position on the eastern frontier of the Sassanian empire seems to have been consolidated by his successors.

In 241 A.D. Ārdāshir was succeeded by Shahpuhr I. Little is known of him, except the fact that he made a significant change in his royal titles. Ārdāshir I was styled 'king of kings of Iran'

¹⁷ Noldeke, *Al Tabari*, pp. 17, 18.

(*mālkān mālkā Airān*), but his successor called himself 'king of kings of Iran and non-Iran'.¹⁸ The next emperor was Hormizd I, (c. 272-3 A.D.), who ruled for a year only. The reign of his successor Varhran I (c. 273-76 A.D.) was also brief. He was succeeded by Varhran II (c. 276-93 A.D.), who had to face a Roman invasion under Emperor Aurelius Carus and a rebellion headed by his brother Hormizd. Vopiscus, the Latin biographer of the Emperor Carus, tells us that in the year 283 A.D., Varhran II was engaged in a domestic rebellion; and in 291 A.D. Mamertinus alludes to these events by saying that on account of the rebellion of his brother Ormies (Hormizd) who was supported by the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and the Gelans, the Sāssanian emperor was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous treaty.¹⁹ This is an important point. If the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and Gelans were independent of Iranian authority, why should they embroil themselves in a purely fratricidal struggle? The part they played in the abortive rebellion of Hormizd indicates that they had a personal axe to grind. The Kushanshāh probably aided the recalcitrant brother with the expectation that the civil war would weaken the Sāssanian monarchy, thus enabling him to regain his lost possession on the other side of the Hindu-kush. The Śakas probably joined with the hope that, if Hormizd won they might get rid of the irksome tribute which Ārdāshir or his immediate successor imposed on them. Unfortunately the rebellion was crushed. Till then the inhabitants of the vast region termed Sakastān were treated light-heartedly. The rebellion compelled the Iranian monarch to realise the danger, which his empire would constantly face,

18 Thus in the trilingual inscription at Naksh-i-Rajab, we find the king described *mālkān mālkā Airān vā Anīrān* etc. Thomas, *Early Sassanian Inscriptions*. London, 1868, pp. 60-61; Douin, *Les Legendes des monnaies Sassanides*, p. 17.

19 In 283 A.D., Emperor Aurelius Carus recommenced war against Iran and occupied Ctesiphon and Sleukia, practically without any opposition. Varhran II was forced to make peace with him by agreeing to cede Armenia and Mesopotamia.

unless the Śakas inhabiting the inhospitable regions on the eastern border of his dominions were once for all subjugated. This he seems to have done, because Rawlinson, relying on an unknown authority, tells us that "He (Varhran II) engaged in war with Segestani (Śakas?) and appears to have reduced them to subjection."²⁰ After consolidating his position in Sakastān, Varhran appointed his son as Sakānshāh (Governor of Sakastān). Prof. Herzfeld informs us that, it was always the prerogative of the heir-apparent to be the governor of the latest conquered province, the most important part of the empire.²¹

So it is quite clear that Ārdāshir could not make any impression on the Scythians; but all opposition was finally crushed by Varhran II. The effectiveness of this blow may easily be realised by the fact that when war of succession broke out between Varhran III and his grand-uncle Nārse, the Scythians in all probability remained neutral. When Nārse had completely defeated Varhran III, the son and successor of Varhran II, did they venture to offer their allegiance to the new '*mālkān mālkā Airān vā Anirān*'?

The fate of Kushānshāh of Kabul is not clearly known. Rawlinson states that Varhran II became involved in some quarrel with the natives of Afghanistan. A long and desultory contest followed, which was not concluded by the year 283 A.D., when the Sassanian emperor had to depart for the other side of his empire. So it is evident that, even in 292 A.D., Kabul was not annexed to the Iranian empire.

How far did Varhran's conquests extend? Prof. Herzfeld takes them to be very extensive. According to him, the satrapy of Sakastān included Gurgan, the whole of Khorasan, Mekran, Turan, and lands along the middle course of the Indus and its mouth, Cutch,

²⁰ G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1876, p. 107.

²¹ Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 38, p. 35.

Kathiawad, Malwa, etc. The only exceptions were the Kabul valley and the Punjab, which continued to be ruled by the later Kuṣāṇas.²² We are unable to agree here with all the suggestions of the learned Professor. Malwa in all probability maintained its integrity under the Western *Kṣatrapas* of Avanti. At a later date, however, the Kuṣāṇa kings seem to have lost Kabul also. This conclusion is based on the evidence furnished by two inscriptions of the reign of Shāhpuhr II (309-79 A.D.) found by Prof. Herzfeld at Persepolis.²³

We may therefore sum up the later history of Indo-Sassanian relations in the following manner: After his father's death Varhran III succeeded, we are told, unwillingly to the throne; but was dethroned by Nārise, whose victory is recorded in the fragmentary inscription at Paikuli. Nārise ruled from 293-302 A.D., and was succeeded by Hormizd II (302-9 A.D.), who married a daughter of the Kuṣāṇa king of Kabul valley. The reign of Shāhpuhr II (309-79 A.D.) was very long and troublesome. But one of his records supplies definite evidence that Kabul formed a part of his vast empire. An inscription dated in the 47th(?)²⁴ regnal year of the king records that Slok (Seleukos), the High Judge of Kabul, was paying homage to Shāhpuhr Sakānshāh his superior. It is clear that by the year 356 A.D., if not earlier, Kabul was also lost and the later Kuṣāṇa kings, like the Shāhiyas of Uṇḍ of a later epoch, probably retired to the lower valleys of the Kabul river.

Summary

Before we conclude, a short discussion about the light the above evidence throws on the history of the later Kuṣāṇas would not be

²² *Paikuli*, p. 43.

²³ The identity of the monarch, who added Kabul to the Sassanian dominions, is still uncertain.

²⁴ *C.* 356 A.D.

out of place. The cause of the disruption of the empire of Kaṇiṣka is clear. Internal dissension ended the unity of the vast fabric, and four years after the death of Vāsudeva in c. 225 A.D., Balkh was conquered by Ārdāshir. Sindh, Baluchistan etc. were conquered by Varhran II, who appointed his son as the Viceroy of the newly conquered provinces. His attempt to conquer Kabul, however, was unsuccessful, but at a later date, it was added to the Sassanian dominions. The descendants of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka were compelled to migrate further south, where they maintained a precarious existence, till they were completely submerged under the Hunnic deluge.

The very year of the inscription of Slok saw the invasion of Balkh, by the Huns, which they finally engulfed about 388 A.D. In this year the Sassanian domination over Balkh and the Kabul region probably came to an end. But the fact when and how Mekran, Turan, Mokaṇ, Sindh and other Indian possessions were lost still remains uncertain.

ADRIS BANERJI

Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish

Introductory

The 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. It is popularly but inaccurately called the 'Slave Dynasty' and is variously known as the 'Pathan' or 'Afghan Dynasty': all these are misnomers. Contemporary as well as the later authorities do not contain a word with regard to such appellations for which the European writers are alone responsible. The rulers of the 'Early Turkish Empire' are styled by the contemporary historians as Muizzi, Qutbi, Shamsi and Balbani¹ after the names of the great sovereigns, who form the chain of succession from Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor to Sultan Muizzud-Din Kaiqabad. There is no doubt that they have been, at the outset of their careers, slaves, or slaves of slaves or sons and daughter of such slaves.

'Slave' and 'King' are contradiction in terms; a slave is no longer slave when he is manumitted by his master. Sultan Qutbud-Din Aiybek was sent a letter of manumission and a canopy of state by Sultan Mahmud, the nephew and successor of his master Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor.² Qutbud-Din's slave and successor Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish got his freedom even before his master.³ The successors of Iltutmish were not slaves but his own sons and daughter. The next ruler, Balban belonged to the 'forty Turkish Slaves of Iltutmish', better known as 'Chahelgani' or the 'forty', and was liberated along with them.⁴ Sultan Muizzud-Din Kaiqabad, the last of the Dynasty, was Balban's grand-son. It is clear therefore, that none of these rulers was slave when they ascended the throne of Delhi. Secondly they were Turks and not 'Afghans' or

1 See *Tabaqat-i-Nasvi*, pp. 135-157, 164.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

4 Zia Berni, *Twarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 26.

Pathans. Qutubud-Din Aiybek was brought from Turkistan to Nishapur and sold to Qazi Fakhrud-Din Abdul Aziz Kufi;⁵ both Iltutmish and Balban belonged to the renowned Ilbari tribe of Turkistan.⁶

The various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tatars, Turkomen, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols extended from Anatolia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. With the extension of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another came under subjection, and attracted the attention of their conquerors by the bravery of their men and beauty of their women. Thus the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of Turks, who slowly and steadily replaced the Persians from the ordinary post of body-guard to the highest offices, and through sheer force of circumstances became the absolute masters of the Abbaside Caliphate. It is interesting to recall how Mutasin took the fatal step of introducing the Turkish element in the army. The fact that the Turks were the virtual masters of the Caliphate can be well illustrated by a story related by the author of *al-Fakhri Ibn Tiqtaqa*, who says, "the courtiers of Mutazz summoned the astrologers and asked them how long would his Caliphate endure. A wit present in the gathering said, 'so long as the Turks please' and every one present laughed."⁷

I *A Bureaucracy of Slaves*

A despotic form of government cannot exist long without an efficient machinery to carry it out, and it was soon discovered that the young slaves brought from Turkistan and Mawaraon-Nehr formed an excellent material for such a recruitment. The slave dealers lost no stones unturned in the selection and training of Turkish slaves and they were handsomely paid for their labours. The best slaves were purchased by kings and princes and had better

⁵ *Tabaqat-i-Nasir*, p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 166 and 281.

⁷ *Ibn At Tiqtaqa*, p. 333 as quoted by Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi in his thesis on 'Caliphate and Sultanate in Medieval Persia'.

prospects in life, which were denied to free-born persons. In those days of anarchy and confusion, governments were not stable; provincial governors were too prone to declare independence and the subordinate officers followed their example. A bureaucracy of slaves, therefore, was the only remedy possible. A slave is by nature submissive and loyal, for he has been trained as such from his early childhood. The slave is the property of his master; for him there is honour in bondage. His progress lay on the degree of loyalty he showed to his master. And to be a slave of the king constituted a special title of respect. A slave of today is the Sultan of to-morrow. Every thing depended upon his merit, intellect, sagacity and skill, and should he be found wanting at any stage, his fate was sealed. No favour or partiality was shown to any of them; those who were really competent, progressed from the humble post of *Kbasadar* (King's Personal Attendant) to positions of power and sovereignty. Merit and not favouritism was the standard; and the slave, in a way, is the survival of the fittest. For some time, the system worked quite alright, so long as their master was alive; but when the dominions came entirely in their hands, they began to fight for supremacy and whoever was strong got the upper hand.

The Turkish domination in India is merely an accident. Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor did not know that he would have no son to succeed to his vast empire and, therefore, when, during the latter part of his reign, a bold courtier condoled⁸ with him on the lack of male spring, the Sultan was content by saying that he had several sons namely Turkish slaves to rule after his death. But for his slaves, there would have been, perhaps, no Turkish rule in India. The example of the gallant Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor bred heroic followers, and his slaves Taj-ud-Din Yilduz, Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah, and Qutbud-Din Aiybek rose to power and command in the Afghan mountains, on the Indus, and at Delhi respectively.

8 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 131, 132.

II Sultan Aram Shah

On the sudden death of Sultan Qutbud-Din Aiybek at Lahore, the *Amirs* and *Maliks* elevated Aram Shah to the throne of Delhi. The new Sultan was neither son,⁹ nor brother to Sultan Qutbud-Din Aiybek, who, as Qazi Minhaj Siraj says, had only three daughters, two of whom were married in succession to Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah and the third to Shamsud-Din Iltutmish.¹⁰ Sultan Aram Shah was a Turkish Malik whom his colleagues and friends raised to throne with a view to retain peace, tranquillity, order and government,¹¹ as also on account of the fact that the probable heir Shamsud-Din Iltutmish was not available on the spot and the throne could not remain vacant so long as he takes to return to Delhi.^{11a}

9 The heading of the chapter on Aram Shah in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141, has *أرام شاه بن سلطان قطب الدين* but further in the text itself says that Sultan Qutbud-Din had only three daughters. *Lub-ut-Twarikh*, p. 9 says that he was Qutbud-Din's son. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 55—'than whom he had no other son' *Twarikh-i-Ghori*, p. 13—'the eldest son of Qutbud-Din' Mss. *In-takhabul-Muntakhib*, p. 170 'after his father's death ascended the throne.' The *Khulasat-ut Twarikh*, p. 189 and Mss. *Chahar-Gulshan* rightly assert 'the so-called son of Qutbud-Din' Abul Fazal makes an astonishing remark that he was Qutbud-Din's brother. *Twarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 16 also calls him son. *Twarikh-i-Jahan Gusba*, vol. II, p. 61. gives the most appropriate expression that 'Qutbud-Din had no son, but a slave known as 'Iltutmish' and he became heir-apparent to the throne. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 51, incorrectly asserts—"sometimes described as Aiybek's adopted son but usually believed to have been a son of his body." Aram Shah, in fact, was no relation of Qutbud-Din.

10 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141.

11 *Ibid.*

11a In fact there were no hard and fast rules governing the devolution of the crown. In spite of the fact that monarchy has had a long and varied existence in the Muslim State; to the *Shariat*, however, it has always remained a non-legal institution. As there was no place for *Sultanate* in the Islamic political theory, there was consequently no provision for the devolution of the crown. The result was the interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was the only painful process to solve the riddle. Sultan Qutbud-Din had no male offspring to succeed him. However, a son was presented to be an heir; but the final choice lay with the *Maliks* and *Amirs*. They could choose from among the relations of the Ex-king or select a new man altogether. Aram was selected for his weakness to play the part of a mere puppet. Electing the officers meant that they exacted favours as pre-condition of their support.

On receiving the intelligence of Aram Shah's succession to the throne of Delhi, Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah proceeded to Uchchah and Multan¹² and 'captured Bhakar and Shewran. The Khilji rulers revolted in Bengal and some independent Rajas on the frontier also rose in hostility.'¹³

In the meantime, Amir Ali-Ismail,¹⁴ the *Sipah-salar* (Commander of forces) and *Amir-i-Dad* (Chief Justice of the capital) in concert with other chiefs and officials despatched an invitation to Malik Shamsud-Din Iltutmish at Badaun to hasten to Delhi and to assume sovereignty. In fact, Qutbud-Din had called Iltutmish his son, and had conferred upon him the fief of Badaun, thus signifying his wish to make him his heir-apparent. Iltutmish¹⁵ accepted the proposal. He came with all his forces, captured the city and the fort of Delhi and subjugated the whole country around. Thereupon, Sultan Aram Shah summoned the Qutbi Amirs and Maliks to his assistance and gathered a strong force from Amroha and other parts of the dominion. Having taken possession of the capital, Iltutmish rushed towards the plain of Jud, near Delhi. The rival forces encountered each other, and after a feeble resistance on the part of Aram Shah's troops, his army was put to the rout¹⁶ and 'its leaders Aqsanqar and Farrukh Shah were slain.'¹⁷ The contemporary historian says, "the decree of destiny reached Aram Shah,"¹⁸ but in all probability he was put to death by his rival. Thus ended the short-lived career of

12 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141.

13 *Firishta*, p. 64.

14 *Ibid.*, has امیر دان دیلمی Badauni says (p. 61): "Iltutmish came from Hardwar and Badaun to Delhi—where Hardwar where Badaun."

15 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141. Iltutmish had long before obtained the government of Badaun, which he now exchanged in 1216 A.D. for the throne of Delhi. Under his rule, Badaun ranked as a place of great importance; and in 1236 its governor Nasirud-Din became another emperor of Delhi. He built the Shamsi Masjid, which still adorns the city.

16 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141.

17 *Firishta*, p. 65.

18 آرام شاه را قضای اجل در رسید *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141.

Aram Shah's reign, which is said to have been terminated within a year.¹⁹

Hindustan now became subdivided into four parts—the territory of Sindh, comprising Sindh, Multan and Siwastan, was occupied by Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah; the dominion of Delhi belonged to Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish; the territory of Lakanawti was appropriated by the Khilji Malik and Sultans, and the state of Lahore was to be seized upon sometimes by Qabachah and sometimes by Iltutmish until the defeat and extinction of the former at the hands of the latter in the year 1227 A.D.²⁰

III *Character of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish*

The next sovereign, who came to the throne of Delhi, was Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish,²¹ a slave and son-in-law of Sultan Qutubud-Din Aiybek. He was decidedly the greatest sovereign of 'Early Turkish Empire of India,' and almost excelled all the Sultans of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in his excellence as a man. He was, in the words of Qazi Minhaj Siraj, 'just benevolent, impartial, beneficent, a zealous warrior and hero, patron of the learned, the dispenser of justice, possessor of pomp like Faridun, with disposition like

¹⁹ مدت دولت آرام شاه به یک سال نمی کشید *Lub-ut Twarikh*, p. 10

and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 55.

²⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 141, 142.

²¹ It is differently pronounced and written as ایلتمش - التمش and ایلتمش - ایلتمش *Firishta* p. 64. *Mss. Lub-ut Twarikh*, p. 10; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 56; *Khulasat-ut Twarikh*, p. 130 and the printed text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 165 all have "Altamash"—*Mss. Intakhab-ul Muntakhib*, p. 171, *Kanzal-us-Safa*, vol. IV, pp. 887, 889, and *Twarikh-i-Mubarak Shabi*, p. 16 all have ایلتمش. But *Twarikh-i-Jahan Gusba*, vol. II, p. 61 rightly calls him Iltutmish meaning 'hand-grasper' or conqueror of the world. Badauni, p. 62 says that he was called Altamash, because he was born on a night during an eclipse. There is however no doubt that it is Iltutmish for the contemporary historian has at several places written as such. In praise of Sultan Behram Shah he says,

Qubad, empire like Alexander and majesty like Bahram.²² He was further endowed with laudable qualities; he was handsome, intelligent, sagacious and of excellent disposition and manners.²³ 'Never was a sovereign so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines', says the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*,²⁴ 'sat upon the throne.' Iltutmish was very particular about saying his prayers, and went to the Jumma mosque²⁵ every Friday.

Out of the Ilbari tribe of Turkistan, he was, Joseph like, sold and delivered over to merchants, until much later in life he rose to power and sovereignty by his sheer dint of merit and virtues. His power, sovereignty, intrepidity and valour were mainly responsible for the propagation and development of Islamic faith in his time. He surpassed his master, Sultan Qutbud-Din Aiybek in munificence, and was, according to the contemporary chronicle, a hundred times

اگر سلطانی هند است ارث درده شمس
بحمد لله ز فرزندان تووی التمش ثانی

Again in praise of Sultan Nasirud-Din he says—

آن شهنشاهی که حاتم بذل رستم کوشش است
ناصر الدنیا ر دین محمود بن التمش است

It is clear from the composition of the verses and the rules of poetry that it cannot be Altamash but Iltutmish. Further Delhi-inscriptions also read as *ایلتمش* and *ایلتتمش* which, being a contemporary account, is a decisive evidence.

22 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 165.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

25 *Firishta* p. 67 and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 63. Both the authorities narrate the following event which has been given by the contemporary authority in the reign of Sultana Raziya "The heretics of Delhi led by one Noor decided to assassinate him. One Friday, they drew their swords and slew many people but as God willed Iltutmish escaped."

It is related in the Table Talk of the Khwajah Qutbud-Din Bhakhtiyar Kaki, that Sultan Iltutmish was anxious to construct a tank and in consultation with the Khwajah went about to find a suitable spot. Having been overtaken by night, he went to sleep at the place, where the Hauz-i-Shamsi exists today and dreamt that he saw the Prophet who ordered him to construct the tank at the place where the Prophet's horse struck its foot. He did accordingly.

more benevolent.²⁶ His liberality and benefactions were universally showered upon all classes of people from the highest official to the street beggar. The Sultan lavishly spent about ten millions yearly upon eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable Syeds, nobles and notables. The fame of his unbounded liberality, and numerous grants, and above all the turmoil and calamities caused by the irruption of the 'infidel' Mongols in Ajam, led the renowned warriors and men of letters to migrate to the capital Delhi,²⁷ which came to be regarded as grand and as magnificent as that of Mahmud or Sanjar.²⁸ A contemporary of the kings of Egypt, Iltutmish was regarded as an equal among the sovereigns of Egypt, Khorasan and Khwarazm.²⁹

IV *Early Life*

Shamsud-Din Iltutmish belonged to the noble tribe³⁰ of Ilbari in Turkestan. His father, I-lam Khan³¹ was famous on account of the large number of dependants, relatives, and followers, who were under his employment.³² Iltutmish was, from his early childhood, remarkable for his beauty, intelligence and sagacity, so much so that his own brothers grew jealous of his attainments, and like Joseph of old enticed him out of the security of their parent's home under the pretence of going to see a herd of horses.³³ They represented by saying, "Father, why doest thou not intrust Joseph to us, for we are

26 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166.

27 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166.

28 Zia Berni, *Twarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 27.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

30 In variance to the contemporary authority Firishta, p. 64 and *Lub-ut Twarikh*, p. 10, say: "from Qira Khitaj Turks."

31 The printed text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166 and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 56 have "Aylam Khan". "Ilam" is a Turkish word meaning 'pain', 'suffering', or 'anguish'.

32 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166.

33 Firishta, p. 64 has *جانوران شکار* for hunting animal; while the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 56 and Badauni, p. 62 say "he was taken by his brothers to some garden, under pretence of going thither for recreation and diversion."

his sincere friends? Send him along with us tomorrow morning, so that he may indulge in amusement and sport in the pasture, and we are responsible for his safety."³⁴ When they brought him to the herd of horses, they, and according to another account his cousins, forcibly sold him to a certain merchant,³⁵ who brought him to Bokhara and sold him to a relation of the Sadr-i-Jahan (the chief ecclesiastic) of the city. He remained in that family for some time, and received nourishment like a son. Iltutmish himself related³⁶ that on a certain occasion, a member of that illustrious family gave him a piece of money to purchase some grapes. He went to the market, but on the way lost the coin. Being of a tender age and out of fear, he began to weep. Suddenly a Dervish appeared, who took him by the hand, and purchased some grapes for him. The Dervish took promise from him, that when he attained wealth and dominion he would take care of and respect the *faqirs* and divines.³⁷

After some time, a merchant named Haji Bokhara purchased him from that noble and distinguished family.³⁸ He was next pur-

34 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 167.

35 The printed text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 167, has 'بازارچی' 'a merchant' and not merchants as Major Raverty on p. 600 translates. Further not "horse-dealers" as Elliot, vol. II, p. 320, has.....

36 Another story is related by Firishta, p. 67 and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 62: "while a slave in Baghdad, his master summoned a *majlis* of Dervishes for the recitation of mystic songs, with the lamp in his hands, Iltutmish passed the whole night in their service. Thereupon Qazi Hamid-ud-Din, Nagori, president of the *Majlis* blessed him. When Iltutmish became Sultan, Qazi Nagori came to Delhi and held *majlises*. Maulvi Ima-dud-Din and Jamal-ud-Din protested against it. The Qazi replied, "It is permitted to the mystic and forbidden to the orthodox, and reminded the Sultan of his early life and his service during that particular night. The Sultan was much pleased to allow those ceremonies, and himself joined them.

37 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 167.

38 Badauni, pp. 68 and 69 relate as follows; the emperor Akbar told a story which was orally traced to Sultan Ghiasud-Din Balban. The curious anecdote is that Iltutmish loved tenderly a Turkish slave girl in his harem; but was unable

chased by Jamal-ud-Din Mohammad of the Tight Tunic (Chust-Qaba), who brought him to Ghaznin.³⁹ As no other Turk so handsome, intelligent and virtuous had for a long time appeared in the market, the news of his arrival was at once conveyed to Sultan Saha-bud-Din of Ghor. The Sultan offered a thousand gold *dinars*⁴⁰ for Ilutmish and another slave Aiybek; but the Khwajah declined to sell them. The Sultan, in retaliation, issued an order prohibiting the sale of the two slaves. After staying at Ghaznin for a period of one year, Khwaja Jamal-ud-Din took the slaves to Bokhara, where he remained for three years. Later on, he returned to Ghaznin, and stayed there for another year, but no one, on account of the Sultan's orders, could venture to purchase them. When Malik Qutbud-Din Aiybek⁴¹ came to Ghaznin after the conquest of Gujarat, he solicited permission from the Sultan to purchase the slaves. "Since I have already prohibited it," the Sultan replied, "it will not be proper to purchase them in Ghaznin. Take them to Delhi, and purchase them there."⁴²

Qutbud-Din left his Vizier Nizam-ud-Din Mohammad at Ghaznin for the settlement of certain affairs, and directed him to bring Chust Qaba along with him to Hindustan. The Vizier did accordingly, and when the slaves reached Delhi, Qutbud-Din Aiybek purchased them for a hundred thousand Jitals.⁴³ Aiybek's name

to effect his object. One day, he got his head anointed with oil by the same girl, who noticing something in his head, began to weep. The Sultan inquired the girl of the cause. She replied, "my own brother had the same sort of bald-head." On making further enquiries it was found out, that the slave girl was his own sister. This story like many others also seems to be fictitious.

39 *Lub-ut Twarikh*, p. 10, gives the reverse statement—"sold by Jamalud-Din Chust Qaba to Haji Jamalud-Din, who brought Ilutmish to Ghaznin.

40 Badauni, p. 62, says one *lak* of tankahs.

41 Firishhta, p. 65, says, "along with Nasir-ud-Din Khernil—which is quite probable.

42 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 168.

43 The *Lub-ut Twarikh*, p. 10, says: "thirty thousand Jitals."

was changed to Tamghaj, and he was made *Amir* of Tabarhindah,⁴⁴ but was slain in the battle fought between Taj-ud-Din Yilduz and Qutbud-Din. "The other slave was styled as Iltutmish."⁴⁵

Shamsud-Din was created *Sar-i-Jandar* (chief of the Royal bodyguards), and Qutbud-Din honoured him by calling him his son. His rank and status went on ever-increasing until he became *Amir-i-Shikar* (Chief Huntsman).⁴⁶ After the fall of Gwalior, he was made its Amir. He was next promoted to the governorship of Baran and its dependencies.⁴⁷ Sometimes later, when he displayed intrepidity, valour and heroism, the territory of Badaun was entrusted to him.

In the year 1204 A.D. Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor returned from Khwarazm, after being defeated at And-Khud at the hands of the Qira Khitais, the Gakkhar⁴⁸ tribes broke out into rebellion, and the Sultan marched from Ghaznin to suppress them. Qutbud-Din led the forces of Hindustan and Shamsud-Din joined him with the army of Badaun; the two advanced to the Punjab to support the Sultan. Iltutmish displayed extraordinary courage in the battle that ensued, plunged his horse into the river Jhelum, overcame the resistance of the enemy and put most of them to the sword.⁴⁹ In the height of battle, the Sultan's eye fall upon him, and witnessing his splendid exploit, distinguished him by conferring upon him a special robe of honour. The Sultan further ordered Qutbud-Din

44 Firishta, p. 65, has Bhatindah, which is the same as Tabarhindah of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 57.

45 Firishta, p. 65.

46 *Tabaqât-i-Nasiri*, p. 169.

47 Badauni, p. 62 and the *Lub-ut Twarikh*, p. 10, state that "Baran and its dependencies were added to his fief of Gwalior."

48 Firishta, pp. 59, 60, states long before the occurrence of this event that the Gakkhars were converted to Muhammadanism—which is probable only at this stage, and not before.

49 Firishta, p. 65, says:

کہکروان را شکست دادہ قریب دہ ہزار دہ کس بقتل آورد

about ten or twelve thousand men.

'to treat Iltutmish well, for he would distinguish himself by doing great deeds.'⁵⁰ Qutbud-Din, on the Sultan's order, manumitted him and 'created him Amir-ul-Umra.'

On the sudden death of Sultan Qutbud-Din and the accession of Aram Shah, the *Sipah-salar* (commander of troops) Amir Ali-i-Isma'il, Amir-i-Dad (Chief Justice) of the capital city,⁵¹ in consultation with other *Maliks* and *Amirs* despatched an invitation to Iltutmish at Badaun to hasten to Delhi and to assume sovereignty. Iltutmish accepted the proposal, and he came with his forces and occupied Delhi in the year 1210. A.D.⁵²

V Rivals and their Overthrow

Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish succeeded in winning over most of the Turks and Qutbi Amirs by conferring valuable gifts and high favours upon them; but some of the Turks and Muizzi Amirs 'under Sar Jandar Turki'⁵³ joined hands against him, left the capital city with a strong force and broke out into rebellion in the vicinity.⁵⁴ The Sultan was so overwhelmed with terror that he refrained from suppressing the rebellion for several days. At last he gathered together a large army, headed by valiant leaders like Izzud-Din Bakhtiyar, Nasir-ud-Din Mardan Shah, Hazabbarud-Din Ahmad Sur and Iftikhar-ud-Din Mohammad Umar, and marched to face

⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 170.

⁵¹ Firishta, p. 65, says: "Amir, Daud, the Dilami." The *Lub-ut-Twarikh*, p. 10, "Mir Ali Ismail and Amir-i-Dad of Delhi"; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 57, "Sipah-salar-Isma'il and Amir-i-Dad of Delhi. 'And' is not correct here and must be omitted.

⁵² *Khulasat-ut Twarikh*, p. 190 incorrectly has "the year 1211."

⁵³ Firishta, p. 65, says:

“الا سردار جامداران يعنى خاصه خيل كه مرد ترك بود”

Sardar-i-Jamadar or Sar-i-Jamadar

is not a proper name as in Elliot, vol. II, p. 237 which has "Sirjandar Turki." Sar-i-Jamadar is the office the Turk had. Sar-i-Jamadar means "the head of the Royal robe bearers."

⁵⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 170.

the rebels.⁵⁵ The rival forces encountered each other in the plain of Jud. Iltutmish was victorious, and he put most of the leaders to the sword. Sar-Jamadar and others fled, while Aqsanqar and Tajud-Din Furrukh Shah, two of the famous Turkish leaders were slain.⁵⁶ Some time later Udaiṣa, the ruler of Jalore rebelled, and refused to pay the customary tribute. The Sultan marched against the Rae of Jalore, who, hearing of his arrival, shut himself up within the walls of the fortress, and implored for forgiveness. The Sultan pardoned him, and restored the fortress to him. The Rae, in return, presented hundred camels and twenty horses as the tribute due.⁵⁷

It was but a remnant of the large dominion, which Iltutmish inherited from his master as a result of his victory over Aram Shah. But the whole of Hindustan was in a state of utter confusion; Ali Mardan in Bengal, Qabachah in Multan and Sindh and Yilduz in Ghaznin were all powerful and independent,⁵⁸ and it goes to the credit of Iltutmish, who consolidated and strengthened the whole empire.

Sultan Tajud-Din Yilduz purchased his safety for the time being by entering into a compact with Iltutmish and despatching a canopy of state and a *Dur-bash*⁵⁹ (a kind of spear with two horns to keep away the people). This, however, does not mean that Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish acknowledged his supremacy over him.⁶⁰ Soon after Yilduz was defeated by the Khwarazmians. He fled to Lahore, where he made an attempt to build up his

55 *Taj-ul Maasir*, translation by Elliot, vol. II, p. 237.

56 Firishta, p. 65. The *Zubdat-ut Twarikh* says "the defeated Amirs were put to death at different times."

57 *Taj-ul Maasir*, translation by Elliot, vol. II, p. 238 also Firishta, p. 65.

58 See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 52.

59 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 170.

60 Firishta, p. 65 states that "Iltutmish accepted a canopy of state and a standard from the Hakim of Ghaznin for the sake of the honour of the latter"—Firishta is no authority to state as such.

power as an independent monarch. In the year 1215 A.D. he succeeded in conquering the Punjab upto Thanesar, and sent a message to Iltutmish to acknowledge him as an independent sovereign.⁶¹ The Sultan could never tolerate the establishment of Yilduz's power in the Punjab. He marched against his rival, and reached Samand in the month of January 1216 A.D.⁶² The rival forces met at Tarain,⁶³ and a great battle ensued. Fortune once more favoured Iltutmish; Taj-ud-Din Yilduz was 'wounded by an arrow shot by the Muwayyid-ul Mulk,'⁶⁴ and was captured along with many of his chiefs. He was first brought to Delhi and then sent a prisoner to Badaun, where he was poisoned and buried.⁶⁵ Upon several occasions, the Amirs and Maliks rose in hostilities in different parts of Hindustan, but all of them were put down and defeated.⁶⁶ Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish thus brought the different parts of his dominion under subjection like Badaun, Audh, Benares and the Siwalikh territory.

There was a constant state of warfare going on between Sultans Iltutmish and Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah for the possession of Lahore,⁶⁷ Tabarhindah and Kohram. Muid-ut Mulk Mohammad Junaidi, the Vizier, informed the Sultan of the refractory attitude of Qabachah, who had refused to pay any tribute. In the month of September 1216 A.D. Iltutmish marched with a large army towards Lahore. Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah decamped. On the 24th January 1217 Iltutmish left Lahore and reached the fortress

61 *Firishta*, p. 65.

62 *Taj-ul Maasir*, translation by Elliot, vol. II, p. 239.

63 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III incorrectly describes it as Tarawari. *Badauni*, p. 63 has also the same.

64 *Taj-ul Maasir*, Elliot, p. 239.

65 Minhaj Siraj is silent on this point, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 58 says that he was kept at Badaun until he died. The *Taj-ul Maasir* is also silent. In all probability he was killed.

66 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 171.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

at the village of Chamba. Qabachah was frightened to hear of the arrival of the royal forces, and he fled towards Lahore.⁶⁸ Iltutmish did not relax pursuit, and in a short time reached Lahore. In the year 1217 A.D., the rival forces encountered each other in the vicinity of Mansurah by the side of the river Chenab on the frontier tract of Lahore, and Qabachah suffered a crushing defeat.⁶⁹

In the year 1218 A.D., Qabachah defeated in battle the Khiliji Maliks of Ghaznin, who were in the habit of plundering the outlying districts of Sindh.⁷⁰ The Khiljis fled for protection to Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, who marched against Qabachah, defeated and drove him back to his kingdom.

In the year 1221 A.D., Sultan Jalalud-Din Khwarazm Shah,⁷¹ being pursued by Chingiz Khan, fled towards Lahore.⁷² Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish could not allow a foreign sovereign to have a footing in his dominion. So he marched against him with a large army, and Jalal-ud-Din, unable to oppose him, retreated⁷³ towards Siwaстан and Sindh. After fighting some skirmishes with Qabachah, he reached 'Kirman and Iraq'⁷⁴ by 'way of Kach and Mekran.'⁷⁵

AZIZ AHMAD

(To be continued)

68 *Taj-ul Maasir*, Elliot, vol. II, p. 240.

69 Firishta, p. 65; *Badauni*, p. 64 and the *Tazkar-tul-Muluk* both drown him at this stage.

70 Firishta, p. 65.

71 The *Tarikh*, of Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Bakhshi states that the invasion of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din happened after Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah was drowned but this is quite incorrect for Jalal-ud-Din fought many skirmishes with Qabachah on his way back to Iraq.

72 *The Khulasat-ut Twarikh*, p. 190 states that Jalal-ud-Din actually invested Lahore for some time.

73 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III p. 52 states that 'the envoy was killed by Iltutmish.

74 *Badauni*, p. 64.

75 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 59; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi*, p. 18.

MISCELLANY

Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict: the Yerragudi Copy

[REVISED READING]

A tentative reading of the Yerragudi version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict was published by me in this journal in March 1933, vol. IX, no. I, pp. 133f. on the basis of a poor photo-reproduction. There were a few places where I could not be quite sure of the readings then suggested by me. But now with the aid of a more accurate photographic reproduction of the copy in the *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1928-29, Pl. LXII, I have succeeded in deciphering the indistinct letters. Thus the text as offered here below may be regarded as a revised reading of the Yerragudi copy of the edict in question.

A. THE TEXT AS FOUND INSCRIBED

1. (D)evānaṃpiye hevaṃ **1a** haā¹ **1b** Sādhikāni.....
tekapa rachavasam kaṃc² **2a**
kho tu no kesapāu kaṃha yaṃ **2**
3. husa sātirekaṃ tu kho savachare
yaṃ mayā saghe upayi-
-a nalekā ca nāmī tekapa me ca dhabā te³ **4**
5. -misā muni-
sā devehi te dāni misibhūtā pakamasa hi
-khu yekisa vanetpahama n(a)⁴ **6**
7. -dakena pi paka- **7a** dhetave e
8. -maminena sakiye vipule svage ārā——tāya ca arthāya iyaṃ
9. (s)āvane sāvite athā kh(u)daka-mahadhanā imaṃ parākamevū aṃ-
ca kātiṭhiraci vunejā me ca tā⁻⁵ **10**
11. iyaṃ pakame hotu vipule pi ca vaḍhasitā aparadhiyā diyaḍhiyaṃ
-sā nevasā ca yaṃ(i)⁶ **12**

13. -vāpīte vyūthēna 200 50 6 hevaṃ Devānaṃ⁷ Devānaṃpiye āha yathā Devāna(m).⁸
yavitaka thāta hāā yepi⁹ 14.
15. rājūke ānapetaviye
-naā dapanajā nāribhe² 16
17. -payisati raṭhikāni ca mātāpitūsū su(su)-
18. -sifaviye hemeva garūsu sususitaviye prānesu dayitaviye saca vataviya¹⁰
19. susuma dhammagunā pavatitaviyā hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha
Devānaṃpiyasa¹² vacanena he-
panāā vame¹³ 20
21. -yatha hathiyārohāni kāranakāni yūgyacariyāni baṃbhanāni ca tuphe hevaṃ
nivesayā-
22. -tha atevasīni yārisā porānā pakiti iyaṃ sususitaviye apacāyanā ya vā sava me
22a ācari-
23. -yasa yathācārīna ācariyasa nātikāni yathāraha nātikesu pavatitaviye hesāpi
24. aṃtevasīsu yathāraha pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti yathāraha yathā iyaṃ
25. āroke siyā heva tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha
26. ca aṃtevasīni hevaṃ de-
tiyapanaā yepinaṃvā¹⁴ 27

B. THE TEXT AS MADE OUT

1. Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ **la** āha [:] **lb** sādḥikāni.....
2. yaṃ hakaṃ upāsake no tu kho ekaṃ saṃvachara pakate
3. husa [.] sātirekaṃ tu kho savachare yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayi-
4. te bādḥa ca me pakate [.] Iminā ca kālena a-
5. misā munisā devehi¹⁵ te dāni misibhūtā [.] Pakamasa hi¹⁷
6. n(a) mahatpaneva sakiye [.] khu-
7. dakena pi paka-
8. manīnena sakiye vipule svage ārā- **7a** dhetave [.] Etāya va aṭhāya iyaṃ
9. sāvane sāvite athā kh(u)daka-mahadhanā imaṃ parakamevū [.] Aṃ-
10. tā ca me jānevu ciratḥitikā ca

7 Repeated by mistake on the part of the scribe.

8 The letter *vā* appears as the first letter of line 14, and the letter *naṃ* as the last letter of line 18, though it is actually not so.

9-10 Written from right to left.

11 The letter *ta* is placed in between and a little below *ye* and *pi* of line 14.

12 The letter *sa* is placed in between *va* and *vi* of line 18 and a little above line 19.

13-14 Written from right to left.

15 Here *lambudīpasi* is wanted after *devehi*.

16 Cf. Maski text.

17 Other texts have after *hi* either *iyaṃ phale* or *esa phale*.

11. iyaṃ pakame hotu [.] vipule pi ca vadhasitā aparadhiyā diyadhīyaṃ¹⁸ [.]
 12. iyaṃ ca sāvane sāvane
 13. vāpīte vyūṭhena 200 50 6 [.] Hevaṃ Devānaṃ Devānaṃpiye āha [:]
 yarthā De-
 14. vānaṃpiye āhā rathā kaṭaviya [.]
 15. Rājūke ānapetaviye [.]
 16. bherinā jānapada āna-
 17. payisati rathikāni ca [:]¹⁹ mātāpitūsu su(su)-
 18. sitaviye [.] hemeva garūsu sususitaviye [.] prānesu dayitaviye [.] saca
 vataviya [.]
 19. susuma²⁰ dhaṇmagunā pavatitaviyā [.] Hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha
 Devānaṃpirasa vacanena [.] He-
 20. meva ānapa-
 21. yatha hathiyārohāni kāranakāni yūgyacariyāni baṃbhanāni ca²¹ [.] tuphe
 hevaṃ nivesayā -
 22. tha atevāsini yārisā porānā pakiti [:] iyaṃ sususitaviye [:] apacāyanā ya
 vā sava me
 22a. ācari-
 23. yasa yathācārīna ācariyasa* [.] nātikāni yathāraha nātikesu pavatitaviye
 [.]hesāpi
 24. aṃtevasīsu yathāraha pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti [.] yathāraha
 yathā iyaṃ
 25. āroke siyā hevā tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha
 26. ca aṃtevasīmi [.] Hevaṃ De-
 27. vānaṃpiye ānapayati²² [.]

C. TRANSLATION

Thus verily has His Gifted Majesty²¹ said: During
 or more when I (first became) a (Buddhist) lay worshipper, for one

18 The texts other than Maski have a longer reading.

19 From *yathā* to *rathikāni ca* is not to be found elsewhere.

20 In M.R.E. II (Siddāpur, etc.), one has *se ime* or simply *ime*, but here the reading distinctly is *susuma*.

21 From *Hemeva* to *baṃbhanāni ca* is not to be found elsewhere.

22 The Siddāpur and another copy of M.R.E. II have *Hemeva aṃtevasīnā ācariye apacāyitaviye*.

23 From *hesāpi* to *ānapayati* is not to be found in other copies.

24 The 'Beloved of the gods' is only a verbal English rendering of *Devānaṃpiya*. Mookerjee adopts 'His Sacred Majesty' as an English equivalent of the royal style. But a *Devānaṃpiya* is rather one who is worthy of favour from the gods than whose person is sacred.

year I had not been exerting myself, but (subsequently) in one year or more when the Sangha (Buddhist holy order) was approached²⁵ by me, I exerted much, and by this time men who had not mingled with gods²⁶ have now been intermingled. Verily, of exertion the greater man²⁷ alone is not capable, even the lesser man²⁸ exerting is capable of obtaining heavenly joy.²⁹ For this very purpose this message³⁰ has been caused to be proclaimed so that the lesser and the greater man will exert for it, and the Antas (people of the neighbouring territories)³¹ will come to know it,³² and may this tradition of exertion be long-enduring, and even it may be increased immensely, at least one-and-a-half times more. And when this message was proclaimed 256³³ (has to be taken) as passed.³⁴ Thus has His Gifted Majesty said: "As His Gifted Majesty has said so should it be done. The Rājūka³⁵ shall be ordered to announce, he by the beat of drum³⁶ shall

25 It is evident from Asoka's own statement that he had not entered the Sangha as a monk. He remained a lay worshipper for the whole period of time referred to in the edict.

26 See Bhandarkar's note in his *Asoka*, 2nd edition.

27 *i.e.*, a man of high position.

28 *i.e.*, a man of inferior position. The reference does not seem to have been to Asoka's own officials.

29 *Svaga* stands for a brighter prospect of existence hereafter.

30 *Sāvana* is a happy royal message conveyed to the people at large for their information.

31 For the *Aśokan* meaning of *Antas* or *Paccantas*, see R.E. II and R.E. XIII.

32 Presumably through the *dūtas* (envoys) who had access, acc. to R.E. XIII, to those territories.

33 The question still remains open whether the figure refers to the number of nights or a regnal year counted in terms of a current era.

34 Acc. to the *Arthaśāstra*, the word *vyūṣṭa* (*Aśokan vyūṣṭha*) means a date stated in terms of a regnal year, month, etc.

35 Here the word is used in a singular form. The *Rājūka* is certainly the high official through whom the message was to be conveyed.

36 This may be taken to throw some light on Aśoka's enigmatic statement *bherighoso abo dhammaghoso* in R.E. IV. The present statement clearly proves that *bherighosa* (the beat of drum) was used as a means of propagation of the Law (*dbammasāvana*).

announce to the people of the districts³⁷ and those of distinct realms, (inculcating:) the parents³⁸ must be hearkened to, likewise the teachers; the living creatures should be treated with tender regard, truth should be spoken, (one should have the heart) to hear³⁹ the qualities of the *dharma* to be propounded. Thus indeed you must instruct by command of His Gifted Majesty. Likewise you must instruct the elephant-riders, the *kāranakas*,⁴⁰ the chariot-trainers, and the Brahmins⁴¹: 'You should thus establish your pupils according to the good old rule:⁴² This is to be hearkened to: Whatever is estimable (in me), all that is due to my teacher, the teacher acting properly as teacher. The neighbours are to propound it to the neighbours as far as practicable. This should be propounded also among the pupils as far as practicable according to the good old rule. As it may remain unimpaired as far as practicable so should you instruct and establish the pupils.' Thus indeed communicates⁴³ His Gifted Majesty.

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37-38 The *jānapadas* are distinguished from the *antās* on the one hand, and from the *ratthikas* on the other. See *ratthiya-puttā* in *Sumanāgalavilāsini*, I, p. 148.

39 Literally, mother and father.

40 Literally, 'we will hear' (*susuma*).

41 They were probably the trying magistrates.

42 The elephant-riders, the *kāranakas*, the chariot-trainers, and the Brahmins are mentioned as the main agents employed for broadcasting the message. Cf. *Dhammapada-Comy.*, vol. III, pp. 81-82, which shows how the horses, the chariots, and the elephants were useful to *dharmaghosakakamma* (the work of a person engaged in calling attention of the people to the norm of conduct).

43 *i.e.*, according to the time-honoured custom or practice.

44 Of course, to his officials.

The Terms 'Gurjara' and 'Gurjareśvara'

In his article entitled 'History of the Gurjara Country' contributed to vol. X of the *Quarterly*, Dr. D. C. Ganguly advances the novel view that the terms 'Gurjaras' and 'Gurjareśvara', mentioned in early records, refer not to the Imperial Pratihāras but to the Guhilas of Cātsū. His reasons for the position he takes up are as follows:—

- (a) 'Al Bilāduri mentions the names of countries, viz., Uzain, Mālība, Bailmān, Jurz etc. which were invaded by the Arabs of Sindh. At this time Ujjain and Bailmān or Vallamaṇḍala, which were distinct from Jurz or Gurjara, were ruled by the Pratihāras.
- (b) 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records mention about the Gurjaras. The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa reports that the Gurjaras dwelt on the hill-fort of Citrakūṭa.
- (c) 'The *Rājataranṅinī* refers, in the same connection, to the Pratihāra Bhoja, and the Gurjareśvara Alakhāna.
- (d) 'Pampa's report indicates that the Gurjararāja, and (the Pratihāra) Mahipāla were two different personages.
- (e) 'Al Masūdī makes a distinction between the kingdom of Bauūra (Pratihāra) and the kingdom of Jurz.

Let us consider these arguments in the order given above.

(a) Is it not faulty logic to conclude that Gurjaratrā must have been under a different clan, because Vallamaṇḍala and Ujjain were being ruled contemporaneously by the Pratihāras? Could not three or four sections of an important clan rule over three or even four kingdoms at a time? Then, on what grounds does the learned writer believe that the Pratihāras ruled in Ujjain and Vallamaṇḍala and not Gurjaratrā, when the Arab leader Junaid led his expeditions into the interior of our country? In c. 725, Vallamaṇḍala was under

the Bhattīs, and not the Pratihāras.¹ And for Ujjain or Avanti too being the original seat of Pratihāra power the evidence generally adduced is rather dubious. Our earliest Pratihāra records come, not from Avanti, but Gurjaratrā. Jinasena's verse, again, if rightly interpreted, states that he was the ruler of this territory.² If Vatsarāja had been the ruler of Avanti, the word *nṛpa* would not have been used immediately after its synonym *bbūbbṛi*³ and we might have discovered at least one or two Pratihāra grants in Malwa. The verse from the Sañjan plates, generally quoted in this connection, is also not very helpful. It merely states that the Gurjara king acted as a *partihāra* or door-keeper with some others at Ujjayini⁴. Now if this makes the Gurjareśa the ruler of the city, then surely it had a host of masters, for the Gurjareśa was only one among many officiating as *pratibāras*, at the *hiranyagarbha* ceremony mentioned in the plates. In fact, it is not Vallamaṇḍala or Ujjain, (though Dr. Ganguly thinks otherwise) but Gurjaratrā alone that has any valid claim to be regarded as the original home of the Pratihāras. Uddyotana Sūri, who composed the *Kuvalayamālā* five years before the completion of Jinasena's *Harivamśa Purāna*, states explicitly that Vatsarāja ruled at

१ भट्टिकं देवराजं यो बल्लमण्डलपालकम् ।

निपाल्य तत्क्षणं भूमौ प्राप्तवान् (वांश्च) तच्चिह्नकम् ॥

JRAS., 1894, p. 6.

It is expressly stated here that Devarāja was a Bhatti. Dr. Ganguly seems to have been led into error by Dr. R. C. Majumdar's wrong opinion that this Devarāja was identical with Devarāja Pratihāra, father of Vatsarāja. For further discussion of the question see *Journal of Indian History*, vol. VI, p. 238 ff.

२ The verse runs as follows :

शाकेष्वन्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेपृत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णानृपजे श्रावणमे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूमृति नृपे वत्सादि (धि) राजेपरां
सौर्या(रा)णामधिमण्डले जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

३ See the underlined words in the above verse.

४ हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुजयिन्यां यदासितम् ।

प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥

Jālore.⁵ The Daulatpura plate of Bhojadeva I records the grant of lands by Vatsarāja in the territory included now in the Jodhpur State.⁶ The earliest Pratihāra record, I mean the Buchkalā inscription states that Ghanghakan was in the *svaviṣaya* of Nāgabhata II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja.⁷ All these places, viz., Jālore, Didwānā, and Buchkalā, said to be ruled by the Pratihāras, are at present in the Jodhpur State, the major part of which was at one time included in the political division known as Gurjaratrā.

About 812 A.D. the Pratihāras of Jālore conquered Kanauj, and came to be mentioned as Gurjaras in the early records of India, not because they were Gūjars by caste, but because they were known to have originally belonged to Gurjaratrā which they continued to rule even after their eastern and northern conquests. In the 12th

- 5 आसो तिकम्माहिरओ महादुवारम्मि खत्तिओ पयडो ।
 उज्जोअरणो ति गामं त धिअ परिभुंजिरे तइआ ॥
 तस्स वि पुत्तो संपइणामेण वडंसरोति पयडगुणो ।
 तस्सुज्जोअण गामो तणउ अह विरइआ तेण ॥
तुंगमलंधं जिणभवणामणहरं सार (व) याउलं विसमं
जावालितरं अद्रावयं व अह अत्थि पुहईए ॥
तुंगं धवलं मणहारिरयणपसरंतधयवडाडोवं ।
 उमहजिणिदायतणं करावियं वीरभट्टेण ॥
 तत्थ टिएणं अह चोइसीए चेतस्स कग्गहपकरवम्मि ।
 णिम्मविआ वोहिकरी भव्वाणं होउ सव्वाण ॥
 परभडभिउडीभंगो पणइयणरोहणो कलानन्दो
सिरीवच्छरायणामो रणहत्थी पत्थिवो जइआ ॥
 .।. चन्दकुलावयन्नेणं आयरिय उज्जोअरणेन रइआमे ।
सुगकाले बोलीयेवरिसाण सएहि सत्तहि गएहि
एकदिणोसुणोहि रइआ अवरणहवेत्ताए ॥

(*Kuvalayamālā-Kathā*,—Jaisalmer Bhandar, Palm-leaf, 253.

Quoted by Pandit L. B. Gandhi in his 'introduction to the *apabhrāmśa-kāvya-trayi* (G.O.S.), p. 89.

6 *El.*, vol. V, pp. 211 f.

7 *El.*, vol. IX, pp. 199 f.

century, the term Gurjara was transferred to the Caulukyias, because of their being the new masters of Gurjaratrā. In the verse,⁸

चेदीश्वरेंद्ररथ-[तोगग]लभीममुख्यान् करणीटलाटपतिगूर्जरराटतुरुष्कान् ।

यद्मृत्यमात्रविजितानवलोक्यमौलादोष्णां व(ब)लानिकलयति न [योद्धृ]लोकान् ॥

for instance, the 'Gūrjararāṭa is clearly Bhīma Caulukya of Anhilwād, and yet none, strangely enough, maintains that he was a Gūjar. Hemacandrā uses the word 'Gurjara' for the Gujarātis, and 'Gurjarendra' for their masters.⁹ Yaśāhpāla, the author of the Moharājaparājaya, has similarly the words 'Gūrjararāja', 'Gūrjareśvara', and 'Gūrjaranareśvara' for Kumārapāla Caulukya.¹⁰ It thus appears that the words 'Gurjara', and 'Gurjareśvara' etc., as used by the writers of our inscriptions and books had no ethnic value. They could be quite reasonably used for the Pratihāras migrating from and ruling over Gurjaratrā even if they had no Gūjar blood in their veins. The Guhilas of Cāṭsū cannot, on the other hand, be called by these names, because neither Cāṭsū nor Dhod, the two places where their inscriptions have been discovered, can be proved to have been situated within Gurjaratrā. Other reasons too for this conclusion will be found in the sections that follow.

(a) The Pratihāra records no doubt mention the Gurjaras. But they do not in the least imply that these Gurjaras were the Guhilas of Cāṭsū. In Nāgabhaṭa II's time, the Pratihāra empire extended as far as Citrakūṭa, and thus the statement of the Nilgund inscription that Govinda III captured the Gurjaras stationed at the place finds quite an easy and natural explanation. The Rādhanpur plates too mention a certain Gurjara as his chief adversary in the north.¹¹ As Govinda III must have fought against Nāgabhaṭa II before he secured the submission of Cakrāyudha, the titular ruler of Kanauj, and barthed his army in the Ganges, as stated in the Sañjan plates,¹² this

8 *El.*, vol. I, p. 235.

9 *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*. VI, 7.

10 *Moharāja-Parājaya*, pp. 106, 112, 129, 130, 132.

11 *El.*, VI, v. 15 of the plate.

12 Verse 23 of the plate.

Gurjara adversary must be identified with the Pratihāra ruler Nāga-bhāṭa II who was at the time the overlord of Northern India, and not with his feudatory Saṅkaragaṇa of Cātsū who, though perhaps fairly strong, was, comparatively speaking, an unimportant ruler. Saying that an overlord has been defeated, when it is a mere feudatory that has been worsted in battle, and not *vice versa*, is quite common with writers of laudatory inscriptions. Dr. Ganguly overlooks this trait of human nature, when he asks us to see a reference to the Guhilas and not to their masters the Pratihāras in every mention of the Gurjaras in the records of the Rāstrakūṭa rulers.

Other important and pertinent references to the Gurjaras are to be found in the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III. Verse 13 of the former, which is identical with v. 15 of the latter, states that Kṛṣṇa II terrified the Gurjara, destroyed the pride of the Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the Sāmudras of their sleep, and had his commands honoured by the Aṅga, the Kaliṅga, the Gaṅga, and the Magadha, waiting at his gate.¹³ Now if we identify the Gurjara here with the Guhila ruler of Cātsū, we should look in vain for his overlord, the Pratihāra emperor, even though the composer of the inscription has to the best of his ability enumerated all the great kings of northern India. The Pratihāras had surely a better right to be mentioned than their feudatories. So it is doubtless the Pratihāra and not the Guhila ruler who is signified by the term 'Gurjara' in these plates. Again, v. 30 of the Karhad grant, which is identical with v. 25 of the Deoli plates, states that 'on hearing of Kṛṣṇa III's conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region merely by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālīṅjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara'.¹⁴ This clearly means that these two forts were somewhere near the boundary of the Gurjara empire, and were most probably included within it in the near past. Such an empire could be only that of the Pratihāras,

13 *EL*, V, 193, and *EL*, IV, 283.

14 *Ibid*.

of Kanauj, inasmuch as the Guhilas of Cātsū had at no time in their history any pretension to the possession of Kālīnjara. In other Rāstrakūṭa records too, the word Gurjara can be similarly shown to refer to the Pratihāras, and we might therefore reasonably conclude that at least these records, despite Dr. Ganguly's opinion to the contrary, lend no countenance to the theory that it is the Guhilas and not the Pratihāras who are the Gurjaras of our early inscriptions:

(c) I give below the translation of the verses of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, referred to by Dr. Ganguly:

“The firmly rooted fortune of Alakhāna, king of Gurjara, he (Śaṅkaravarman) uprooted in a battle in a moment, and made long grief rise (in its place).” “The ruler of Gurjara gave up to him humbly the Takka land, preserving (hereby) his own country, as if he had saved his own body (at the sacrifice of a finger).” “He caused the sovereign power which the superior king Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Thakkiya family, who had become his servant in the office of the Chamberlain.”¹⁵ (Stein, vol. I. BK. V, vv. 149-151).

Now do these verses indicate that this Gurjarādhipa was a Guhila of Cātsū? At least Fleet did not think so. To him Alakhāna appeared to have ruled over ‘the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab, south of Darvābhisāra, and also a part of the Punjab plain further east’,¹⁶ and there is no reason to question his statement. The description of Śaṅkaravarman's march in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, as well as verse 151 quoted above, show clearly that this Gurjarādhipa's territory adjoined the Takkadeśa, and was hence hundreds of miles away from the Guhila kingdom of Cātsū. Alakhāna was, as stated by Kalhaṇa, a subordinate of Bhoja, and has been called ‘Gurjarā-

¹⁵ I quote the translation from Dr. Ganguly's ‘History of the Gurjara Country *IHQ.*, vol. X, p. 617.

¹⁶ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Stein's English translation, vol. I, p. 99.

dhipa, perhaps because he was either a Pratihāra, or quite probably even a relative on the paternal side of his master who might have, for certain reasons, thought it fit to make him ruler of some portion of the Punjab territory forming the northern frontier of his empire.

(d) Pampà's work is an important document, and surely deserves careful consideration. The passage from it that Dr. Ganguly relies on is as follows:—

“When preparing for victory he (Narasimha) captured the champion elephants which marched in front, and penetrating and putting to flight the army of the Gurjararāja secured the victory and eclipsed Vijaya (or Arjuna), this Narasimha. Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahipāla fled in consternation, not stopping to eat, or sleep, or rest.”¹⁷ The passage obviously describes the defeat of one man only. In the first sentence the army of the Gurjararāja is said to have been put to flight, and in the second, this very ruler now barely mentioned by his personal name Mahipāla, is described as flying without stopping to eat, or sleep, or rest. There is surely no indication of any difference between the Gurjararāja and Mahipāla in this description.

(e) Dr. Ganguly has, in the body of his article, given the reports of all the Arab travellers (of whom Al Masūdī was only one) who either visited, or wrote on, India. As they are, one and all, relevant to the issue in hand, we shall deal *seriatim* with them.

1. Merchant Sulaiman states that Balharā, Jurz, and Tāfak ‘border on a kingdom called Ruhmi which is at war with Jurz.’¹⁸ Here the mention of Ruhmi or Rahma—most probably a corruption of Brāhma, an old name of Bengal—as bordering on Jurz settles the whole question. It was the Pratihāra empire, and not the Guhila kingdom of Cātsū, that bordered on Bengal. So the Jurz of Sulaiman must obviously be the Pratihāra empire, and not the Guhila kingdom.

¹⁷ Rice, *Vikramārjunavijaya*, pp. 3, 4. Quoted by Dr. Ganguly, *IHQ.*, X, p. 619.

¹⁸ Elliot, I, 5.

Another point which Dr. Ganguly has not particularly noticed is that Sulaiman mentions only five Indian kingdoms, viz., Balharā, Jurz, Ruhmi, Kāshbin, and Kīrranj.¹⁹ If we following his lead, identify Jurz with the Guhila kingdom of Cātsū, it means that we are ready to believe that Sulaiman ignored altogether the empire of of the Pratihāras. But such a belief would, I think, be no less than a slur on the acute powers of observation that this merchant is credited with. That this widely travelled and well-informed person should not on the one hand take even cursory notice of an empire whose army totalled about three lacs, and numerous grants of which have been found scattered throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan, and mention prominently, on the other, a small kingdom whose very existence is barely known from two inscriptions found within the small area extending from Dhod in Mewar to Cātsū in Jaipur is something that goes beyond my conception, and probably of others too.

2. Abu Zaid identifies Jurz with Kanauj. Writing about Indian society, he says that his observations are especially applicable to *Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.*²⁰ Dr. Ganguly's attempt to explain away his testimony on the ground that he never visited India can be hardly regarded as convincing. Abu Zaid's account is quite sane and sober, and gives little ground for the belief that he either invented things, or put down uncritically the travellers' tales that he heard from people coming from India. The attempt to discredit his account on the ground that he derived his information from Al Masūdi, with whose account Abu Zaid's is believed to be in conflict, is doubtless even less to the point, because the borrowing is, curiously enough, not one-sided. 'Masūdi met this Abu Zaid,' writes Sir Henry Elliot, 'at Basra in 303 H. (916 A.D.), and acknowledges to have derived information from him, some of

19) Elliot, I, 3 ff.

20) *Ibid.*, 10.

which he reproduced in the *Meadows of Gold* as a comparison of the following extracts will show. On the other hand Abu Zaid was indebted to Masūdi for some of his statements.²¹ So if borrowing be a defect, that authors should guard against, it is to be found equally in both the writers, and should not, therefore, be made the ground of condemning one and praising the other. Further, even if we admit for sake of argument that Abu Zaid's account deserves rejection on going against Masūdi's testimony, we hope to show that Abu Zaid's identification of Jurz with Kanauj or the Pratihāra empire deserves unquestioning acceptance inasmuch as Masūdi does not in fact, despite Dr. Ganguly's assertion to the contrary, make any 'distinction between the kingdom of Bauira (Pratihāra) and the kingdom of Jurz.'

3. Ibn Khurdādba mentions seven Indian kingdoms, namely, Balharā, Tāfan, Jāba, Juzr, Ana, Rahmi, and Kāmran.²² Of these Jāba is perhaps Java. Ana cannot be identified. The rest are identical with the five kingdoms of Sulaiman's account. If Jurz be identified with the Guhila kingdom of Cātsū, the mighty Pratihāra empire will be found absent from the list of the Indian kingdoms.

4. As Al Masūdi is an authority that Dr. Ganguly specially relies on, we shall deal a bit in detail with his testimony. In Chapter VII of his work *Meadows of Gold* he mentions the kingdoms of the Bauira, lord of Kanauj, Rai, king of Kashmir, the king of Tāfan, and the Balharā, ruler of Māṅkīr.²³ If we compare this list with that of Sulaiman noticed above, we find two additions and two omissions. Al Masūdi adds Bauira and kingdom of Kashmir, and omits Jurz and Rahmi. But as we are aware from other sources that these two kingdoms did not disappear during the period intervening between the travels of these writers, we are naturally tempted to look for them in the additions made by the later traveller. Rahmi,

21 Elliot, I, 2-3.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 13 l.

23 Elliot, pp 19-21.

the kingdom of Bengal, is clearly not there. But may we not identify Sulaiman's Jurz with Masūdi's kingdom of the Bauūra? According to Sulaiman, Jurz borders on Rahmi, Tāfak, and the Balharā's kingdom. It is at war with the first and last of these and also the Arabs whose faith has no greater foe than the king of Jurz.²⁴ It is surely a great empire, for its boundary touches Bengal in the east, the Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdom in the south, Tāfak in the north, and the Arab dominions in the west. History knows of only one empire which reached these dimensions in 851 A.D., and that is the empire of the Pratihāras. Masūdi's kingdom of the Bauūra is not smaller in extent than Sulaiman's Jurz, and has the same friends and enemies. His Bauūra king 'has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings'.²⁵ The upper course of the Mihrān lies in his territory, and he is 'an enemy of the Balharā'.²⁶ 'He has four armies, according to the four quarters of the world; each of these numbering 700,000 or 900,000. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan, and with the Musalmans, his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balharā, king of Mānkīr. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction.'²⁷ The similarity between the two descriptions is patent. Both Jurz and the Bauūra fight against the Arabs and the Balharā, both maintain large armies, and both are surrounded on all sides by warlike kings. Sulaiman's Jurz borders on Bengal in the east, and Tāfan in the west. Masūdi does not mention this fact about his Bauūra kingdom. But we know from various copper plates and inscriptions that this was actually the extent of the Bauūra or the Pratihāra empire. So there is, after all, little ground for questioning the identity of these two empires.

Al Masūdi takes up again this topic of the kings of Sindh and Hind at the end of the 16th chapter of his work. Here he

²⁴ Elliot, I, p. 4. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

mentions the Balharā, Juzr, Tāfan, Rahma, Kāman, and Firanj.²⁸ The list is obviously more complete than the last one. But it shows two significant omissions, *viz.*, the Rāi of Kashmir, and the Bauūra of Kanauj. The Rāi has not been mentioned, probably he was considered rather unimportant. In his other account too he is barely named. But we see no reason for his omitting the mighty Bauūra king of Kanauj, when his neighbours the Balharā and the king of Tāfan have been mentioned once again, and an obvious attempt has been made to make the account exhaustive by including in it the kings of Kaman, and Firanj, unless we assume that he regarded Jurz and Bauūra as identical and presumed that his readers too were not ignorant of this fact.

5. Al Idrisi's book tells us that 'the greatest king of India is Balharā. After him comes Makamkam, whose country is Sāj. Next the king of Sāfan or Tāban, then the king of Jabā, then the king of Jurz, and then the king of Kāmṛūn whose state touches China.'²⁹ Here again the Pratihāra empire has not been mentioned, simply because it is identical with Jurz, and this identity has perforce to be admitted, because there is no other way of explaining this seeming conspiracy of all the Arab travellers, excepting one at the most to ignore even the bare existence of the powerful Pratihāra empire of Kanauj.

6. Al Bilāduri's testimony has been already dealt with.³⁰

The above arguments probably show the weakness of Dr. Ganguly's theory. Unless the learned writer advances some new and better arguments in its favour, history will consign the Guhilas of Cāṭsū once more to the oblivion from which he has tried to redeem them.

DASARATHA SARMA

28 Elliot, I, pp. 24-25.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 6.

30 See above our remarks on Dr. Ganguly's reason (a)

A Coin of Murād Shāh (?)

In a Marathi letter dated 30-5-1791 and published in the Satara Historical Research Society's volume called the *Historical Papers of the Sindias of Gwalior*, it is stated thus:—

To the north-east of Delhi has risen a Hindu Raja who has an army of five or ten thousand men. He has coined a rupee on one side of which is an image of Mahādeva and on the other are some characters. He is subduing fort after forts. To the north-west has risen a Mussulman who has an army of five thousand men. He has also coined a rupee, weighing fourteen *māsas*, and bearing the figure of an elephant on one side. He is also capturing forts. Mahadji Sindia on learning this declared, "If it is the will of God we all chiefs shall obey him, but if it is in the hands of man it is not difficult for me to destroy him in a short time."

It must be admitted that this may be one of the Marathi newsletters which sometimes contain bazar rumours that are untrue but it is not impossible that there may be some grain of truth in the information given by the letter. The Hindu king may be the Gurkha king of Nepal. For we know that Ranbahadurshah, the son of Pratapshah and grandson of Prithivinarayanshah tried to conquer the country round about Nepal in 1789-91 but could not succeed. Are coins of the kind spoken above found of this Nepal king?

The Mussulman king referred to in the letter cannot be the Afghan king whose kingdom was to the north-west of Delhi. Because his rise was not sudden and Mahadji had already diplomatic relations with him. There was another Mussulman ruler beyond Afghanistan who we find rose to prominence suddenly at this time. He was Murad Shah of Bukhara and Transoxiana. As kindly suggested to me by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Murad Shah's war with Timur Shah of Afghanistan is described in detail in the Persian

Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi. It is also referred to in half a dozen Marathi letters published in the volume mentioned above and in an English letter of 10th January, 1789 published in the first volume of the *Poona Residency Records*. The Mussulman king, therefore, mentioned in the Marathi letter of 30.5.1791 was in all likelihood Murad Shah. Are coins of his with the figure of an elephant found?

D. B. DISKALKAR

Rājendra Cola I and Mahipāla of Bengal

The question whether the Cola army that went on an expedition to Northern India to fetch the water of the Ganges meet Mahipāla of Bengal in battle or not has been the subject of long discussion among scholars, and I had occasion to review the question at some length in my *Colas*, vol. I, pp. 247-54 and 283-8; also in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. VII, pp. 199-218. The attempt to identify Mahipāla with the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler has not found any great support and may now be taken to have been definitely given up. But the controversy is still keen as to whether Mahipāla is the Pāla king or Mahipāla is only a common noun meaning 'king' and has reference to a ruler of the Orissa (Oḍḍa) country.¹ I have found, however, no difficulty in accepting the suggestion made by Kielhorn several years ago that the Pāla ruler Mahipāla I was meant by the name; the other rulers mentioned in relation to different parts of Bengal, viz., Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra and Govindacandra, were perhaps the feudatories of Mahipāla, whose defeat is said to have led immediately to the occupation of Uttara-Rādha and the banks of the Ganges, and thus marked the culmination of the whole enterprise. But the lines in which Mahipāla is mentioned have caused doubts, and we shall discuss them here in some detail.

¹ *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 661-6 and 1936, pp. 82-89.

I must state, however, at the outset that I am not convinced that any support can be found from the Sanskrit section of the Tiruvālangādu plates for the view that these lines refer to an Orissa ruler, and I need not repeat here the considerations which have been already urged by me elsewhere (*Colas*, vol. I, p. 284).

I shall now reproduce the different published readings of the two lines following the mention of the capture of Vaṅgāla-deśam, and then proceed to suggest the interpretation that seems to me the most probable :

- i. Tānjore Temple, *SII.*, II, no. 20.
toḍu kalarcaṅguvoḍadal² mayipālanai
veṅjamar vilāgattaṅjuvittaruli
- ii. Tirumalai Rock. *EL.*, IX, p. 232.
toḍu kaḍarcaṅgukoḍadan³ mahipālanai
veṅjamavalāgattaṅjuvittaruli
- iii. Kolar, *EC.*, X, Kl. 109 (a):
...du - kalar - caṅgoṭṭal mahipālanai
veṅjamar-vilāgattaṅjuvittaruli
- iv. Nelamangala, *EC.*, IX, Nl. 7 (a).
toḍu kaḍar-caṅgoṭṭal mayipālalai
veṅjamar-vilāgattaṅjuvittaruiō
- v. Nelamangala *EC.*, IX, Nl. 37.
toḍu kalarcaṅgoḍoṭṭan mahipālanai.....
- vi. Channapatna, *EC.*, IX, Cn. 84.
toḍu kaḍar-caṅgamōṭṭa mahipālanai
veṅjama-vilāga-ttaṅjuvitt-aruli.

2 Hultzsch read this as *vottal*, due to a crease mark on the stone above the two *ta-s*, and then gave the impossible translation that Mahipāla was deprived even of his slippers, bracelets and ear-rings. No one will be found to support this now.

3 This is read as *koṭṭan* by Hultzsch and then corrected into *toḍu-kalar-conguvoṭṭal* in conformity with his reading of the Tānjore record, the translation being now slightly altered: Mahipāla, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets.

In Nos. iii-vi I have only reproduced the readings given in *Epigraphia Carnatica*: there is no means of verifying these readings as no facsimiles of the records are given, and it may be noted that Rice generally translates these lines saying: "having been pleased to frighten on a hot battle-field Mayipāla of (?) Śaṅgottal who wore the warrior's ankle-rings."

Accepting the form of the Tanjore inscription as likely to be the most correct of all these readings, I was inclined to see a proper name in Śaṅgu, and suggest that he was forced to flee from the battle-field along with Mahipāla. But looking more closely at the Tirumalai rock reading, I feel that another meaning is more likely, viz., that Mahipāla was frightened by the noise of the war-conches of the Cola forces and fled from the field as a result. The words of the Tirumalai record mean literally:

Toḍu kaḍarcaṅgukaḍu—by means of conches got from the
 deep ocean
 aḍal mahipālanai—the strong mahipāla (in the accusative
 case)
 veñjama valāgattu—on the field of hot battle
 aṅjuvittaruli—having been pleased to frighten.

It may be noted that *veñjamavalāgam* and *veñjamarvilāgam* do not differ in meaning; further if we correct the reading *tta* in all the Mysore inscriptions into *tata* i.e. *dada*, we find that the meaning now suggested fits almost all the readings before us perfectly. Note also that *aḍal mahipālan* becomes *adan-mahipālan* by euphonic combination, and that *mayipāla* is only a variant form of *mahipāla*. The only difficulty that remains is to explain the reading *kalal* for *kadal*; and this error perhaps arose from the fact that *toḍukalal* (where *toḍu* means wear) is an expression of frequent use in Tamil, and that a scribal error is easily possible in this context owing to the euphonic proximity of *la* and *ḍa*. Note also lastly that the idea of a *śaṅgamam* or the river mouth seems to be suggested, if at all, only by one of

the readings no. vi, and that with the correction suggested by me this line really divides into the words: *toḍu kaḍal śaṅgam oḍu aḍa(l) mahipālanai*. Neither the Oḍḍa country, nor the river mouth seems to have any relevance to this context.

There is, however, one reading (no. v) among those given above that calls for some further remark. Here we have *Śaṅgoḍḍtan Mahipālanai*, and this does seem to lend support to the hypothesis of an Oḍḍa ruler in general, or an Oḍḍa king of the name of Mahipāla. It may also be noted that No. 128 of 1900 from Tirukkoyilūr also contains a similar reading:

*toḍu kaḍarcaṅgoḍḍta mahipālanai
veñjamar vilāgattañjuvittaruliḍum.*

But these readings again do not mention any *śaṅgamam* or river mouth. Even the suggestion of the Oḍḍa king (Mahipāla) must, I think, be set down to a scribal error. And this for two reasons. First that the Oḍḍa country has already been mentioned once in the narrative of this expedition in the words: *kiṭṭaruñjerimilāi-otta-ṅaiṅgam*, and there is no reason to expect a repetition of it. Secondly *aḍal* or *aḍan* will rhyme with *toḍu* at the beginning of the line, and the scheme of the metre of this *prāśasti* does require that each line must have an internal rhyme—cf. *kiṭṭarum* and *otta* in the line just quoted, or *veñjamar* and *añjuvittu* in the line after the one under discussion, so that undoubtedly the correct reading of the two lines must be taken to be:

*toḍukaḍarcaṅgukodaḍal (n) mahipālanai
veñjamar vilāgattañjuvittaruli,*

meaning: "Having been pleased to frighten the strong Mahipāla on the field of hot battle with the (noise of the) conch from the deep sea."

The Pramāṇavārttika of Dharmakīrti

Prajñākaramati in his *Pañjikā* on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (p. 492) quotes the following verses:

yaḥ paśyaty ātmānam tasyātrāham iti śāsvatasnehah/1
snehāt sukheṣu trsyati trṣṇā doṣāms tiraskurute// 1
guṇadarśi paritrṣaṇ mameti tat sādhanāny upādatte/1
tenātmābhīniveśo yavat-tāvat tu saṁsārah// 2
ātmani sati parasamjñā svaparavibhāgāt parigrahadveṣau/1
anayoḥ sampratibaddhāḥ sarve doṣāḥ prajāyante// 3.

These are quoted also by Guṇratna in his commentary on the *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, Bib. Ind., p. 192. The last kārīkā is also cited in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka*, GOS., p. 67.

Prajñākaramati attributes the kārīkāś to Ācāryapāda (*tad uktam ācāryapādaḥ*). And this Ācārya is believed to be Nāgārjuna. These kārīkāś are, however, found in Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, II: 217-219, which as edited by Rāhūla Sāṅkrtyāyana will soon appear as an Appendix to the *JBORS.*, vol. XXII.

In this note I wish to point out a few variants. For *tasyātrāba*^o in the first half of the kārīkā 1, Pv reads *tatrāsyaḥba*^o. For *paritrṣaṇ* in the first half of the kārīkā 2, which is defective both grammatically and metrically, Pv has *paritrṣyan*; and in the second half for *tu* it reads *sa*.

The following line occurs in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 75:

tāyīnām iti/ svādhigatamārgadeśakānām/ yad uktam tāyah
svadrṣtamārgoktir iti.

So long this quotation remained untraced. But now it is interesting to note that this, too, is in the *Pramāṇavārttika*, 2. 145:

tāyah svadrṣta-mārgoktir vaiphalyād vakti nānṛtam
dayālutvāt parārtham ca sarvārambh|ābhi-|yogataḥ//

VIDHUSHIKHARĀ BUJATĀCHARYA

A forgotten Conspiracy against the English in Bengal

That in the closing years of the XVIIIth century there was a deep-laid conspiracy in Bengal against the East India Company is not fully known to the students of modern Indian history. Even the published correspondence and despatches of Sir John Shore and Lord Wellesley do not contain sufficient details that may enable one to form an idea about this conspiracy.

Some interesting information is now available for the first time from a hitherto unpublished letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth, dated May 18, 1799. This letter has been recently acquired by the U. P. Historical Society. I am grateful to the authorities of the Society for permission to use it. The letter is a lengthy document and deals with a number of subjects. The portion relating to Bengal is cited below.

This letter is important for the following reasons:

(1) The writer of the letter was an old and distinguished member of the Company's service, and was the Persian translator to the Government under Shore and Wellesley. He was a well-informed and responsible officer, and his account therefore cannot be dismissed as a fanciful story; (2) he was personally aware of the violent intentions of the chief conspirator, Shams-ud-Daulah, and thus he could write from personal knowledge; (3) as Wellesley himself had desired this letter to be shown to Dundas, it is clear that the letter had his approval; (4) in the printed correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, the latter's reply to this letter is available (vide his correspondence, vol. II, p. 8), but this letter itself is not unfortunately included.

The facts of the conspiracy may be thus indicated:

(1) The brain of the conspiracy was Shams-ud-Daulah, the ambitious brother-in-law of the Nawab of Murshidabad.

(2) The Nawab of Murshidabad was also a party to it, as he was eager to throw off the English yoke, and gain the effective *Subahdari* of Bengal, Bihar & Orissa.

(3) Many of the zamindars of the province, particularly of Bihar were won over by the conspirators.

(4) There was an attempt made by the Bengal conspirators to combine with Wazir Ali of Oudh, who too had been planning the over-throw of the English.

(5) The conspirators reckoned on the support of Zaman Shah of Kabul, who was invited in the name of Islam to invade India and drive out the English,

(6) The French had started an intrigue in Muscat against the English, and emissaries from Muscat were sent to Bengal at their instance to stir up trouble with the help of local malcontents.*

Letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth

"..... In the month of December 1798 a secret Agent of his (Wazir Ali's) arrived at Calcutta whose ostensible commission appears to have been in the first instance to ascertain the opinion of the principal Europeans and Natives with respect to Vizier Ali's deposal, and to pave the way for an appeal to the Legislature of Great Britain against your Lordship's measure. But from the tenor of this Agent's letters there is every reason to believe that his commission was more extensive. They exhibit a scene of dark intrigues; and the wild and desultory in language and import, were calculated to convey impression very injurious to the interest of the Company. However insufficient this Agent may appear from the style of his letters the tenor of his negotiations sufficiently demonstrates the sinister views of his Employer.

Among the papers found at Madhoo Doss's garden was an original letter from Shumsoo Dowlah addressed to Zemaun Shah earnestly entreating him by the tenets of his religion to prosecute his expedition to Hindoostan with the view of extirpating the English whom he reviles with great bitterness at the same time re-

* The conspiracy, it may be added, ended in smoke for various reasons: (1) the parties had no resources of their own; (2) the leader was foolish and incompetent; (3) the combination with Wazir Ali could not materialise; (4) the expected invasion of Zaman Shah did not occur; (5) the inglorious end of Wazir Ali's rising discouraged the conspirators in Bengal and (6), Shams-ud-Daulah who had been banished to Dacca chose in despair to disclose his plans.

presenting the conquest of their territories as a task of little difficulty and referring him for the means of its accomplishment to the verbal communications of his Agent, the bearer of the letter. The discovery of this letter was deemed a sufficient ground for apprehending Shumsoo Dowlah, and care being taken to seize his papers proofs of further conspiracies were found against him. By some of those documents it appears that he had employed Agents to excite a general insurrection within the provinces, and particularly in Bihar when a favourable season should offer for realising the project he had formed of obtaining for himself or the Nabob Naussir ool Moolk the effective Soobadarry of the three provinces. In the province of Bihar he appears to have been very successful; a great many zemindars having pledged themselves to support his views to the utmost of their power. Among them your Lordship will be surprised to find the name of Mitter Jeet Singh. In consequence of the information afforded by these documents, Shumsoo Dowlah's Agents were likewise seized with their papers, which not only confirmed foregoing information but (what indeed was already but too apparent) that Shumsoo Dowlah was only the ostensible head of the conspiracy, and that Naussir ool Moolk was the person whom it was intended should be placed on the Musnud. It further appears from these papers that Shumsoo Dowlah's embassy to Zemaun Shah took place in the first part of the year 1797, and that the intrigue with the zamindars was set on foot prior to November, 1796. There is however the best ground to believe that both the plans were projected about the same time and that the period of their origin was when your Lordship issued orders for his removal from Murshedabad to Dacca. This is the more probable, as the violent opposition of interests created at Murshedabad by the misconduct and contumacy of the Nabob, which obliged the Government to suppress the aspiring views of the latter by supporting the influence of the Munny Begum and by banishing Shumsoo Dowlah may naturally be supposed to have excited in the minds of the Nabob and Shumsoo Dowlah a spirit of enmity and revenge against the British Government.

It is certain that Shumsoo Dowlah's Agent did not prosecute his journey towards Caubul farther than Lucknow. The cause is unknown, but probably originated in the change of affairs which took place on the death of the late Vizier and in the detention of Zemaun Shah that season within his own dominions by domestic troubles.

From the circumstance of Shumsoo Dowlah's letter to Zemaun Shah and other papers to his Agent being found among those of Vizier Alli, it is reasonable to conjecture that Vizier Alli and Shumsoo Dowlah acted in concert, but of this no direct proof has been obtained. Certain, however, it is that the expected maturity of their respective schemes depended upon the successful progress of Zemaun Shah in his invasion of Hindoostan.

The papers of Shumsoo Dowlah lay open yet another intrigue in which he appears to have engaged with the Government of Muscat. The papers upon this subject consist of letters addressed to Naussir ool Moolk and Shumsoo Dowlah by Shaikh Khulfaun, the Viceroy of Muscat, his son and others. Of these letters all of which appear to have been written at the same time, one or two are dated in

October 1796. Their contents evidently shew that some negotiation was on foot detrimental to the interests of the British Nation: but they afford no insight into the nature of it. Whatever it was, it appears (though it cannot be affirmed) to have originated with the people of Muscat. The expressions in these letters are cautious and obscure and all particulars are referred to the verbal communications of the person deputed to Bengal to conduct the negotiations. The visit to Calcutta of Shaikh Syf, a relation either of the Imaum's or Khulfaun's, which your Lordship will remember to have taken place (I believe) in the early part of 1796, is mentioned in all the letters and the object of it is stated to have been ostensibly for the purpose of seeing your Lordship and the principal persons at Calcutta, but really to communicate, if circumstances favoured, with Shumsoo Dowlah and Naussir ool Moolk. These letters allude to Shaikh Syf's visit as having taken place in the preceding voyage. The most probable conjecture is that this negotiation was originally set on foot by the French. Your Lordship will perhaps recollect that prior to the visit of Shaikh Syf, information was secured at Calcutta of the arrival of French deputies at Muscat; and that on my going to visit him your Lordship directed me in consequence, to caution him against the insidious views and dangerous principles of the French Nation. This circumstance tends to corroborate the above conjecture.

As Shumsoo Dowlah has offered to make an ample disclosure of the intrigues in which he has been engaged, and as there are hopes of apprehending the Muscat Agent, it is probable that the mystery will be unravelled.

Happily no other disturbances than what occurred at Benares have taken place in consequence of these extensive and alarming conspiracies, and none are apprehended. The utmost vigilance has been exerted by Government to guard against their effects and most of the principal conspirators have been seized."

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

Origins of the Varmans and the Senas—a Rejoinder

I am thankful to Dr. D. C. Ganguli for the criticism¹ of my views² on the origin of the Varman and Sena dynasties but he has offered some views and arguments in favour of them that do not appear to me very much convincing. Dr. Ganguli has not done full justice to me when he refers to my suggestion for the identification of Jātavarman with Jāta of the Rewa inscription of Malayasiṅha. I realised the difference between Jāta and Jāṭa. Dr. Ganguli does not refer to the main reason I offered for connecting Jātavarman with Kalacuri Karṇa's invasion. I wrote as follows—"It is to be particularly noted that in the 8th verse where the military and political activities of Jātavarman are described, great stress has been first laid on his marriage with Virasrī, daughter of Karṇa and it seems that this marriage had got something to do with his military conquests. Again, although no connected meaning can be made of the recently discovered Vajrayoginī plate Sāmalavarman because of its damaged conditions, from the way in which the words Kalacuri and *Mātrvarisya* occur, it can be surmised that this marriage of Jātavarman was a great factor in determining the political fortunes of the Varman family." In view of this, I suggested that Jāta and Jāṭa were identical. Of course nothing can be said definitely on the point until and unless the reading of the name Jāṭa in the Rewa inscription is verified from the original.

I am afraid that Dr. Ganguli has a very hard case to maintain when he contends that Vajravarman and not Jātavarman was the founder of the Varman dynasty in East Bengal. Dr. Ganguli has now changed his previous view on the origin of the Varmans³ and is of opinion that Siṅhapura is identical with Sihapura in Rādhā, mentioned in the *Mahāvamśa*. Granting that for argument's sake, it does not mean that Vajravarman ruled in East Bengal. Sihapura

¹ *IHQ.*, XII, p. 605.

² *Ibid.*, p. 469.

³ *Ibid.* 1929, p. 225.

was in Rādhā (i.e. in Western Bengal) and how can then he be regarded as the founder of the Varman dynasty of East Bengal? Of Vajravarma it is stated in the Belāva plate that “once there was a person named Vajravarma who was the welfare (itself) of the victorious expedition of the Yādava armies, who was the god of Death to his enemies, the moon as it were to his friends, a poet among scholars.” There is nothing to prove Vajravarma’s connection with East Bengal and a scholar of Dr. Ganguli’s standing knows very well that these vague praises in a dynastic *praśasti* do not mean much. Rather it seems that it was his son Jātavarman from whom the political importance of the family began. It is stated in the 8th verse of the same record, “He spread his paramount sovereignty, by eclipsing (even) the glory of Prithu, son of Veṇa, marrying Viraśrī (daughter) of Karṇa, by extending his domination over the Aṅgas, by humiliating the dignity of Kāmarūpa, by bringing disgrace over the strength of the arms of Divya, by damaging the fortune of Govardhana.” There are some very strong points which go against the bold assertion of Dr. Ganguli that Siṃhapura was not only situated in the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal, but it might have been the capital of the dynasty. The territories of some of the *sāmantas* who helped Rāmapala in his war for the recovery of Varendra are to be located in Rādhā⁴ and it does not seem very reasonable to hold that in Rādhā was situated the capital of the Varmans who were after all rulers of East Bengal. In the three inscriptions of this dynasty, discovered hitherto (namely, the Belāva plate, the broken Vajrayoginī plate and the Bejanisra plate⁵) the *jayāskandhāvāra* was situated at Vikramapura which in all reasonableness seems to be the capital of the Varmans.

It is difficult to follow Dr. Ganguli when he cites the example of the origin of the Senas in connection with the discussion of that of

4 Dr. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, I, pp. 340-344.

5 *Vaṅgera Jātiya Itihāsa*, II, p. 215.

the Varmans. How can that throw light on this when that itself is yet debatable? He brings in the grammatical subtleties of the use of *lit*, *laṅ* and *luṅ*. He confesses that *lit* signifying remote past implies that the Varmans, who occupied Siṃhapura, were the predecessors of Vajravarmān but observes that the poet Puruṣottama has taken freedom in using *laṅ*, *luṅ* and *lit* without maintaining any difference between them in the Belāva inscription. In the discussion of the subject it is the location of Siṃhapura that is of utmost value and most relevant. There were three Siṃhapuras—one in the Panjab, one in Kaliṅga and another in Rāḍhā. The suggestion of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. C. Sarkar that the Yādava Varmans from Siṃhapura in the Panjab founded the city of that name in Kaliṅga is a welcome one. In locating the Siṃhapura of the Belāva inscription the *a priori* consideration should be given to that in which a line of kings, whose names end in Varman, ruled. Nothing is known of Siṃhapura in Rāḍhā excepting an incidental reference in the *Mahāvamśa*. Therefore Dr. Ganguli's opinion that "it should no longer be held that the Varman dynasty came to Bengal either from the Punjab or from Kaliṅga or from any other place outside Bengal" stands unconvincing. Most probably the Varmans came in the wake of a foreign invasion and made much of the political uncertainties of Bengal in the eleventh century. Dr. Ganguli intends to connect the origin of Varman with the invasion of Rājendra Cola which he himself has given up. But we do not find anything new in Dr. Ganguli's arguments to change our view that the Varmans might have come in the wake of Kalacuri Karṇa's invasions, whether Jāta or Jāta be identical or not.

As regards the origin of the Senas, Dr. Ganguli holds that the Kārṇāṭic Senas were settled in Rāḍha long before Sāmantasena. The obvious difficulty then arises: how could Sāmantasena slaughter the wicked despoilers of the Lakṣmī of Karṇāṭa. This he tries to solve by offering a suggestion that Rājendra Cola I defeated

Jayasimha of Karṇāṭa and Sāmantasena repulsed an attack of Rājendra Cola in Rāḍhā. But there is nothing to show that the Cola army suffered a defeat in Rāḍhā and victory seems to be always on their side. The evidence of the *Caṅḍakauśika* does not help, as the identification of Mahīpāla is far from being settled.⁶ Therefore it does not seem that there is much force in his arguments or much truth in his suggestion. The credit of citing the 3rd verse of the Naihati plate, where it has been mentioned that there were born princes in Rāḍhā before Sāmantasena, does not certainly belong to Dr. Gānguli but in all fairness should be given to Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda⁷ who realised the conflicting nature of the evidence on the subject. Sāmantasena's connection with Karṇāṭa has been very ably dealt with by late Mr. G. P. Sarkar⁸ and it seems that he settled in his old age on the bank of the Ganges, most probably by coming in the train of an invading army. I do not think that much importance would be attached to the statement in all its details in the 3rd verse of the Naihati plate of Vallālasena. It is admitted by all, before Vallālasena the Senas were at least settled in Bengal for three generations. The court panegyrist could then easily compose a verse by proclaiming that many princes of the family of his patron had adorned Rāḍhā. Much should not be made of this statement. If it is to be conceded that Sāmantasena was the first settler, the origin of the Karṇāṭic Senas is naturally to be connected with the invasion of a Karṇāṭa country. Chronology does not stand in the way of making Sāmantasena and Cālukya Vikramāditya VI contemporaries. There are evidences to show that this Cālukya prince invaded Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa and is to be noted that Sāmantasena settled in Bengal in his old age.

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6 *Indian Culture*, II, 797.

7 *Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 46-7.

8 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, XVI, *Early History of Bengal* (on the Senas). For full references see *IHQ.*, XII, pp. 469 ff. and pp. 605 ff.

The Gauḍas and Gauḍa

The divisions of the Brāhmaṇas from broad geographical point of view into *Pañca-Gauḍa* and *Pañca-Drāviḍa* are well-known. The five Gauḍas are the (1) *Sārasvatas*, (2) *Kānya-kubjas*, (3) *Gauḍas*, (4) *Utkalas*, (5) *Maithilas*. It is evident that they derive their names from the countries in which they settled and about the location of four, excepting the Gauḍas, there is no doubt whatsoever. There were more than one Gauḍa. Firstly, Gauḍadeśa meant north-western Bengal in ancient and mediæval times. It was by far the most famous of all the countries of that name. Secondly, it is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vāyupurāna*¹ that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala. It has been contended by Dr. R. G. Basak² that from the passage “*nirmita yena Śrāvastī Gauḍadeśa dviḥjottamā* or *Mahāpurī*” in the *Matsya*, *Kurma* and *Liṅga-Purāṇas*, this Śrāvastī is to be located in Bengal. If we accept that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala, which has been identified with the Gonda district and the neighbouring tracts, this Mahāpurī Śrāvastī may be identified with the famous city of Śrāvastī of the Buddhist literature or present Sahet-Mahet. In the Sahyādri section of the *Skandapurāṇa*, in which the divisions of the Brāhmaṇas into *Pañca-Gauḍas* and *Pañca-Drāviḍas* have been mentioned, *Gauḍas* figure after *Sārasvatas* and *Kānya-kubjas* and before *Utkalas* and *Maithilas*. It seems that they have described in the geographical order from the west to the east and if by the Gauḍas the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal would have been meant, *Gauḍas* would have figured after the *Maithilas*. It is to be noticed that in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* of Varāhamihira the territory of Gauḍa is placed along with *Matsya*, *Pāñcāla*, etc. in the middle section of India.³ Thirdly, there was a Gauḍa between Khandesa

1 *El.*, XIII, p. 200; the passages discussed by Dr. R. G. Basak in connection with the location of Śrāvastī of the Silimpur stone inscription.

2 *Ibid.*

3 XIV, 3.

and Orissa and Cunningham identified it with the districts of Bengal, Chindwara, Seoni and Mandla.⁴ The five *Drāviḍas* are the (1) *Mahārāṣṭras*, (2) *Tailāṅgas*, (3) *Drāviḍas* or of the country of the Tāmila language, (4) *Karṇāṭakas*, (5) *Gurjaras*. It is difficult to say when the Brāhmaṇas came to be known by these names. Yuan Chwang speaks of Harṣavardhana as the *king of five Indies*. It can be precisely stated by what the pilgrim meant by this bent from the extent of Harṣa's empire it does not seem improbable that it extended over five Gauḍas. It is stated in the *Rājataranṅiṇi* that the Kāśmīra king Jayāpiḍa made his father-in-law Jayanta, king of Puṇḍravardhana, the emperor of Pañca-Gauḍas. The romantic element in the story of Jayāpiḍa's visit to Puṇḍravardhana has led many scholars to doubt the veracity of the whole episode and no king of Puṇḍravardhana, ruling in the 8th century over such a vast kingdom, is known. In one southern Indian inscription the epithet *Pañca-Drāvideśvara* has been applied to Rājendra Cola.⁵

The *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* are scattered over different parts of India. Writing in 1887 Wilson speaks of 17 classes of them.⁶ A careful search will reveal still great many and other varieties. Among the *Kāyasthas* there is a section called *Gauḍa-Kāyastha* living near modern Delhi. Again among the *Rājputs* there is one section called *Gauḍa-Rājputs*. There is a separate caste called *Gauḍatagās* who claim their origin from *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas*.⁷ The distribution of *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* over almost all parts of India and the existence of

4 Cunningham, *HSl.*, IX, p. 150; see also discussion of the subject in N. N. Vasu's *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*, vol. I, in the ch. on *Pañca-Gauḍa*. Dr. Roy Chowdhury is of opinion that Gauḍa in the *Matsya*, *Kurma*, *Līṅga* MS. may be inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gauḍa. He cites the example of the Central Provinces where the name Gond is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 439). But Cunningham concluded just the opposite of it.

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 113.

6 Wilson, *Indian Castes*, vol. II, pp. 64-66.

7 See *Viśvakoṣa* s.v. *Gauḍa-Rājputs*, *Gauḍa-Kāyasthas*, and *Gauḍatagās*.

Gauḍa-Rājputs, *Gauḍa-Kāyasthas* and *Gauḍatagās* cannot be very easily explained. By way of analogy an explanation can be suggested. The issues raised by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his illuminating paper on the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal*⁸ are various and many but his conclusion that there was a tribe called *Nāgara* in ancient India which in course of time spread over different parts of India is perhaps to be accepted. The same also seems to be the case with Gaudas. The Gauda tribe seems to have migrated to different parts and entered into the *Rājput* and *Kāyastha* societies. It should be noted that *Āgarwala Vaniks* utilise the services of the Gauda section of the Brāhmaṇas and it may be that this mercantile community might have some remote connection with *Gauḍas*.

It is not known where was the earliest home of the *Gauḍas*. The *Sārasvatas* call themselves *Ādi Gauḍas* and it may be that their first settlement was in the region watered by the river Sarasyatī.⁹ Again, the Gauda in Uttarakośala might have been also the original band, because it seems that it has preserved the name of the tribe. There are epigraphic evidences to show that even in the historical period the Brāhmaṇas from Uttarakośala migrated to different provinces. About six charters¹⁰ have been discovered in which the Brāhmaṇa donees have been described as emigrating from *Śrāvastī maṇḍala*, *bbukti* or *viṣaya*, which is in all reasonableness, should be located in Uttarakośala. There are about six grants to Brāhmaṇas who emigrated from Tarkkāri¹¹ or Takāri and in two of them it is definitely mentioned that this locality was in Madhyadeśa. In one

8 *IA.*, 1932, pp. 41, 61.

9 For *Ādi Gauḍas* see Wilson; *op. cit.*

10 The *Śrāvastīmaṇḍala* of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti's Patna plates, of the Katak plates of Mahāśivagupta II, of Sonpur plate of Someśvaradeva; the *Śrāvastībukti* of the Madhuvan plate of Harṣavardhana; *Śrāvastīmaṇḍala* the Dighva-Dubali inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla and the *Śrāvastīviṣaya* of the Lucknow Museum plate of Kirtipālā. For references to *Śrāvastī* in other inscriptions, see *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1334, B.S., p. 25.

11 *IA.*, 1919, p. 40.

of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañjadeva of the year 55 it has been specifically mentioned that Tarkāri was in Śrāvastideśa.¹² In the *Kulapañjikās* of Bengal *ghatakas* unanimously record that the ancestors of the *Rādhibiyas* and *Vārendras* emigrated from Kolāñca or Kanouj. There are about seven grants,¹³ in which Brāhmaṇas, emigrated from Kroḍāñja, were granted lands in different provinces. Kroḍāñja is easily identifiable with the Kolāñca of the *Kulapañjikās*. It is quite likely that the locality of Kroḍāñja was somewhere near Kanouj which was included in Uttarakośala. Therefore the claim of the Gauda in Uttarakośala as the original home of Gauda tribe cannot be brushed aside.

But of all the settlements of this tribe Gauda in the east was undoubtedly the most famous and important. The view that Gauda was the name of northern Bengal and did not include western Bengal is untenable. The Haraha inscription of Maukhari Išānavarman speaks of the *Gaudas* as *Samudrāśrāyan*.¹⁴ In the *Prabodhacandrodaya nāṭaka* it is said that Rādha was in Gauda.¹⁵ It is stated in an inscription from the Madras Presidency that Dakṣiṇa-Rādha was included in Gauḍadeśa.¹⁶ It was certainly an ancient country: Pāṇiṇi associated it with the east.¹⁷

It rose in great importance under Dharmapāla and Devapāla and it is not unlikely that the *Pañca-Gauḍeśvara* is "reminiscent to the Gauda empire under them because it cannot be equated with ancient realm of Gauda kingdom in the early centuries of Christian era."¹⁸ With the great importance of the Gauda kingdom in mediæval India the title of *Gauḍeśvara* had some imperial glamour around it and it was difficult for the kings of Bengal to part

12 *IHQ.*, vol X, p. 477.

13 *Indian Culture*, vol. II, p. 350.

14 *El.*, vol. XIV, pp. 117 ff.

15 *JASB.*, 1915, pp. 261 ff.

16 Rangachariar, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 353.

17 Vol. VI, II, 99.

18 Dr. Roy Chowdhury, *op. cit.*

with it when they had no authority over Gaṇḍa. Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena; sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, ruled over eastern Bengal after the conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muṣlims but they retained the title of Gaṇḍeśvara.¹⁹ Govindapāla, who ruled in eastern Magadha in about 1175 A.D.,²⁰ is generally taken to be of the main Pāla dynasty of Bengal. It is doubtful whether he had any authority over northern and western Bengal but the title *Gaṇḍeśvara* was applied to him. Madhusena of the *Pañcarakṣa* manuscript seems to have belonged to the Sena dynasty of Piṭhi and is called *Gaṇḍeśvara*.²¹ This proud title was assumed by the kings of Cuttack in the 16th century.²²

It is perhaps in view of the great importance and celebrity of the *Gaṇḍa Rājputs* and *Gaṇḍatagās* point to Bengal as their original home.²³ Like the story connected with the reported immigration of five Brāhmaṇas at the instance of Ādiśūra, one tradition is current among the *Gaṇḍa Brāhmaṇas* and *Gaṇḍatagās* that the services of their ancestors were in great demand by the epic king Janamejaya at the time of his *Sarpa-yajña* (snake sacrifice). It is a matter of doubt how much Bengal itself was Brahminised at the time of Janamejaya²⁴ and much weight cannot be attached to this story. Though there are about twelve land grants to Brāhmaṇas immigrated from north-western Bengal in the period between 800 and 1300 A.D.²⁵ there are not sufficient reasons to hold that all the *Gaṇḍa*

¹⁹ Edilpur plate, Sāhitya Pariṣat plate and Madanapura plate.

²⁰ *Indian Culture*, vol. II, p. 581.

²¹ *JASB.*, 1933, p. 23.

²² *IA.*, vol. XLII, p. 49.

²³ French says that there is strong and continuous tradition among the Punjab Hill tribes that the ruling families in certain states are descended from the *Rājās* of Gaṇḍa in Bengal. These are Sukhet, Keonthal, Kastwar and Mandi. See *Art of the Pāla Empire*, p. 19; *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vols. III, IV, VI.

²⁴ For Aryan immigration in Bengal, see Dr. Majumdar, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 1-5; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, vol. XII, pp. 111 ff.

²⁵ See my forthcoming monograph on *Brāhmaṇa immigration in Bengal* and other connected problems of the social history of Bengal.

Brāhmanas in other provinces and *Gauḍatagās* migrated from Bengal : as far as Aryan immigration is concerned, generally the movement was from the west to the east rather than from the east to west.

It may then be concluded that the *Gauḍas* were an important tribe in ancient times. They settled in different parts of the country and on account of their settlements many places were named after them. In the *Brāhmana*, *Rājput*, *Kāyastha* and *Gauḍatagā* societies many men of this tribe had entered and formed separate sections in these castes. Of all the settlements of this tribe, *Gauḍa* in Bengal outshone all in view of its great importance under the *Pālas* and many *Gauḍas* try to establish some connection with this famous country.

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New Verses of Pāṇini

The unique importance of the Sanskrit anthologies is well known specially for preserving the names of a number of Sanskrit poets, which otherwise would have been lost to the posterity. It is to these anthologies that we owe the name of the poet Pāṇini and the Pāṇinian epic, known as the *Jāmbavatī-vijaya* or *Pātāla-vijaya*.

Scholars hold divergent views as regards the identity of the poet Pāṇini. They cannot persuade themselves to believe that such fine verses, containing as they do a wealth of ornamental niceties and poetic excellences which we have come to associate with the epic poems of the fully developed period of the classical Sanskrit poetry, could have been composed by the grammarian Pāṇini whose age is variously estimated to range from the 7th century B.C. to the 4th century B.C. The present writer cannot take upon himself to subscribe to their views, and believes in the identity of the poet Pāṇini with the grammarian Pāṇini.

It has been mentioned above that the majority of the verses of Pāṇini are to be found in the extant anthologies in Sanskrit. But some of them are also known from other sources as well. While Rājaśekhara names the epic poem of Pāṇini¹ and Kṣemendra speaks very highly of his Upajāti verses,² Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaśālikā*³ and Raimukūṭa in his gloss on *Amarakośa*⁴ actually quote a few of his verses along with their comments upon the grammatical and lexicographical peculiarities of some of the words used therein. Vardhamāna in *Gaṇaratnāmaḥodadhi* gives one half of an Upajāti,⁵ while Puruśottama in *Bhāṣā-ṛṭti* quotes in one place a complete anuṣṭubh⁶ and in another only a quarter of another anuṣṭubh⁷ by way of illustrations. A new source for these verses is the *Durghataṛṭti* of Śaraṇadeva.

Śaraṇadeva undoubtedly occupies an important place in the history of the Pāṇinian system of Sanskrit grammar. As disclosed by the maṅgala-śloka⁸ of the book which mentions the obeisance paid to sarvajña, the writer appears to be a follower of Buddha. He

- 1 स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

—सूक्तिमुक्तावली हारावली ।

- 2 स्पृहणीयत्वचरितं पाणिनेरुपजातिभिः ।
चमत्कारैकसारामिरुद्यानस्येव जातिभिः ॥

—सुवृत्ततिलक

- 3 *Kāvyaśālikā*, (N. S. edn.), p. 12.

तथाहि पाणिनेः पातालविजये महाकाव्ये—‘सन्ध्यावधूः गृह्य करेण’ इत्यत्र गृह्येति क्तवो ल्पवादेशः । तथा तस्यैव कथेः ‘गतेऽर्धरात्रं’ इत्यत्र ‘पश्यति’ इति लुप्तन्तीनकारं पदम् ।

- 4 *Amarakośa*, Kāṇḍa I, 1, 31; I, 10, 6 and Kāṇḍa II, 6, 91.

- 5 बाह्वर्ध्रथं येन विवृत्तचक्षुर्विहस्य सावज्ञमिदं वभाषे ।

- 6 हरिणा सह सख्यं ते बोभूत्विति यदमवीः ।

न जाघटीति युक्नो तत् सिंहद्विरदयोरिव ॥

- 7 करीन्द्रदर्पच्छिदुरं मृगेन्द्रम् ।

- 8 नत्वा शरणादेवेन सर्वज्ञं ज्ञानहेतवे ।

belonged to the court of that last Hindu king of Bengal, the celebrated Lakṣmaṇasena. The writer Śaraṇa mentioned in the famous verse⁹ enumerating the protégés of the king is identical with Śaraṇa mentioned by the poet Jayadeva in the beginning of his *Gītāgovinda*.¹⁰ There he is extolled as an expert in melting (*druti*) or easily explaining the formation of such words as appear difficult to be reconciled with the known sūtras of Pāṇini. This description happily tallies with what we know of the writer from the pages of his *Durghatāvṛtti*. He flourished about the latter half of the 12th century and wrote the work in Śaka era 1095 (1173 A.D.).¹¹

Durghatāvṛtti, the only work of the writer known to us, purports to be a commentary upon the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini; but it is a unique work of its class. It is not a regular commentary upon each and every sūtra but is, as the very name suggests, an exposition reconciling those words and Pāṇini's sūtras which seem difficult to reconcile with one another. That the writer has been eminently successful in his difficult task of the reconciliation between Lakṣyas and Lakṣaṇas is proved by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's reference to the views of Śaraṇadēva in his *Manoramā*¹² and *Sabda-kaustubha*.

The occasion¹³ which necessitates the quotation of Pāṇini's verses to prove the correctness of a word comes up when he is commenting upon the sūtra सायं चिरं प्राह सोऽप्रनेऽव्ययेभ्यश्चुञ्चुलो तुट् च IV. 3.23. The writer questions the correctness of the word पुरातन

- 9 गोवर्धनश्च शरणी जयदेव उमापतिः
कविराजश्च रत्नानि ममितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥
- 10 शरणाः श्लाघ्यो दुर्घटद्रुतेः ।
- 11 शाकमहीपतिवत्सरमाने एकनभोनवपञ्चविताने ।
दुर्घटद्रुत्तिकारि मुदे वः कण्ठविभूषणहारलतेव ॥

12 The references in *Manoramā* under the names of दुर्घटः, दुर्घटद्रुत्तिकृत कश्चित् दुर्घटद्रुत्तिकारः pertain to one identical author and he is none other but शरणादेव himself.

13 *Durghatāvṛtti*, pp. 81-82.

as used in the line दधतः पुरातनमुनेर्मुनिताम् because the suffixes च्यु and च्युल् cannot be rightly added after the word पुरा । The grammarian has himself used the word पुराण in one of his sūtras पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (IV. 3. 105) and this निपातन leads us to infer that the above suffixes have no free scope so far as the word पुरा is concerned. Then follows a learned discussion about the nature and scope of निपातन which is, on the authority of the great Bhāṣyakāra, shown to be even अवाधक (not contradicting): अवाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्ति । Thus the grammatical accuracy of the word पुरातन has been authoritatively held up and proved. With a view to make the case of the word doubly assured, the writer demonstrates the currency of the word in the Sanskrit poetical compositions. He illustrates the use of the word at the hands of no other poet but Pāṇini himself, apparently suggesting thereby the identity of the poet with the grammarian and quotes three verses from *Jāmbavati-vijaya* which contain the word पुरातन ।

The verses are given below:

- (a) अस्ति प्रतीच्यां दिशि मागरस्य
 वेलोर्मिगृहे हिमशैलकृच्चौ ।
 पुरातनी विश्रुतपुण्यशब्दा
 महापुरीं द्वारवती च नात्रा ॥
- (b) अनेन मात्रानुचितं धराधरैः
 पुरातनं यात्रलतं महीक्षिताम् ।
 ददर्श सेतुं महतीं जरन्तया
 विशीर्षीमन्त इवोदर्याश्रया ॥
- (c) त्वया महाजितं यच्च यच्च मह्यं पुरातनम् ।
 चिराय चेतसि पुरस्मरणाकृतमयं मे ॥

The verses are not known to us from any other source, since they have not been quoted in any one of the extant anthologies of Sanskrit. Saranadeva gives further information about the cantos of the work from which they have been quoted. The first verse has been quoted from the second canto; the second from the fourth

and the last from the eighteenth canto of the book known as *Jāmbavatī-vijaya*. This information is of great importance, since all other sources are silent as regards the extent of the poem. Sarāṇadeva's reference makes us infer that *the poem of Pāṇini extended at least upto the eighteenth canto* and considering the antiquity of the book this inference possesses its own importance.

This poem of Pāṇini is of great importance for the history of the Sanskrit epics, which can be easily gauged by the fact that it is the earliest known specimen of an 'epic of art' belonging to the classical period of the Sanskrit literature. It is called *Pātāla-vijaya* or *Jāmbavatī-vijaya* and deals with an important episode in the life of Kṛṣṇacandra, which consists in winning Jāmbavatī, the daughter of that celebrated bear-king Jāmbavān as his bride. The details of the story are mentioned in the *Purāṇas* that deal with the life of Kṛṣṇa. Our poet selected this interesting episode and described it with all the poetic embellishments and fine thoughts. The characteristics which distinguish the later classical epics are already conspicuous in this poem. Hence in the present state of our knowledge it is but natural to suppose that *Pāṇini the grammarian is the first epic writer, as the Jāmbavatī-vijaya is the first epic poem of the classical Sanskrit*. Dr. Aufrecht, who believes in the identity of the poet and the grammarian, rightly says¹⁴ that in these verses we may "listen to what the sage, bent double over grammar and who has foresworn all worldly joys, has to say and to sing."

KRISHNADEVA UPADHYAYA

14 *Subhāṣitāvalī*, Introduction, p. 53.

On the Identity of the *Buddhi-vinoda-kāvya*

In *IHQ*. vol. xii, no. 4 (December, 1936). Mr. D. R. Mankad has published an unnamed poem in 20 verses,¹ to which he has given the name of *Buddhi-vinoda-kāvya*. On examination the text appears to be identical with that of the poem in 20 verses, which is usually known as the *Rāksasa-kāvya*, and which is neither unknown (See Winternitz, *Geschichte d. ind. Lit.*, iii, p. 65) nor unpublished (see below). That MSS of it are not rare will be clear from the fact that Aufrecht² registers a fairly large number of its MSS from different catalogues, with or without commentary. Only in one instance it appears to be called *Vidvad-vinoda-kāvya* (as Mr. Mankad's MSS and commentary name it)³, and Aufrecht notes in this connexion that it has been printed in *Kāvya-kalāpa*, i, 137. The name *Buddhi-vinoda-kāvya* is unauthenticated and misconceived.

The work has been published with a commentary in Hofer's *Sanskrit-Lesebuch* (Hamb. 1850; 20 verses), and also under the title *Rāksasa-kāvya* (without any name of its author; 21 verses) by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara in his *Kāvya-saṃgraha*; Calcutta 1888, vol. iii, pp. 343-353, with his own Sanskrit commentary, which, however, appears to draw freely from older commentaries. Rajendralala Mitra⁴ notes that a lithographed edition of the work, under the title

1 Mr. Mankad wrongly numbers the first verse, which belongs to the commentary and not to the poem itself: hence he has been misled in the naming of the work.

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 498b; ii, p. 117a and 220b, iii, p. 106b. To this must be added *Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Govt. Oriental Library*, vol. xx, 7959-60, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. Mss in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, no. 1227 (p. 203), Keith's *Catalogue of Sansk. Mss in the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii, pt. 2, no. 7132, p. 1116, etc.

3 *Op. cit.*, i, p. 575b: Aufrecht, however, does not identify the two works.

4 *Notices of Sansk. Mss*, vii, p. 153, no. 2389.

Rākṣasa-kāvya, with an anonymous gloss, was published at Benares in Samvat 1931. It was also edited by K. P. Parab, Bombay 1900. F. Belloni-Filippi published an Italian translation in *GSAl.*, 19 (1906), pp. 83 f.

In the MSS the poem has the distinction of being ascribed to three authors, namely, Kālidāsa, Vararuci and Ravideva, of whom the real author is probably Ravideva. In the Berlin MS. (Weber no. 580) from which Hofer published his edition, the author is called Ravideva belonging to the Malaya-deśa; *iti śrī-mahākaviṇā malayadeśa-jaṇmanā ravidevena viracitam kāvya-rākṣasam* etc.; while Stein's Jammu MSS names the author of the text,⁵ as well as of the accompanying commentary, Ravideva. He may be the same as Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa, who is some times taken to be the author of *Nalodaya*, another poem also often ascribed to Kālidāsa.

The commentary, which Mr. Mankad has published, is entitled *Vidvaj-jaṇābbirāma* and is ascribed to Kālidāsa. No commentary of this name appears to be known, and the attribution of the poem may have been transferred to the commentary also. Rajendralala Mitra⁶ mentions commentaries by Kavirāja (Subodhini), Premadhara Sarman and Vidyākara Miśra respectively, while R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report 1887-91*, no. 454) enters a commentary by Śambhubhāskara; but with none of these the present commentary can be identified. It appears to be identical, however, with the anonymous commentary noticed by Aufrecht in his *Leipzig Catalogue*, no. 462, but the extracts given by Aufrecht are too brief for a definite conclusion in

5 Cited in Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 1116. See Stein's *Jammu Catalogue*, no. 1118. The attribution to Kālidāsa is generally found, but Vararuci is mentioned as the author in Mitra, *op. cit.*, i, p. 186 (no. 782). Further information regarding this work and its author will be found in the work of Keith cited above, and in Eggeling's India Office Library MSS Catalogue under no. 3932/2238.

6 *Op. cit.*, viii, p. 264 (no. 2821); ix, p. 234 (no. 3151); vii, p. 153 (no. 2380). A few other commentaries with or without their author's name are also known.

this respect. In the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, vol. XX (Kāvya), p. 7959 (no. 11895), extracts from another anonymous commentary (along with the text) is given; this appears to be the same as the anonymous commentary noticed by P. P. S. Sastri in his *Descriptive Catalogue* of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (vol. VI, Kāvya, p. 2823, no. 3837; 20 verses); but none of these appears to be identical with Mr. Mankad's commentary. The India Office MS (Eggeling, *Catalogue*, pt. vii, p. 1493, no. 3932/2238a) contains the same text and commentary as in Hoefler's edition, which, however, is not available to the present writer; nor does Eggeling give any extracts from the MS of his commentary to facilitate identification.

We have a MS of the text with an anonymous commentary in the Dacca University collection (no. 701 in the Library list). The poem is ascribed to Kālidāsa, but the commentary differs from that published by Mr. Mankad.

It is not known why the poem is called the *Rākṣasa-kāvya*. There is a poet named Rākṣasa, as well as Rākṣasa-panḍita, mentioned respectively in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (i. 90, 5) and *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (nos. 3810-11), but the verses cited in these anthologies are not from the *Rākṣasa-kāvya*.

I give below some differences of reading in the text of the poem from Jivānanda's edition (J) and the Dacca University MS (D) mentioned above, the other editions or MSS being inaccessible to me at the present moment:

Śl. 2. J and D अञ्जहगिरि०

Śl. 3. J ०महिन्नः (for ०महिन्नः). D खगोभिः.

Śl. 4. J and D सुघृतवाड्भिः. J अग्रन्यं (for अग्रयं). J and D विस्यन्दमान०.

Śl. 5. J and D वार्चस्वरेभ० (explained by D's commentary: वायुः जलेषु चरतीति वार्चो हंसः, तस्य स्वर इव स्वरो यस्याः etc. D ०विषाह्वधासौ. J नाशं गता D ,जासं गता (D's commentary त्रा

संगता, explained as पुरुषेण संगता). After this verse inserts (from *Vidyā-sundara-kāvya*, published in Jivānanda's *Kāvya-samgraha*, iii, p. 441, at p. 443):

गोमध्यमध्ये मृगगोधरे हे सहस्रगोभूषणकिंकराणाम् ।

नादेन गोभृच्छ्वरे प्रमत्ता नृत्वन्ति गोकर्णशरीररभक्षाः ॥

This verse is wanting in D.

Sl. 6. D ओमो (for ओगामो). J उच्छाणां वरः, D उच्छावरः (for उच्छावरः)

Sl. 8. D reads this verse as follows :

एनं विपं विपथराः शुानं शुक्रमामे श्रोतोत्रविच्छतजभूधरधातुरूपाः ।

स्वस्थाः पथोजदलदृक् परिनिर्वपन्ति त्रात्रं नभस्यनभगोरतिभंतपन्तः ॥

J reads the third and fourth pāda as follows :

मागोनभस्यनभगोरतिमंक्षरन्तस्त्रात्रं विपं विपथराः परिनिर्वपन्ति ॥

Sl. 10. D प्रविराजते (for प्रतिराजते) : D and J अद्यधरं (for अद्यधरं).

D द्विमहाह्वयोऽभूत्.

Sl. 11. D कृष्णोऽद्यधरः, J कृष्णाद्यधरः, J अर्था (for अन्यो) and न (for वा), J तु ने (for त्वमा) : J and D अमरं वृन्द (for अमरगिद्ध).

Sl. 12. J and D नेमोभगमभ०, J and D स्वमेवत्य वनं.

Sl. 13. J स्वरेः (for स्वनेः).

Sl. 14. J उच्चो विपं, D उच्छाविपं (explained in commentary as

उच्छा गावस्त्रामां विपं गोमथामव्यर्थः) for जघाविपं. The commentary

has a v.l. उच्छामयं. For the second pāda J reads: वाजो

द्वित्रो हरित (D हरिदृग्, explained in the commentary as

हरिर्वानरन्तस्य दगिव नेवमिव दृङ् नेवं यस्य मः) एष दशार्धगृहः.

J स्वशयनं. D वनभवः, J वनभयात् (for वनभवा०).

Sl. 15. J प्रतिमोऽप्रवर्णो, D प्रतिमोऽप्रवर्णो, J वर्पति (for वर्हति).

D श्वनाशनवेद्य०, पवनाशनवन्द्य० (for स्वशयाशयवेद्य०). J and D

शच्छं (for शच्चं). J अपि (for अति).

Sl. 16. J विष्करो वनं. J and D अन्यस्वयं.

Sl. 17. J स्थूलं, D स्थूतं (explained as वस्त्रं) for मृतं. J and D

नरोऽभ्यो. J विभ्रत्यमूनि, D विभ्रन्वमूनि.

Sl. 18. D वार्यात्मनामशनचित्रतनुः (explained in the commentary: वारि जलं आत्मा देहो येषां ते, तेषां जलमयदेहानां महीलनादिक्रीटानाम् अशनेन भोजनेन चिवा विलक्षणपृथिव्युक्ता तनुर्यस्य मः). J and D प्रतिगौरवान् .

Sl. 19. J विस्फारिताम्बुज०, D संवामिताम्बर० (for विस्फोटिताम्बर०). J रिरंमुरेप विवामितो, D चिरं सुरेशमंवामितो (for रिरंसुरेव संवामितो). J and D निष्कृतस्थः. J and D तडितमप्यभिवीक्ष्य विप्रः (for तडितमभिसुखी च दृष्ट्वा). J स्वात्ममहत्तर० D स्वात्म महत्तम० (for श्वात्म महत्तर०) J स्वमनुप्रविष्टः, D समनु-प्रविष्टः.

Sl. 20. J and D अदीनः (for अप्यदीनः). J and D अदीनवाङ्भि (for अदीनवद्भिः). J ना प्रययौ (for गंप्रययौ). D क्षयं स्वयं (for स्वगदं).

S. K. DE:

REVIEWS

HISTORY OF KANAUJ to the Moslem Conquest by Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). With a foreword by Dr. I. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Litt. Indian Book Shop, Benares.

The present author is one of those distinguished scholars who are devoting themselves to the elucidation of the early mediæval period of Indian history. We welcome this long expected monograph on the History of Kanauj extending over nearly four hundred pages.

The monograph is divided into three parts: part I deals in two chapters the history of the Maukharis; part II offers a detailed and critical study of Harṣa and his times and the last part narrates the story of Kanauj up to the Pratihāra conquest. It reflects credit on the author that he has been able to reconstruct a tangible history of the Maukharis from the scanty evidences available delineating the career of the successive kings of the dynasty and bringing out its importance among the ruling dynasties of India. He has described the extent of their kingdom and discussed some of the dates in a thoroughly scientific manner. Discussing the origin of the Maukharis, the author has criticised the view propounded by Mr. N. Roy and has observed that the suffix *bhūti* indicates that Puṣpabhūti was a Vaiṣya. In this statement our author has the support of the *Mañjuśrī-Mūla-kalpa* and naturally that of Dr. Jayaswal. We would like to point out, however, that the suffix *bhūti* is found associated with the names of Brāhmaṇas. The Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman gives us some such names. Regarding the Maukhari coins found at Bhituara, the author says that the dates on them must evidently refer to two distinct eras, as some of the numbers are expressed in two digits only, and others in three. He, however, has not said anything about the suggestion of Mr. Pires that all the figures should be reckoned on

the Gupta era basis by supplying the hundred's digit, which is missing by the figure 2. In part II his studies about Harṣa are exhaustive and surpass the existing works both in materials and presentation. He has studied critically the political and geographical information furnished by Yuan Chwang relating to the countries included in Harṣa's empire, and pointed out their striking features. Our author realises the fact that mere cataloguing of dates and of political events does not make history, and so he devotes special chapters to the methods of Harṣa's civil and criminal administration, his religious activities and his love of letters. In part III, after referring to the effect of Harṣa's death on his vast empire, he passes on to the reign of Yaśovarman, giving in detail his military campaigns and discussing the dates furnished by the relative coins and inscriptions. This he follows up by an account of the Āyudhas, a dynasty hitherto not very well known. He then takes up the Pratihāras. After speaking of their origin he deals one by one with almost all the important rulers of this dynasty discussing mainly their dates and political events. After the Pratihāras he naturally turns his attention to the Gāhaḍavālas and delineates the career of the kingdom of Kanauj under the various rulers of this dynasty, devoting a chapter to the administrative machinery and religious condition of the kingdom under the sway of the Gāhaḍavālas. Coming to the latter part of the book, attention is naturally drawn to a section captioned 'A controversy cleared'. The historicity of Vināyaka-pāla II, Mahipāla II and Vatsa II has been discussed therein arriving at the conclusion pointed out by Dr. H. C. Roy in his *Dynastic History*, to wit 'this (three princes ruling in rapid succession) of course is not impossible, but at the same time the suspicion that the last two rulers may have been representatives of local branches of the family cannot entirely be avoided'. We cannot agree with the author when he makes Candradeva (Gāhaḍavāla) a contemporary of Madanapāla. It is well known that Govindacandra, a grandson of Candradeva, married the grand-

daughter of Mathana. Candradeva and Mathana were therefore contemporaries. It is again known that Rāmapāla was a nephew of Mathana being the latter's sister's son. Vigrahapāla III, Mathana and Candradeva then appear to be contemporaries. How then could Madanapāla, a grandson of Vigrahapāla III, be made a contemporary of Candradeva? Among the technical defects of the book can be mentioned absence of some suitable maps. These are some of the criticisms that can be offered against the book. They, however, do not militate against the general merit of the book. One feels relieved after going through the monograph that he has got in a neat form all the available information required for a mediaeval history of Kanauj. The Chinese pilgrim's evidence on the empire of Harṣa has been studied in a manner which can rightly claim to be an advance over his predecessors on the subject. Similarly, the individual reigns of the Rajput kings have been delineated at great details, so that even the publication of Dr. Roy's work will not lessen the importance of that portion of Dr. Tripathi's book. The inclusion of a list of inscriptions of the period, in the form of appendix, greatly increases the merit of the book. Generally speaking the task has been executed with a care and ability on which Dr. Tripathi can rightly be congratulated.

S. K. Bose

MAHĀVĪRA: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS by Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L., London, Luzac & Co. 1937. pp. 113.

Dr. Bimala Churn Law has presented us once more with a work marked by the characteristic features of all his writings. There is the same accuracy, the same careful choice of facts, the same objectivity and sobriety of judgment. Hence, despite all that has been

written on Mahāvīra, it would be difficult to find any book better suited to give an objective account of what we learn from the Buddhist and Jain texts regarding the real founder of Jainism, for we must not give too much credence to efforts to ascribe the faith to the legendary Pārśvanātha. The use of Buddhist texts in this connection is of special importance, for the Pāli Canon has survived in a far better shape than the Jain, and its testimony has the additional value that it is not marked by sympathy for the tenets of the Jains. Dr. Law, without entering into controversy, by his clear presentation of the facts derived from the two sources disposes completely of the suggestion of the late Professor Charpentier (*Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 118 ff.) that Mahāvīra survived the Buddha. If any faith whatever is to be attached to Indian testimony, that theory is ruled out, and it is the merit of Dr. Law's confrontation of authorities that it shows that we are in the presence of a sound tradition.

Dr. Law expounds with much sympathy the doctrines which we may safely ascribe to the founder himself and those which later developed. It is an interesting suggestion that the change in diet induced by his inculcation of *Abimsā* went to improve the art of preparation of vegetable dishes (p. 55), which certainly among meat-eating people is often sadly neglected. It is also suggestive to present the *Syādvāda* as an intellectual idea of that harmony among men which is based on mutual understanding. But one remains in the same difficulty as before regarding the stress laid on nudity and asceticism by the Jain teachers. Fortunately the Jain community has known how to avoid too rigid adherence to these doctrines, and it may be that the more positive view of the soul taken by Mahāvīra explains the success which they have achieved in adapting themselves to the conditions of life. All Jains and those interested in their position in Indian religious and philosophical thought must be grateful to the author for so sound and helpful a book.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA by W. H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee. Longmans, Green & Co., pp. xii + 496 + 8 maps.

To write a concise and up-to-date History of India from the standpoint of Indian cultural evolution and its response to successive contacts—such is the aim which the authors of this arresting work (both being distinguished ex-members of the Indian Civil Service) have set before themselves. And anyone who has gone through its pages even cursorily will admit that they have been eminently successful in their task. One misses here the dreary mass of detail that most often wearies and scares away the general reader, but he is amply compensated by the series of luminous surveys of social, economic and cultural conditions which reflect the real life of the people through the successive ages. For the ancient and much of the mediaeval periods the picture necessarily presents numerous lacunae, besides points of acute controversy which are as yet hardly near solution. While due allowance has been made in the present work for such points, we are frequently introduced to adequate presentations, not only of the political, but also of the social and cultural, history during the successive periods. Of some portions of the mediaeval and nearly the whole of the modern period the history is often clouded (as is well-known) by the dust of controversy, such as that arising between the British Conservative and the Indian Nationalist standpoints. It is refreshing to find this work steering clear of passion and prejudice and giving what must be admitted to be an objective statement of facts. One can well illustrate this from the comments on the decline of the Indian handloom-industry in the early 19th century (pp. 338-39) and on the outburst of racial feeling following the Ilbert Bill agitation (p. 434). From the nature of the case the surveys of social and economic conditions and cultural developments during this period are fuller than those for earlier times, while the rise of political movements onwards from the last

two decades of the 19th century gives the occasion for an adequate, though concise, treatment. The only criticism we have to offer in this connection is that the story of cultural developments (p. 391 ff.) might have been told more fully. Credit must however be given to the spirit of understanding and sympathy which runs throughout this work, specially as it is often absent from publications of the type with which we are here concerned.

In a work of such compass there must be room for some differences of opinion. It is doubtful whether Candragupta Maurya, from being employed in the service of the Nandas, rose to the rank of Commander-in-chief (p. 48), while the inclusion of Gujarat in his empire subsequently (p. 49) is definitely proved by the Gīrnār rock-inscription of Rudradāman. The presence of the Hellenic element in Aśokan sculpture (p. 56) is still a matter of dispute. The 'five Great Assemblies' of the Ancient Tamil Polity (p. 84) which were postulated by Kanakasabhai Pillai have been shown by Professor Nilakantha Sastri to be based upon a misreading of the text. The Maukharī dynasty (p. 105) consisted of two distinct branches, one belonging to South Bihar and the other to the Upper Ganges valley. For Gujars (pp. 113 ff.) and Rathōrs (pp. 115 ff.) the older and more accurate forms Gurjaras and Rāstrakūṭas might have been used. In the picture of India in the 10th century reference might have been made to the type of clan-monarchies characteristic of the Rajput dynasties, as also to the instances of Chiefs' Estates and Assignments to officials mentioned in the inscriptions (Cf. *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, by the present reviewer, Lecture III). Room might have also been found for the interesting instances, in some inscriptions of Eastern India, of substitution of cash assessment of the land revenue in place of the older system of payment in kind (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 59, 72). The inference from the early Moslem examples about prevalence of one-third or one-half of the produce as the rate of land-revenue, in the tenth century (p. 129) is somewhat forced.

Firishta's account of Muhammad Tughlak's (*read* Muhammad bin Tughluk's) expedition against China (p. 168) has now been completely discredited. The theory of the foundation of the Vijayanagara city by the Hoysala king (p. 174) has been challenged by several scholars. The picture of Vijayanagar civilisation (pp. 177, 184, 188) might have been made much fuller in the light of the recent researches of Dr. Heras, Dr. Saletore, Dr. Ramanayya and others. Coming to later times we miss a reference to the flourishing condition of the Indo-Persian painting under Jahangir as also to the rise and progress of Rajput painting specially between the 17th and 19th centuries.

The above, however, are slight blemishes in a most useful work which makes a welcome addition to the growing literature of textbooks on Indian History. One of its chief attractions is the lucid style in which it is written throughout. Its value is further enhanced by a series of eight sketch-maps and a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, pars III

- H. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey: Buddhacarita, XV to XXVII*. The portion of Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* which is not available in its original Sanskrit is being rendered into English on the basis of its Tibetan and Chinese versions. This instalment covers cantos XXIII to XXV.

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. 1, part 1

- OTTO SCHRADER.—*The Name Kalki (n)*. As Kalka means 'sin' and Kalkin 'sinful' the name of an Avatāra of Viṣṇu cannot be derived from that word. As a white horse is prominently associated with the Avatāra, the original form is suggested to have been *karkin* (one who has a *karka*, a white horse), which was altered into *kakki* in Prākṛit and was wrongly Sanskritised as *Kalkin*. In Tamil also the word *Karki* means a horse.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Notes on Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dignāga*.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*R̥gveda Vyākhyā*. Mādhava's commentary on the *R̥gveda* is being edited here.
- S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI & T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR.—*The Yoga Upaniṣads*. Short Upaniṣads' dealings with Yoga are being translated into English.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Aśvālayana Gr̥hyasūtra with Devāsvāmibhāṣya*. An edition of the work is being published.

Buddhaprabha, vol. 5, no. 1 (January, 1937)

- K. A. PADHYE.—*Jātaka Literature of the Buddhist Dhammapada*. The English translation continues.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VIII, part 4

- K. GODAVARMA.—*The Copper-plate grant of Śrī Virarāghavacakravartin*. After a discussion of the different controversial points,

the writer comes to the conclusion that the inscription records the grant of leadership of a guild at Kotuñkūlūr to one Ravigovardhana by Virarāghavacakravartin on the 15th of March, 1320 A.C.

H. de WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA.—*Apropos du genitif absolu en vieil indien* (on Genitive Absolute in Ancient India).

BORIS VASSILIEV.—“*Ju-shih Lun*”—*a logical treatise ascribed to Vasubandhu*. The history of the text *Ju-shih Lun*, a Chinese version of a treatise on logic known as *Tarkaśāstrā*, the authorship of which is attributed to Vasubandhu, has been traced in this paper from its references and treatment in Chinese literature. An account of Vasubandhu's logic has also been given from information supplied by Hiuen-tsang and his school of translators.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXII, part vi

K. V. S. AIYAR.—*The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rājarāja I)*.

Ibid., vol. XXII, part vii.

K. V. S. AIYAR.—*The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rājarāja I)*.

—.—*The Smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottuṅga*.

R. S. MAJUMDAR.—*Note on Sailendra kings mentioned in the Leiden Plates*.

Indian Art and Letters, vol. X, no. 2 (1936)

H. G. QUARITEH WALES.—*The Exploration of Śrī Deva, an Ancient City in Indo-China*.

J. H. LINDSAY.—*Indian Influences in Chinese Sculptures*.

Indian Culture, vol. III, No. 3 (January, 1937)

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*Towards a history of the Skandha doctrine*.

The paper traces the development of the Buddhist doctrine of Skandhas through the Nikāya texts.

S. K. BANERJEE.—*Sultan Bābādur Shāh of Gujrāt and the princely*

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refugees from the Moghal Empire (1534). In this paper Mr. Banerjee gives the names of the various Afghan princes and nobles who received help from Bāhādur Shāh as well as details, the circumstances or reasons which induced Bāhādur Shāh to extend his helping hands.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*Varuṇa and Ouranos.* Mr. Dumézil has written a book dealing with the myths of Varuṇa and Ouranos and has traced a close agreement between them. Prof. Keith criticises in detail the arguments of Dumézil and points out the vast gulf between the Vedic and the Greek testimonies.

GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR.—*Heart and home of ruling princes.* In this continued article the author brings together from Pāli works, the *Epics* and *Mānasāra*, *Sukranīti* etc. the materials, throwing light on the plans and buildings of kings and princes, of hermitages, and monasteries of the Buddhist monks.

ISHWAR SAHAI.—*The crime of Thagi and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck.* The writer touches the following points—causes of the growth of Thagi till 1828—need of effective measures by the Government; measures under Bentinck for suppression; causes of the final disappearance of the Thugs.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*The Kākatīya Rudradeva.* The author traces the origin of the Kākatīya dynasty and gives in detail the activities, campaigns and conquests of Rudradeva, and speaks also of the successors of Rudradeva.

RAJENDRA CANDRA HAZRA.—*The Br̥hannāradiya and the Nāradiya Purāṇa.* Mr. Hazra examined the *Br̥hannāradiya* and the *Nāradiya Purāṇas*, he fixes the date of composition of the former between 850-950 A.D. The present *Nāradiya Purāṇa* is not the earlier one, and the chapters of the *Br̥hannāradiya Purāṇa* were added to by others, so it is an upapurāṇa and must have been composed not before the last quarter of the 9th century A.D., some portions being of still later date.

GEORGE GRIMM.—*The reach in the doctrine of the Buddha of atakkāvacara, the idea of not within the realm of logical thought.* The paper throws light on the interpretation of the term atakkāvacara. He prefers the translation 'not lying within the realm of logical thought.'

P. NAGARAJA RAO.—*Pramāṇa and its scheme in Madhva's Epistemology.* The term 'pramāṇa' in Indian epistemology is ambiguous. Pramāṇa is taken to mean 'pramākaraṇa' in some places and 'pramā' in other places. Madhva's distinct contribution to epistemological technique is the introduction of the two clear cut terms namely 'kevalapramāṇa' and 'Anupramāṇa'. By classifying 'pramā' under 'kevalapramāṇa' and 'pramākaraṇa' under 'Anupramāṇa', he cleared the ambiguity associated with the word 'pramāṇa'.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Meherauli Pillar Inscription of Candra.* Prof. Bhandarkar shows that the Viṣṇupada hill on which Candra mounted his pillar inscription was situated somewhere near the river Vipāśā, and not far from Kāshmir.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*Buddha and not Buddhists.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY.—*Versions of the Kaulāvali.*

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Devadāsīs in northern and eastern India.*

PROMODE LAL PAUL.—*Jainism in Bengal.*

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI.—*Lakṣana in the Abhinava Bhārati—its bearing upon the relative chronology of Kuntaka and Abhinavagupta.*

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Vaṅgasena, the author of the Cikitsāsārasamgraha—Before A.D. 1200.*

SRI RAMI SHARMA.—*Nasaq as a system of land revenue assessment in the Mughal time.*

E. C. CARPANI.—*A note on the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (viii 13. 1).*

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap.*

Jaina Antiquary, vol. III, no. 4 (March, 1937)

- V. S. AGARWALA.—*The Presiding Deity of Chhīl-birth amongst the ancient Jainas, with special reference to figures in the Mathura Museum.*
- B. C. LAW.—*The Kalpasūtra.*
- K. P. JAIN.—*The Jaina Chronology.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 56, no. 4 (December, 1936)

- L. BACHCHOFER.—*Herrscher und Mimzen der Spateu Kusānas.*

Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society,

vol. XXII, pt. IV (December, 1936)

- P. C. CHAUDHURI.—*The Cult of Tārā and an Image from Pārbati.*
The extent of the Tārā worship in Buddhism has been shown and several aspects of the image of Tārā have been described in reference to the fragmentary image recovered from Pārbati in the district of Gayā.
- H. HERAS.—*Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chāñhu Daro.*
Two seals of the Mohenjo Daro Harappa type, which have been found in the Indus region are claimed to have been deciphered. One is a record containing a reference to a Chief and a common grazing ground, while the other is a popular couplet.
- K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Caṇḍeśvara's Rājanīratnākara.* This Sanskrit text on polity is edited here for the second time with introduction.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. IV, No. 1 (January, 1937)

- H. PERMENTIER.—*L'art Pseudo-Khmèr au Siam et la Prang.* This French article on the Siamese monuments throwing light on the early history of the Siamese architecture is prefaced by a résumé in English by Dr. B. Ghosh.
- HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.—*Literary and Epigraphic Notes.*
(1) *The find-spot of Ko I.* The inscription is inferred to have

originally belonged to the border districts of Southern Kedu and Northern Jogjakarta.

(2) *The Store of Pereng*. 785 Śaka. The inscription is given a new interpretation to show that in Śaka 785 Kumbhayoni built the god-house called Bhadrāloka for housing the Śivaliṅga and made arrangements for the god's worship from the income of a sawah-field called Tamwā hurang.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XV, part 3 (December, 1936)

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I and his successors*.

S. S. S. SASTRI.—*Maṇḍana and Bhāvādvaita*. Maṇḍana, the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* cannot be an expounder of *Bhāvādvaita*.

AZIZ AHMAD.—*Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balbari*.

P. K. GODE.—*Some Contemporary Evidence regarding the Aśvamedha Sacrifice performed by Sewai Jaysingh of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.)*.

KALI KINKAR DATTA.—*The Marathas in Bengal after 1751*.

W. H. MORELAND.—*Zat Rank in the Mogul Empire*.

Journal of the K. R. Oriental Institute, vol. XXXI, no. 31 (1937)

J. C. TAVADIA.—*Some Jaina Parallels to Zoroastrian-Beliefs*.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. X, part III (July-September, 1936)

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Origin of the Alphabet of Campā*.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*On the Date of Skandasvāmin, Mabeśvara and Mādhava*. (Three Vedic commentators).

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN.—*The Tirukkattalai Temple* (A Cola structure of the 9th century).

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Number of Rasas*. The discussion on the position assigned to the *Śānta Rasa* in the works of poetics is continued in this instalment of the paper.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*The Chronology of the Ve. 'Ibhāṣyakāras*.

Dates and chronological order of fourteen Vedic commentators beginning with Yāska have been suggested.

Ibid, vol. X, part IV (October-December, 1936)

H. HERAS.—*The "Minavan" in Mohenjo-Daro*. An inscription on a steatite seal of Mohenjodaro contains, according to the author of this paper, the names of Minavan and the Paravas, who are inferred to have been the ancestors of the Pandya kings of Madura and their Parava subjects of the fishery Coast.

P. K. GODE.—*The Date of Kālikāpurāna—before 1000 A.D.*

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Kalinga Wars of the Reign of Kulottuṅga*.

V. NARAYANAN.—*Vestiges of the Drama in Early Tamil Literature*.

C. R. SANKARAN.—*Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variations*.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Number of Rasas*. The views of writers on the Śānta Rasa as found in the works of poetics are discussed here.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January 1937

A. S. HEMMY.—*The Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins*.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*The Cola Invasion of Bengal*. The writer contends that Rājendra Cola marching from the south never crossed the Ganges. He defeated Oṭṭa Mahipāla, an Orissa ruler, but not the Pāla king of Bengal bearing that name.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), vol. 1, 1936. No. 2.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.—*The Phonetics of Labnda* (or Western Panjabi).

R. V. JAGIRDAR.—*The Doctrinaire Drama*. By an analysis of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* drammatrical doctrines contained therein have been given.

P. V. BAPAT.—*Vimuttimagga and the School of Abhayagirivibāra in Ceylon*. There are passages in the *Vimuttimagga* which con-

tain views ascribed to the Abhayagirivādins of Ceylon. Hence it is inferred that the work when brought from India was accepted by the school as representing its views.

H. D. VELANKAR.—This discussion on metres in Apabhraṃśa is followed by an edition of a text on the subject.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.—*The Olden known illustrated Paper Manuscript*. A manuscript of the Jaina Kalpasūtra (with 40 illustrations) dated Saṃvat 1125 has been discovered.

M. R. MAJUMDAR.—*Growth of Gujarāti Language*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. V, part IV

ADRIAN DURATE.—*Piracy in Western Seas in the Reign of Aurangzeb*.

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of the Aṅgrias*. The paper deals with an expedition of Nāro Rāyājī Gode Thākur and his allies against Tulājī, the last of the Aṅgrias. A battle was fought at Mudāgad, a stronghold of the Aṅgrias, and the place was demolished in 1748.

HERMANN GOETZ.—*Life and Art in the Mughal Period: The mental background of Mughal painting and its reflection in art*.

S. C. NANDIMATH.—*Godachi Plates of Kirtivarman I*.

Karnataka Historical Review, vol. III, nos. 1 & 2 (January-July, 1936)

HAR DUTT SHARMA.—*Lakṣmaṇotsava—an important work on Medicine: Its Date, Authorship and Contents*.

DINKAR DESAI.—*Local Organisation in Cālukyan Karṇāṭaka*. Some details regarding the system of local organisation in the Karṇāṭaka have been gathered from a number of inscriptions of the Western Cālukyās and their feudatories.

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Viśvalocanakośa of Śrīdharasena*. This note assigns Śrīdharasena's lexicon *Viśvalocana* between A.C. 1350 and A.C. 1550.

B. A. SALETTORE.—*The Karṇāṭaka Conquest of Cakrakoṭṭa*.

- A. PADMANABHAN.—*Jakkañācārya—the forgotten Architect of India.*

Modern Review, January, 1937

- S. K. DEB.—*The Myth of the Aryans.* The writer of this note quotes statements to show that the term 'Aryan' should not be used as an ethnical designation. It may for the sake of convenience be applied with reference to the language. But the extension of its connotation to embrace all speakers of Indo-European tongues is erroneous.

Ibid., February, 1937

- ADRIS BANERJI.—*Mahāsthāngarh.* It describes the ruins of Mahāsthāngarh, the ancient Pundravardhanapura in the district of Bogra in Bengal and gives a history of the place.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 5 Heft, Sept.-Oct., 1936.

- C. C. DASA GUPTA.—*Remarks on a few early Indian Terracotta Figurines.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. I, No. 4 (January, 1937)

- VASUDEVA SHARANA.—*Patañjali on Kṣudraka-Mālavas.* It discusses Patañjali's remarks on the inclusion of the term kṣudraka-mālava in Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha of Khaṇḍikādi group. The writer is of opinion that even Kātyāyana who preceded Patañjali was aware of the existence of the republics of the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas as also of the fact that they used to lead joint armies. The expression kṣudraka-mālavi in the literature of Patañjali's time meant the united army in which Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas combined their forces.

- M. B. EMENEAU.—*Central Asiatic Versions of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati: Introductory Story.*

- B. A. SALETORÉ.—*The Kānaphāṭa Jōgis in Southern History.*

- S. M. KATRE.—*The Suffix -tha in Pāli.*

P. K. GODE.—*Notes on Indian Chronology*. The note deals with a manuscript of the *Saṅkaravilāsa campū* composed by Jagannātha under the order of Nānā Salīb Peshwa about the year 1757 A.C.

—*Date of Sārasvatapradīpa of Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara*. Dhaneśvara flourished about the 1st quarter of the 16th century.

M. M. PATKAR.—*Mādhavasimbhāryāśataka*. The note describes a poem by Syāma Latṭi composed in A.C. 1755 in praise of king Mādhavasimha of Jaipur.

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Some Unpublished Inscriptions of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt*. The paper treats of four records—the Prācī Inscription of Kumārapāla, the Kīrāḍū Inscription of Bhīma II of Vikrama Saṃvat 1235, the Gālā Inscription of Bhīma of V.S. 1249 and the Gīrnār Inscription of the time of Bhīma II of V.S. 1256.

KSETRESH CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Reference to Writing in R̥gvedasambhitā*. Dr. Lakshman Sarup's contention that the *R̥gveda* is prior to the Indus Civilisation because the former has no reference to the art of writing while the latter leaves ample proof of its existence, is opposed here. The *R̥gveda*, in the opinion of the writer, shows knowledge of writing.

GANGANATHA JHA.—*Nyāyasūtra of Gautama with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana*. The edition of the text with Sanskrit notes continues.

—*English Translation of same*.

Religions, no. 18 (January, 1937).

J. MURPHY.—*The Indus Civilisation in Relation to Indian Religions*.

Shrine of Wisdom, vol. XVIII, No. 71 (Spring, 1937).

The Laws of Manu. The English translation of the first chapter of the *Manusambhitā* with comments and elucidations by the editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom* continues.

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Śakas and Kuṣāṇas in the I and II centuries

The Mauryan empire founded by Candragupta about 325 B.C. came to an end *c.* 191 B.C. with the murder of Br̥hadratha by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The Śuṅgas originally belonged to the region of Vidiśā-Eran-Pabhosā. The predecessors of Puṣyamitra had evidently owed allegiance to the greater Mauryas; Puṣyamitra stepped into their dwindling possessions in Northern India with the traditional seat of viceroyalty in Mālava (Ākara-Avanti) at Ujjain-Vidiśā for Agnimitra, and the imperial capital at Pāṭaliputra for himself. The already much attenuated Brahmin empire of the Śuṅgas ended, as it had begun, with a murder—Devabhūti being murdered at the instigation of his minister, a Kāṇva Brahmin about 72 B.C. What remained of the Śuṅga power in Mālava was soon done away with by the Andhras. The process of disruption had begun much earlier and there is no evidence that Bhagabhadra (*c.* 102 B.C.) had any effective control over Ujjain. Between 100 and 60 B.C., Mālava became the battling ground of rival forces that extended from Kabul to Broach.

The contemporary powers were Indo-Greeks: Amyntas in Kabul valley, *c.* 100 B.C.; Indo-Parthians: Spalirisha and Azes I *c.* 100-40 B.C. in Taxila and Western Punjab; Śakas: in Surāṣṭra and Mālava, *c.* 75-56 B.C.; Andhras: Lambodara, Āpilaka and Meghasvāti, *c.* 97-67 B.C. from Paithan to Kalliena (Kalyan).

The advent of these Śakas is described in the Kālakācārya-kathānaka. Drs. Konow¹ and Jayaswal² have utilised this datum in their discussions on the origin of the 57 B.C. and 78 A.D. eras. Both have overlooked the evidence of the Purāṇas, and their mutual corroboration with reference to the immediate predecessors of these Śakas. According to Jayaswal, the 57 B.C. era marks a victory of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi the Andhra ruler of Paithan at Ujjain over Nahavāna, a foreigner, a Śaka, at Bharukaccha.³ There is not a trace of evidence in either literary (Purāṇic and Jaina) or archæological (symbols on Nahavāna's coins) in support of the contention that Nahavāna was a foreigner. A glance at the literary chronology makes it clear that Nahavāna was distinguished from the Śakas:

Pattāvāli	Years	Years	Jinasena	Purāṇas	Years
Pālaka	60	60	Pālaka	Śisunāgas	163
Nandas	155	155	Vijaya kings	Nandas	100
Mauryas	108	40	(Mayūras)	Mauryas	137
} Puṣyamitra } Balamitra } Bhānumitra	30	30	Puṣyamitra	} Puṣyamitra } Suṅgas	112
	60	60	Vasumitra and		
	40	100	Agnimitra		
Nahavāna			Rāsabha kings	Nakhavān	
			(Gaddabhillas)		
Gardabhillā	13	42	Naravāhas	Gardabhillas ⁴	72
Śaka	4			Śaka	

In the Jaina Gāthā (verse 1304) from the Āvaśyaka-sūtra-niryukti of Bhadrabāhu (c. 58 B.C.—150 A.D.) no mention is made of Nahapāna's being a Śaka. No distinction is made between Nahavāna and Śālavāhana on the score of either being a non-Indian.

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. 1, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi.

2 *JBORS*, vol. XVI, pp. 251, 285.

3 The incident itself (not Jayaswal's conclusion) is described in detail in the *Niryukti* to the *Āvaśyakasūtra*, c. 58 B.C.—150 A.D.

4 The Purāṇas agree with Pattāvāli in making Gardabhillā immediately precede the Śakas. The Kālakācāryakathānaka also makes the Śakas dispossess Gardabhillā, not that Nahavāna met Gardabhillā. The only discrepancy in Jinasena above is the relative position of Naravāhas and Gardabhillas. There is no question of Naravāhas being equated with Śakas. Naravāha is too obviously a variant of Nahapāna, Nahavāna, Nakhavān or Nakhapāna.

Cf. Bharuyacche Jīnadevo Bhayaṃtamitte Kuṇālabhikkū ya
Paīthāṇa Sālavāhaṇa Guggulubhayavaṃ ca Nahavāṇa

The Cūrṇī on this Gāthā leaves no doubt that Nahavāna was brought up in the Mauryan tradition, specially of Aśoka.

.....So ya rāyā sayam āgao thavio amacco visāmbham jānīṇa bhanāi: puṇṇeṇa rajjam lobhāi puṇo vi aṇṇassa jammassa patthayaṇaṃ karchi. Tāhe devakulāni thūbhatalāgavāvīna khaṇāvaṇādiehiṃ dāvvaṃ khaīyam. Sālavāhaṇo āvāhio puṇo vi ttāvijjai. Amaccaṃ bhanāi: tumam paṃḍio tti. So bhaṇāi: ghaḍāmi aṇṭeuriyāṇo ābharaṇeṇaṃ ti. Puṇo gao Paīthāṇaṃ ti. Pacchā puṇo sampreurio nivvāhe. Tammi nitthie Sālavāhaṇo āvāhio. Natthi dāvavaṃ. So viṇattho. Naṭṭham nayaraṃ vi gahiyaṃ.

.....the king then comes in person to find him, and he takes him for his minister. When (the false saint) has gained his confidence, he tells him: It is by merits that one obtains the dignity of a king; therefore do something in view of another birth. He spends a fortune in building temples, stūpas, excavating tanks and wells. Sālavāhaṇa puts himself again on the march, he suffers a fresh check. (Nahavāhaṇa) says to his minister: It is again thou that hast made it. (The false saint) tells him: I have done nothing yet; bring the jewels of thy harem, since (Sālavāhaṇa) is gone back to Paīthāṇa. And then he despoils (the king) and his harem. When all is exhausted, he calls Sālavāhaṇa. (Nahavāhaṇa) has nothing left to give; he is lost; the city (of Bharukaccha) is lost and taken (by Sālavāhana).⁵

The Purāṇas place him and his successor in the Śuṅga period and before c. 70 B.C.

Bhūtinandas tataś cāpi Vaidīśe tu bhaviṣyati/

Śuṅgānām tu kulasyānte Śīśunandir bhaviṣyati//

The second of the four rulers in Vidiśā before the end of the Śuṅga rule is Dharmavarmā or Dhanadharmā, son or descendant of Nahavān (Nakhapānajaḥ—in Vāyu). Like the Viceroy of the Mauryas in Mālava, Nahapāna bore the title *Rājan*.⁶ The same title occurs on the coins of the Śuṅga governor Balabhūti (Bala-

5 *J.A.*, Tome CCXXVIII, Janvier-Mars, 1936, pp. 67, 68-90.

6 Rapson, *CIC.*, Andhras, Western *Kṣatrapas*, &c., p. cvii-cviii, cxc.

mitra). Everything points to Nahapāna's father Bhūmaka being a local chieftain of Surāṣṭra-Mālava in fief (Kṣaharāta) from the Śuṅgas. Nahapāna shook off the nominal allegiance and extended his territories and thus came into conflict with the other beneficiary of Śuṅga disintegration, viz., Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of Paithan. The title of Nahapāna's father (or predecessor, the relationship not being known), *Kṣaharāta* can be easily explained by the influence of the contemporary Indo-Greeks and Indo-Parthians from Kabul to Broach mentioned above and the time of Nahapāna, his father and son falling between 100 and 70 B.C., supports this influence ".....early in the first century, c. 90 B.C., we find evidence of diplomatic relations between Vidiśā, which was still under the rule of the Śuṅgas, and the Yavana house of Eucratides at Takṣaśilā in the north-west of the Punjab" (Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, p. 532). As Nahapāna's descendant is placed by the Purāṇas in the Śuṅga period and as the Śakas of Seistan did not occupy the delta of the Indus earlier than "c. 75 B.C." (Rapson, *ibid.*), even a long reign of 40 years cannot bring him later than 70 B.C. Thus, Nahapāna could not possibly have anything to do with either the Śakas of the Kālakācārya-kathānaka or the era of 57 B.C.⁷

The archæological evidence is in support of Nahapāna being an Indian and anterior to the Śakas mentioned in the Kathānaka. The coins of Bhūmaka are of copper, and their types are 'Arrow, Discus, and Thunderbolt: Lion-capital and *Dharmacakra*'. All these are purely Indian symbols. In any case, they are not Śaka. Rapson started with the presumption that the Kṣaharāta family was foreign and so sought affinity for the first three characteristics in the *rev.* type 'Discus, Bow and Arrow', of certain copper coins struck con-

7 Patañjali refers to earlier Śakas, contemporaries of Puṣyamitra, a predecessor of Nahapāna. Nahapāna's son-in-law and general Ṛṣabhādatta (Uṣavadāta) might be one of these Śakas. Nasik inscr. Senart, *El.*, viii, p. 85, Pl. VI, 14a; Bühler, *ASWL.*, iv, p. 101, Pl. LIII, 7.

jointly by Spalirises and Azes (Gardner, B. M. Cat., *Gk. and Scythic Kings*, Pl. XXII, 4; C. N. Chr., 1890, Pl. VII, 13). But he justly observes that "the 'Lion-capital' of the *rev.* represents a feature in Indian art."⁸ Thomas suggested (*JRAS.*, 1906, p. 216) that this feature was borrowed from Persia. Even so, the borrowing took place much earlier, perhaps under the Mauryas, and was adapted to the Indian milieu and continued by the Śuṅgas and by their feudal chiefs of whom Bhūmaka may have been one. The *Dharmacakra* again is a symbol of the Buddhist faith and was known and used much earlier than c. 75 B.C. That the Taxila copper-plate inscr., and inscr. on Mathura Lion-capital bear the *Dharmacakra* merely proves similarity of faith, not affinity in race. The coin-legends of Nahapāna are in Greek, Brāhmī, and Kharoṣṭhī, containing Nahapāna's title 'Rāja', and his family designation 'Kṣaharāta'. According to his inscr. (not in his coins) Nahapāna was 'Kṣatrapa' in the year 42 (Nasik inscr. and 'Mahākṣatrapa' in the year 46 (Junnar inscr.). Of his copper coinage, there is a solitary specimen from Ajmer, but thousands of such coins were discovered at Jogalthembi in the Nasik district. The size, weight, and fabric of the silver coins resemble the hemi-drachms of the Graeco-Indian kings. This similarity, the title 'Kṣaharāta', and the use of Greek script side by side with Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, are amply accounted for by the influence of Bactrians and Indo-Greeks from Sophytes to Amyntas, c. 305-100 B.C., from the Salt Range to the Kabul Valley.⁹ The use of Graeco-Roman characters has left its traces in a degenerated ornamental form even on the silver coins of the Guptas. On the other hand the typical Indian symbols of the silver coins and the copper coin of Nahapāna are unmistakable, and they occur also on the coinage of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi: 'Tree,

8 Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. cviii-cix.

9 Cf. Synchronistic Table, Appendix A.

with large leaves, within railing.' None of these can be claimed as Śaka.

As might have been expected from the variety of scripts used on the coins of Nahapāna, the extent of his territories is another serious objection to his association with the Śakas described in the Kathānaka. The copper coins of Bhūmaka are found 'in the coasting regions of Gujarat and Kathiawad, and also sometimes in Malwa.' According to the place-names in the inscr. of Queen Bala-śrī, Nahapāna's dominions included Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Kukūra (probably some portion of Rajputana), Ākara (East Malwa), and Avanti (West Malwa), Puṣkara in Ajmer (according to the inscr. of Ṛṣabhadatta, Nahapāna's son-in-law). On the other hand the Kālakācāryakathānaka makes it clear that the Śakas who fell into disgrace with the 'King of Kings' (Mithradatas II, 123-88 B.C.) in the *Sagakula* came to Hīndugadesa and divided Kathiawar (*samāgayā Suratthaviṣae*) among themselves. During autumn, they were led by Kālaka to Ujjayin where Gardabhilla the king of Ujjaiyini who had abducted Kālaka's sister was made a prisoner, and a Śaka dynasty established. After some time they were ousted by a king of Mālava who established his own era.¹⁰ Gardabhilla had evidently succeeded Nahapāna in Mālava, while Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was wresting from him his other possessions. The Purāṇas¹¹ also place Gardabhilla after Nahapāna. The Kathānaka Śakas, thus, came after Nahapāna's extended possessions had been taken over by the Andhra Śātakarṇi, and took only Surāṣṭra and part of Mālava from Nahapāna's successor in these parts *viz.*, Gardabhilla, Nahapāna's son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta continued to hold some territories to the north, e.g. Puṣkara in Ajmer. Thus neither

¹⁰ Konow, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi-xxvii; Jacobi, *ZDMG.*, 34, 1880, pp. 1247 ff.

¹¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45, 49:

Read 'Suṅgānām tu kulasyānte' occurring after Nahapāna and 'Andhrāṇām saṁsthite rāje' for the 'sapta Gardabhinaścāpi' followed immediately by 'Śakāś cāṣṭādaśaiva tu'.

Nahapāna nor Gautamiṣputra Śātakarṇi had anything to do with these Śakas c. 75 B.C. They fought against each other for the possession of Ujjain, and Śātakarṇi won.

Against the combined weight of this literary and archaeological evidence the suggestion that Nahapāna is a Śaka is purely gratuitous. Jayaswal simply says that "Jinasena's chronology treats Nahapāna as a Śaka" (*JBORS.*, XVI, p. 250). He further states "Now, according to Jinasena, Nahāvāna (mis-reading 'Naravāha') was the king in 58 B.C. These and according to the Paṭṭāvali gāthās Nahāvāna lived in 13-14 years before 58 B.C. These four years the gāthās give to the 'Śaka king' and the 13 years to Gardabhilla, while Jinasena's Na(hapā)na stands in place of the gāthā's Śaka king" (*JBORS.*, XVI, p. 249). Both these statements are unfounded. Nahapāna flourished before the end of the Śuṅga dynasty c. 75 B.C. according to the Purāṇas as admitted by Jayaswal (*ibid.*, p. 282); note the expression *Śuṅgānām tu kulasyānte* in the Purāṇas, not of the Śuṅgabhrtyas or Kāṇvas. The Śuṅga family ceased to rule years before 58 B.C. The second statement is not borne out by the parallel chronology from the Paṭṭāvali and Jinasena given by Jayaswal on p. 234 (*JBORS.*, XVI). The only discrepancy there is the relative position of Nahapāna and Naravāha to Gardabhilla and Rāsabha: there is no question of any of them standing in place of Śaka.

It is noteworthy that only the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmānda* of all the Purāṇas¹² mention Nakhavān or Nahapāna, and then distinctly as belonging to the Nāga family of Vidiśā. It is equally noteworthy that both the Sanskrit versions of the story of Kālaka giving details regarding the advent of the Śakas to Hindukadeśa, their occupation of Surāṣṭra and Mālava and the defeat of Gardabhilla mention Gar-

¹² Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 48-49, 72; xxiv-xxvi. Pargiter has clearly pointed out the incongruity of Fleet's opinion that Nahapāna was Śaka, cf. p. xxiv.

dabhilla ruling in Avanti, Sātayāna or Śālivāhana at Paithan, but Balamitra and Bhānumitra in Lāṭa at Bhṛgukaccha. These latter are evidently the Śuṅgabhr̥tyas. They are unknown under these names to the Purāṇas, and the coins¹³ of Bhānumitra belong to Pañcāla-Kośala and not to Lāṭa. The Paṭṭāvali and Jinasena place Balamitra-Bhānumitra and Vasumitra-Agnimitra, after Nahapāna, but this is obviously wrong by the synchronism of Śaka, Gardabhilla and a Śālivāhana in the Kālakācāryakathānaka and the agreement of all these in placing Gardabhilla after Balamitra-Bhānumitra. Thus according to the Āvaśyakasūtra-niryukti Gāthā Nahapāna was ruling at Bharukaccha: according to the Purāṇas, Nahapāna flourished before the end of the Śuṅga dynasty: the inscr. describe him as 'Kṣaharāta, Kṣatrapa, Mahākṣatrapa' (presumably of the Śuṅgas): the coins show his virtual independence in the title 'Rāja': the extent of his territories as deducible from inscr. and coins leaves no room for either Balamitra-Bhānumitra in Lāṭa or Gardabhilla in Avanti: finally he comes originally from Vidiśā belonging to a Nāga family. The conclusion is inevitable that he lived and died before c. 75 B.C. and he was not a Śaka.

To recapitulate:—

(i) Bharuyacche.....Nahavāna.

[Gāthā, verse 1304 from Āvaśyakasūtraniryukti of Bhadrabāhu, between 58 B.C. and 150 A.D.]

(ii) ...Vaidīśakāṃscāpi.....

...Nāgakulodbhavaḥ.....dvitīyo Nakhavāṃstathā.

[Vāyu 99, 366, 372; Bḍ. iii, 74, 179-85.]

(iii) ...Avantipurīm.....

Gardabhillena Lāṭadeśam Balamitra-Bhānumitrau
..... Marahattadeśa Pṛthvī-Pratiṣṭhānapure.....Sātayānaḥ.....

¹³ Vincent Smith, *CIM.*, pp. 186-87.

...Pratiṣṭhānapuram.....Sātavāhanarājena.....

[*Sri-Kālikācārya-kathā Śrī-Tapaḡaccha-urddhaśālāyaṃ likhitā. Śreṣṭhī Deva-candra Lalbbai Jaina-pustakoddbāre granthāṅkaḥ* 82. *Sri-Kalpasūtram (Barasāsūtram, by Bhadrabāhu, Bombay, Nirnayasagar Press, 1933.)*

The above conclusion does away with Jayaswal's imagined difficulty—"Rules of philology are set at naught by the Sanskrit commentator in translating this foreign name of *Nabhavāna* into **Nabhovāhana*. The Puranic writers were not so bad when they turned it into *Nabhavān*." (*Ibid. JBORS.*, p. 285). As a matter of fact the name is not foreign, and the change of *Nabhav* and *Nakha* into *Naba* is one of the commonest phenomena in Prakrit. Cf. *Abhidhānarājendra*, vol. IV, p. 2772:—

naha—nakha -punō pāṇipādaje, Prava. 400 dvāra. "nakhā nahā kararūhā." Ko. 109 Gāthā. Ogha. ni. 28, Nāyā. 1; Pi. Ni. Bha. 50; Bhaga. 1, 7; 3, 2; 5, 2; 4; 7, 9; Sama. 11; 34; Su. Ca. 2, 31; Kappa. 9; 43; 3; 35; Prava. 439.

naha—nabhas -na. ākāṣe, ekārthikāni—"khaṃ abhhaṃ aṃtarikkhaṃ vomaṃ nahaṃ aṃvaram gayanaṃ". Ko. 17 Gāthā. Utta. 14, 36; 28, 9; Paṇha. 1, 3; Viśe. 1811; Dasa. 7, 52; Bhaga. 20. 2; Su. Ca. 15, 29; Kappa. 3, 35; 5, 111.

It also shows the fallacy of Rapson's equation¹¹:—

Gautamīputra's year 18 = Nahapāna's 46: —46 + Śaka era 78 A.D.
 ,, 46 + 78 + x: = ,, 46 + 78 = 124 A.D.

The calculation is based on the assumption that both Nahapāna's and Caṣṭana's families were Western Kṣatrapa Śakas,¹⁵ so Nahapāna and Rudradāman both used the same Śaka era. A note of warning against this lack of discrimination had already been uttered by Vincent Smith:—

14 *CIC.*, Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas &c., pp. xxvi-xxvii.

15 Konow, *CII.*, op. cit., p. xxxiii; Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, XVI, p. 247.

“Archæologists have got into a bad habit of mixing-up as Western Satraps’ two distinct dynasties—namely, the Kṣaharātas of Mahārāṣṭra and the line of Caṣṭana originally settled at Ujjain in Mālwā. No doubt both dynasties were satraps in the west, but they were entirely distinct, and it is better not to apply a common designation to both.” (Smith, *EHI.*, 1924, p. 232).

Once the basic misconception regarding Nahapāna is removed, the story of the Śakas c. 75-56 B.C., the Mālava-Vikrama era of 57 B.C., the Śaka era of 78 A.D., and the Śaka-Kuṣāna empire of c. 78-150 A.D. may now be studied in their proper sequence in the light of the latest researches.

I. Śakas c. 120 B.C.

In c. 165 B.C. the Yueh-chi expelled the Sse (or Sek) who originally belonged to the south of China from Sogdiana. The Śakas invaded and occupied Bactria. The Śakas came into conflict alternately with the Bactrians and the Parthians. In c. 120 B.C. the Yüe-chi conquered Bactria. The Śakas in turn overran and occupied parts of the possessions of the Śuṅgas. These are the Śakas referred to by Patañjali. The route they followed was from Bactria to Mathurā. A section of them secured a footing in Mathurā. They are probably the Satraps of Mathurā, c. 120—80 B.C. Hagāna; Hagāmasha; Rañjubula; Patika; Śodāsa. Their association with the Śuṅgas is borne out by their coins and inscr. “...the coins of the Satraps of Mathurā generally are related as regards both types and fabric to those of Pañcāla (Śuṅgas) and those of the Hindu princes of Mathurā.” (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9). Nahapāna’s son-in-law Rṣabhadatta who is ‘almost certainly’ a Śaka (cf. line 2 of Nāsik inscr., Bühler, *ASWI.*, iv, p. 101, Pl. LII, 7), might possibly have belonged to this line of Śakas.

The important point to note is that these Śakas were from the south of China and that they reached Mathurā through

Bactria. Jayaswal's¹⁶ suggestion that these were 'Seistan Śakas' is unwarranted.¹⁷

II. Śakas c. 75-56 B.C.

These were the Śakas of Seistan who fled the country during the reign of Mithridatas II and are to be clearly distinguished from the Śakas of South China driven towards India by the Yuë-chī who were themselves fleeing before the Hiung-nu. These were Iranian, the others were Scythic. The Kālakācāryakathānaka gives the Prakrit form of their Iranian title *sābhānu-sābi* which was later adopted by the Scythic Śaka-Kuṣāṇas. The route by which they traversed India is described in the Kathānaka—(i) from West of the Indus, to (ii) the eastern bank of the Indus, (iii) Surāṣṭra, (iv) Lāṭa, and finally (v) Avanti. This progress across the Indus from Saga-kula to Hindugadesa clearly suggests the waning power of Parthia over the outlying parts of their territories, as remarked by Rapson (*CHI.*, p. 568) and Konow (*op. cit.*, p. xxi).¹⁸ "The invasion must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Iran; not to the reign of Mithridatas I, but to a period after the reign of Mithridatas II when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent." Hence this Śaka invasion could only have begun sometime about 80 B.C. and affected India in Surāṣṭra c. 75 B.C. Jayaswal¹⁹ exaggerates the significance of the dagger story in the Kathānaka as implying the growing power of Parthia: he omits to consider the sequel to the story, viz., the exodus and independence of the feudatory Śakas thus 'pressed'.

¹⁶ *JBORS.*, XVI, p. 246.

¹⁷ No inscr. or coin of these Śaka rulers has been found in Surāṣṭra-Mālava. "Led by *Maues* or *Moa*," this band of Śakas, unlike other foreign invaders, entered India by the Karakoram Pass, and through Kashmir into the Panjab. *JA.*, 1891 (XVII) p. 146; Rapson, *IA.*, p. 8. And from the Punjab, a satrapy was established at Mathurā.

¹⁸ Rapson, *IC.*, pp. 563 ff.

¹⁹ *JBORS.*, XVI, p. 238.

The second important point to remember is that no details are available regarding this short-lived Seistan Śaka rule at Ujjain. The Kathānaka is brief and to the point:

‘After some time (*kālantareṇa kenāi*) Vikramāditya, king of Mālava ousted this Śaka dynasty (*uppādittā Sagāna tam vamsam*) and established his own era (*payadāvio niyao samvaccharo*).’

Jayaswal wanted to place these Śakas in Sindh as early as c. 123 B.C. as “without such a supposition the assumption of Hindu names and a claim to be classed as kṣatriyas which the name of Aśpa-varman and others denote, and the acceptance of Hindu faiths *with their very advent on the soil of inner India, are not explainable.*” (*JBORS., op. cit., p. 238*). The whole supposition is a bold *petitio principii*. Aśpavarman had nothing to do with these Śakas, and “is a representative of the Śaka military chiefs who are repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of Western India in the second century A.D., when this region was governed by Śaka satraps.” (*Rapson, CHI., p. 577; Lüders, Sitz. K.P.A., 1913, p. 412*).

The first generations of the c. 120 B.C. Śakas bore foreign names like Hagāmasha, Hagāna etc., and the successors called themselves Śoḍāśa etc. The first generations of c. 78 A.D. Śakas bore foreign names as Ghasmotika,²⁰ Caṣṭana and their successors continued as Rudradāman etc. Aśpavarman was an officer of these latter. This clearly proves that they were entirely different lines, to be distinguished from each other and also from the Śakas of c. 75—56 B.C. about whom nothing more than the bare details given above is known.

Mālava or Vikrama Samvat c. 57 B.C.

The Kathānaka mentions Vikramāditya of Mālava as uprooting the Śakas. Indian tradition as a whole connects the era of 57 B.C.

²⁰ Lüders, *SBdW.*, 1913, pp. 407 ff.

with Mālava and a king Vikrama, or with the *vikrama* i.e. victory of the Mālavas.²¹ A vast amount of superfluous ingenuity has been spent in proving either that there was only one Vikramāditya viz., Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty about the 5th century A.D. (c. 375-413 A.D.), with head-quarters at Pātaliputra, or that the Mālava era of 57 B.C. commemorates the victory of an Andhra king, who, however, like Molière's *Le Médecin Malgré Lui* is absolutely unaware of it in his own inscriptions.

As Konow sanely observes—"I cannot see the slightest reason for discrediting this account (of the Kathānaka regarding Vikramāditya of Mālava uprooting the Śaka dynasty), as is usually done, because most scholars are *a priori* disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore." The *Kathāsaritśāgara* and the Rajput chronicles bear witness to the heroic legends of Maiendrāditya's son king Vikramāditya of Mālava of the Paramāra dynasty, ruling at Ujjayinī in the first century B.C. There is no reason why he should not be the founder of the Vikrama era marking Mālava emancipation from Śaka domination.

III. Śaka Era c. 78 A.D.

- (a) Great Yue-chi: Tā-hia (capital Badaḥṣān), Kabul-Punjab.²²
 Kujūla Kadphises c. 45-50 A.D.
 Wima Kadphises c. 50-70 A.D.
- (b) Little Yüe-chi: Arachosia (Kandahār)—the Brāhūi mountains, Lower Indus (Sind)—Śurāṣṭra—Lāṭa—Mālava—Mathurā.
 (i) Kaniska—78 A.D.
 (ii) Caṣṭana—after 78 A.D.

21 Cf. Mandasore Inscr., *Mālavānāṃ gaṇasthityā*.

22 Vincent Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 63; Konow, *op. cit.*, liv-lv.

- (i) Kanīṣka succeeds to the possessions of his kinsfolk from the north, the Kuṣāṇas Kujūla and W'ima after an interval. Mathurā remains his capital, and of his imperial line, Huviṣka—Vāsudeva.
- (ii) Caṣṭana, perhaps a cadet of the Kanīṣka, family, is left as Kṣatrapa over the territories from Sind to Mālava. The family of Caṣṭana, from Caṣṭana to Svāmi-Rudrasimha III constitutes the Western Kṣatrapas.²³

(a) The great Yüe-chi, Kujūla and W'ima use an old extra-Indian Śaka era. W'ima's Khalatse inscription is dated in the year 187 or 184. It cannot be based on the 78 A.D. era. It is to be noted that Kujūla and Kuṣāṇa overcame the last king of Kabul who was a Greek, while his successor W'ima suppressed the Indo-Parthian chiefs of the Indus valley, and extended the Kuṣāṇa power into India proper. Neither of them had yet established an Indian empire over Indian princes. There was hardly an occasion for a new era.

(b) The Kathānaka lays down very clearly:—"But also his (of Vikramāditya, king of Mālava) dynasty was uprooted (*tassa vi vamsam uppādiūna*), by another Śaka king (Sagarāyā), who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (*panatise vāsasae Vikkamasamvaccharassa volīne parivattiūna thavio jeṇam samvaccharo niyao*)." About 78 A.D. the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* confirms this change of regime in Surāṣṭra-Mālava:

"The local ports follow in the order Souppāra of Akabares and Kalliena city which was a regularly open market in the times of Sarganes the elder (of the two); but after Sandanes became its master it has been generally stopped; and in fact the Greek vessels which are carried fortuitously towards these regions are brought under good

guard to Barygaza.”²¹ ...“It has been an easy matter for our Śaka general to send down his ships and stop its trade.”

It would thus appear that a Sandanes established a Śaka power in Surāṣṭra-Mālava in 78 A.D.

Who was this Sandanes?

The variants given in the manuscripts of Ptolemy are—Saden(on), Sadan(on), Sadin(on), Ādin(on), Adan(on) Aden(on). The most ancient of the mss., the Vaticanus Urbinas 82, reads Sadanon; the mss. X, Sadenon; the mss. of the Latin versions hesitate between Sadanorum and Sandanorum. This last form is completely identical with the Sandanes of the Periplus.

Benfey took it not as a personal appellation but as the territorial title of the sovereigns of Ariake. Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 185, n. 1) adopted this interpretation. The name is rare in Brahmanical literature: an inscr. of Cāhamāna Vigharāja dated 973 A.D., and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* offer the only two instances of a name *Candana* which would be the natural equivalent. It is interesting that in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* the name *Candana* occurs in association with Āryaka. The name of *Candana*, however, recurs with surprising frequency in Buddhistic literature. A Devaputra *Candana* is found in the most ancient Buddhistic texts: *Majjhima Nikāya* (vol. III, p. 199), *Lomasakaṅgiya-Bhaddekarattasutta*, n. 134.

This word *Candana* inevitably reminds us of the enigmatic title ‘tchan-t’an’ applied to various royal personages in a number of Chinese texts. We are indebted to Professor Sylvain Lévi for bringing together a number of these Chinese references in the last unfinished paper of his, published in the latest issue (Tome CCXXVIII, Janvier-Mars 1936) of the *Journal Asiatique*, under the title ‘Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana.’

1. tchan-t'an is the title of Kanīṣka in the translation dated 405 A.D. of *Sūtrālamkāra* by Kumārajīva. (Chap. III, story 14 and Chap. V, story 31).

2. tchan-t'an of Kumārajīva is equated to Yue-tche Wang 'the king of the Yue-tche' by Seng-tchao.

3. tchan-t'an is known in trans-Gangetic India as a royal title in the IVth century; cf. 'the king Tchou tchant'an (of Fou-nan) offers elephants.' Tchou is a current abbreviation of T'ien chou, India, treated as a family name, just as Tche is an abbreviation of Yue-tche. The title of tchan-t'an taken along with T'ien-tchou tchan-t'an shows Kanīṣka's affiliation to the Yue-tche source.

4. Four centuries after the embassy of Tchou tchan-t'an of Fou-nan, the title of tchan-t'an reappears in the other extremity of India, in positive relation with the line of Kanīṣka. The pilgrim Wou-k'ong describes his visit to Gandhāra in 753 A.D.: "The monastery bears the name of the king who founded it. This king is descended from the line of king Kanīṣka (Ki-ni-tch'a). The monastery Tchou-t'an houli bears the name of the younger brother of the king." The evidence is clear and indisputable. Tchant-t'an is a title 'in the line of the ancient king Kanīṣka', and is applied to the younger brother of the king.

5. In Hou-mi as at Gandhāra, the royal family is descended from the ancient king Kanīṣka, tchan-t'an Kanīṣka.

We are thus led to ask if the Sandanes of *Periplus* could not be a king of the Yüe-chī Kuṣāṇa race, named Kanīṣka.

It is well-known that a branch of the Yüe-chī did not join in the expedition towards the Ta-hia led by the forbears of Kujūla and W'ima. The Kuei-shung, i.e. the Kuṣāṇas begin to appear in Chinese sources after the Yüe-chī conquered Ta-hia. But what about 'a remainder of them, small in number, who were unable to depart, took refuge with the K'iang in the southern mountains' (Shi-ki, Chap. 110, fol. 6, v, Chap. 123, fol. 4, cf. Marquart,

pp. 201 ff.)? The thread of their story lies through Larike (Lāṭa) and Ariake (Surāstra-Mālava) in Sandanes of Periplus and Ptolemy, and Tchan-t'an Kaniṣka who became the master of Barygaza and the Konkan littoral (Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 150) as well as Mālava-Mathurā, and whose era 78 A.D. replaced the Mālava era of Vikramāditya found in use in Mathurā seventy years after 57/56 B.C., and the 78 A.D. era also became the reckoning of a large part of southern India.²⁵

This difference in routes followed by the two branches of the Yüe-chi Kuṣāṇas is of prime importance in determining the origin of the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The line of Kujūla followed the north-western passage to the Punjab, after conquering Ta-hia in the period Kien-wu (25-55 A.D.). Their power in India was secondary even in the time of W'ima. The annals of the later Hans, in their notice on the Ta Yüe-chi simply say: "Yen-kaotchen (Wema Kadphises).....in his turn conquered T'ien-tchou (India) and there established a chief to administer it" (Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 192). The Khalatse inscription of Sam. 187 (or 184) (during the reign) of the Great King Uvima Kavthisa disproves the idea of any era by W'ima Kadphises.

The southerly direction of the line of Tchan-tan Kaniṣka through Larike and Mālava is signalled by the Śaka era founded by Kaniṣka to mark the foundation of a primary Śaka power by displacing the Mālava dynasty in 78 A.D. 135 years after its inauguration by Vikrama after destroying another Śaka power in 57/56 B.C. From Mālava Kaniṣka extended his power to Mathurā, and to Benares (cf. Kaniṣka's inscr. at Sarnāth; Lüders, *List*, no. 927). He left Caṣṭana as kṣatrapa in the west, and Caṣṭana's family reckons by his sovereign's era, 78 A.D. From Mathurā as a centre,

25 In Ptolemy, the list of towns in Larike begins with Barygaza and closes with Nasika, the two extreme points toward the sea and the east, of the territories of Caṣṭana, the Kṣatrapa of Tchan-t'an Kaniṣka. Cf. *JA.*, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Kaniṣka stepped into the possessions of the other branch. Hence there is an interval between W'ima and Kaniṣka. This is also the reason why the Chinese sources are silent about Kaniṣka. He is separated from W'ima not in time but in space, establishing his power in a region not within the purview of the Chinese Annals. Kaniṣka naturally reckons by his own era.

All attempts²⁶ made so far to get round the difficulties presented by the Khalatse inscription and the Chinese Annals have been unconvincing. The equation of Sandanes-Candana-Tchan-t'an-Kaniṣka solves them satisfactorily.

Caṣṭana and the Western Kṣatrapas. c. 78 A.D.-c. 388 A.D.

Like Kaniṣka, Caṣṭana bears a foreign name. His father Ghsamotika (*JRAS.*, 1881, p. 524; Rapson, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 370 for a lost coin with his name) appears to be distinctly Scythic, cf. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 211. His grandson Rudradāman dates his Girnar inscr. in the Śaka year 72—A.D. 150.

It would be idle to sepeculate on the exact relation of Gh(or Yo)samotika and Kaniṣka on the similarity of their name-terminations. But one is tempted to ask if Ghsamotika's son Caṣṭana was simply his kṣatrapa, or a near relation, e.g. a son, a cadet who was left in charge of the western dominion while another son Huviṣka bearing a foreign name of the first or second generation and a contemporary of Caṣṭana in the I-II centuries A.D. carrying on the imperial line from Mathurā.

The question becomes piquant in view of the evidence of Tāranātha who follows in his chronology of the history of Buddhism, Indian works, now lost. At the epoch of Sandanes of Periplus, and thus immediately after Tchan-t'an Kaniṣka, he places the son of Kaniṣka, a king Candana Pāla (Pāla or governor of Candana Tchan-t'an). He assigns to this Candana Pāla the kingdom

²⁶ Konow, *op. cit.*, lxxvii; Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, XVI, p. 244.

of Aparānta, *i.e.*, North Konkan, the septentrional part of Konkan between the Western Ghats and the sea.....the region in which according to the lexicographer Yādava, Śūrpāraka was included. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 6 mentions precisely this Souppara (Śūrpāraka) as the first coastal town in the Ariake of the Sandanes.

The kṣatrapas continued in this region as Hinduised kṣatriyas, adopting Hindu names and using the official Śaka era of 78 A.D. down to the IV century A.D. Their influence in early Deccan secured for the Śaka era 78 A.D. the same prominence in the South as is enjoyed by the Vikrama era 57 B.C. in the North of India.²⁷

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²⁷ *Akbarnāma*. The first definite mention of Śaka-kāla occurs in an astronomical date of the year 427, falling in A.D. 505, apparently from Gujarāt. Cf. Konow, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

The Horse Balaha and the Indian Kings

The persistence of certain titles, Royal or Imperial, in the course of the centuries is one of the remarkable facts in the history of the world. The Latin name Caesar, for instance, has persisted from antiquity up to modern times in the forms Kaiser, Czar, Kisra, etc... India offers an example of the same kind.

One reads in the book of *The Golden Meadows of Masudi*¹ as follows: "After his (King Korech—Harsa's) death, discord arose among the Indians; they divided into various nations and tribes and each country had its own chief. The kingdoms of Sind, Kanouj and Kashmir were formed in this way; the city of Mankir which was an important centre in India was ruled by a king of the name of Balhara, and the name of this first king was assumed by all his successors who reigned in this capital until our days (322 hegira)."

According to Ibn Khordadbeh, Balhara is a Hindu title which means King of Kings. Al-Idrisi accepts this interpretation. The *Travel of the Arab merchant Sulayman in India and in China*, written in 851, furnishes the following information:² "The Indians and the Chinese agree about the fact that, unquestionably, the king of the Arabs is the greatest king, the richest and the most glorious of Islam, above whom nothing exists. The king of China himself admits to rank second after the king of the Arabs. Then come the king of Rûm (Byzantium) and the Ballahrâ, the king of those who have their ears pierced for the purpose of wearing ear-rings. The Ballahrâ is the sovereign of India whose birth is the most noble, and this is acknowledged by the Indians themselves. Every king of

¹ Text and translation by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, t. I, p. 162.

² Translation by G. Ferrand in *Les classiques de l'Orient*, pp. 47-50.

India is independent, but all recognize the Ballahrâ for the most highly born."

"Ballahrâ is the title of all the kings of this land, just as Kisra is with the Persians. It is not a proper name. The territory of the Ballahrâ's kingdom begins at the Western sea-coast of India, where a country named the Konkan lies along one of its borders, and extends upon the continent of Asia as far as China. Around the kingdom of the Ballahrâ there are many kings with whom he fights wars, but he is always victorious."

In the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, under the word Balhara, T. W. Arnold remarks: "It is an historical impossibility to identify the dynasty of Balharas with that of Vallabhi 509-766 A.D.³ and the hypothesis of Reinaud,⁴ according to whom Balhara is the same as Malwa Rai (i.e., the King Malwa), is no longer defensible." Arnold further observes that the Râṣṭrakūṭas have borne the Sanskrit title Vallabha and that Indra III, contemporary of Masudi, bore the title of Pṛthivī Vallabha.

In the *Cambridge History of India*,⁵ Sir Wolseley Haig writes: "When Muhammad b. Qāsim invaded Sind in 711, the Cālūkyas, the Pallavas and the Râṣṭrakūṭas were contending for supremacy in the Deccan, and the Arab geographers of a later date corrupted Vallabha Rāi, the title borne by many of the Râṣṭrakūṭas, into Balharâ and used this word as a generic title for the leading ruler in India. But in Northern India, the empire of Harṣa had dissolved on his death in the middle of the preceding century and no power had succeeded to the hegemony."

Have the Arab geographers corrupted the words Vallabha Rāi into Ballahrâ and Balharâ or, on the contrary, transcribed some Indian forms of the same title? I have published in 1929 in the *Journal of*

3 Eliot and Dawson, vol. I, pp. 354 and 355.

4 *Notes on India*, pp. 138, 164.

5 Vol. III, p. 506.

the Asiatic Society an article entitled '*Hippokoura and Satakarni*' the conclusions of which may be summed up as follows:—Kura is a non-Aryan word meaning "town." Hippokoura, the name of the capital of the Andhras in the *Tables of Ptolemy*, signifies "town of the horse." Satakarni, the patronymic of the Andhra kings, sanskritised into Śātakarṇi, may be interpreted as "the son of the horse." On several Andhra coins we read by the side of the royal name, the title Viḷivāyakura. The kings who inscribed this name on the coins should have taken in their title the name of the capital. Viḷivāyakura and Hippokoura both are the names of this capital, and Hippo—"horse" is the Greek translation of the Indo-Aryan Vaḍavā. It seems that Viḷivāya is a compromise between the popular form and the literary name, an alloy of Sanskrit Vaḍavā and Prākṛit Valāhaya.

The divine horse from which the kings and the capital of the Andhras derived their name is not an earthly creature. It is at the same time aquatic and ærial, because it sprang from the ocean to take its flight into the sky. Its name appears in many forms. We can classify them in three series, according to the syllable which ends them: *-va*, *-bba*, or *-ba*.

(a) We have in Sanskrit Vaḍava and Vaḍavā to which corresponds Pāli Valāvā. We find also the variants Vaḍaba and Vaḍabā. The mythological value of this term is attested by the compounds Vaḍavāgni, Vaḍavāmukha.

(b) The Sanskrit word Vaḍavāmukha corresponds to Pāli Valābhāmukha which reveals the existence of another variant with *-bbā*. Without doubt this should be connected to the Buddhist-Sanskrit *vallabhaka* which appears in an enumeration of aquatic monsters: *matsya*, *kacchapa*, *vallabhaka*, *susumara*, *makara*.⁶

(c) We can arrange as a last series the name of the mythic horse Valāha which is an incarnation of the Bodhisattva in the Valāhassa-

6 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 231, l. 4.

Jātaḥ (n° 196). The same name reappears in Buddhist-Sanskrit under the forms Valāha (*Mahāvastu*, III., 85, 8) and Balāha. The manuscripts of the *Divyāvadāna* have Bālāhāśvarāja or Bālāśvarāja. The *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa* have in the same way Varahāśva, the name of a daitya. The Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata* gives the reading Varāhāśva. In Pāli *Samyutta* III, 145, Valāhaka is a name of mythical horses. Lastly we refer to the Prākṛit form Valāhaya. I have already shown that the title Viḷivāyakoura seen in the coins of the Andhras refers to the series A. The title Vallabharāi, common to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas, is explained by the series B.

According to R. G. Bhandarkar (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 209 and pp. 387 ff.) Balharā is an Arabic corruption of an Indian title. "Vallabharāja should, by the rules of Prākṛit or Vernacular pronunciation, become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaharāy or Balharāy. The last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabic." The forms Balharā, Ballahrā then, have not been created by the Arab authors. They transcribe exactly enough the sounds which are the Indian corruption of original forms such as Vallabharāja or some other title of the same nature. It is the origin of these forms that we shall now try to discover.

I have already studied more than once the non-Aryan root *bal* 'hair', several derivatives of which have passed into the Indo-Aryan vocabulary. In Sanskrit, *kambala* means a kind of woollen material and a certain breed of deer with long hair. Explainable also by the root *bal* are names of the "silk-cotton tree", or *Bombax Heptaphyllum*: Pāli *simbalī* or *simbala*, Skt. *śālmali* or *śālmala*, Pkt. *samali* or *sāmali*.⁷ In the *R̥g-veda*, 2, 4, 4, we have *vāra* to which a

7 Cf. V. Goloubew, *Le cheval Balaba*, *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1928, p. 223 and J. Przymuski, *La croyance au Messie dans l'Inde et l'Iran*, *R.H.R.*, 1929, t. C. no. 1, p. 6 and fol.

8 *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 8.

popular form *vāla* corresponds. In Vedic, *vāra* means horsehair, and particularly that of the horse's tail, but it is doubtful that in current use the word should have carried such a limited meaning: in the Rāma legend, the monkey Vālin owes its name to the fact that it was born of its mother's hair.

In Bengali *pālak* connotes "the down of a bird." Skt. *barba* means "tail-feather" and *vāra* "hair of the tail." It seems probable that the root *bal* has not been borrowed by the Indo-Aryan only, but also by the Iranian." This hypothesis permits the explanation, besides the above Sanskrit words, of Persian *bal* and Skt. *barba*. Let us examine the latter.

It can be separated into a radical *bar-*, which stands for the non-Aryan root *bal* 'hair', and a suffix *-ba*. It has the sense of "tail-feather; tail of a bird, especially of a peacock; leaf." Now a feather, and more particularly one of the long feathers of the peacock's tail, is made essentially of little barbs attached to a long stem. It is not possible to find for these a more accurate comparison than the hair, or down of animals which the root *bal* describes. Then it is easy to conceive that the derivative *barba* should have described big feathers, and, by extension, the tail of a bird like the peacock.

Now we are able to explain, with the help of the same non-Aryan root, a name the origin of which had remained mysterious, *bālāba*. Bālāha is the name of a mythical horse, chiefly known by Buddhist literature, where it is one of the Bodhisattva's incarnations; under this shape the future Buddha flies over the ocean to save the unfortunate shipwrecked mariners. The flying horse is one of Viṣṇu's avatāras also; similar images, then, have been borrowed by both Buddhism and Viṣṇuism from the old stock of popular beliefs.

Besides its characteristic as a flying animal, the horse Bālāha shows a distinctive feature: its body is covered with long hairs, to which the shipwrecked cling.

The Pāli *Jātaka*, II, p. 129 (*Valābassa Jātaka*) says that in days of yore the Buddha took birth out of the horse Valāha's breed. It was, at the time, a flying horse, absolutely white, with a crow's head, and hairs which looked like reed-grass (*sabbaseto kākasiso muñjakeso*).¹⁰ It told the wrecked to climb upon its back.

In the *Mākandika-avadāna*, which is the 36th tale of the *Divyā-avadāna*, it is said that the *sūtra* of the Rākṣasi must be inserted in the text (*vistareṇa rākṣasīsūtraṃ sarvaṃ vādyam*). This *sūtra* is preserved in the *Ekottarāgama* translated into Chinese,¹¹ and it is the story of the flying horse which saves the shipwrecked mariners, allowing them to hang on to its long hairs. The last words of the *sūtra* are quoted in the *Divyā-avadāna* and contain the flying horse's name: *sarve te bañijo Bālābhāsvarājāt patitās tābbhiś ca rākṣasibbir bhakṣitāḥ...*

We find the story of the Rākṣasi again in the *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 71-75. But here Keśin is the name of the flying horse which saves the wrecked. The Pāli tradition knows it under the same name. (cf. *Kesisutta* in *Ang.*, II, n° 111).¹²

In the *Mahāsuclassana-suttanta* where the *ratna* of the Cakra-vartin are described, the *assa-ratana* is called Valāhako. (*Digha*

10 Compare the description of the flying horse in *Digha nikāya*, II, p. 174. To follow the commentators, one ought to translate: "with a black head and a dark mane" (cf. *Pāli-Eng. Dict.* P. T. S. s.v. *muñja*). But the commentators would change a mythical image into a rational one. The *muñja*-grass is very high. Translating "having a dark mane" one suppresses an essential feature of the flying horse: the long hairs. *Muñjakṣa*, moreover, is an epithet of Viṣṇu and of Śiva. It is a legacy of the old mythology to the more recent religions.

11 Cf. *Anguttara-nikāya*, II, 46 *bhūtapubbāhaṃ Robitasso nāma isi ahoṣiṃ Bhojaputto iddbimā vebāsāṅgamo*. Further on one finds the *Valāhakavagga* (*Ang.*, II, p. 103 and fol.). There is also a *Valāba-samyuttam* in the *Samyutta-nikāya*.

12 For other versions of this story see Beal, *Romantic Legend*, pp. 332-340 and *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* (cf. E. Burnouf, *Introduction a l'hist. du Boudd.*, sec. ed., p. 199).

Nik., II, p. 174). The same description appears again in the *Madhyamāgama* translated into Chinese (Trip. éd. Tok. XII, 5, p. 65b col. 10 and fol.) where the name of the flying horse, in Chinese *Mao*, is pictured by the juxtaposition of two signs: horse + hair.

If Skt. *barba* is formed of the Austro-Asiatic root *bal*, *bar* "hair", and of a suffix *-ba*, *bālāba* must be formed according to the same process because the root *bal* renders the distinctive feature of this mythical being.

The irregular quantities of vowels are not unusual: it is frequent to meet them in the borrowed words. Let us note the length of the vowels in *kambala*, *barba*, *vāra*, *vāla*, and in the *simbali*, *simbala*, *śālmali*, *śālmala*, *samala*, *sāmali* series. The name of the flying horse is in Skt. *Bālāba*, in Pāli *Valāba*. In *Bālāba* and *Valāba*, the lengthening of the second vowel is probably caused by the suffix which follows.¹³

We find it possible now to explain the different wordings of the word *bālāba*. We have seen that these can be classified according to the form of the last syllable. The body of the word, which includes the root *bal*, varies little. But the suffix appears under three forms: *-bba*, *-va*, *-ba*. We have just explained *bālāba* by comparison to *barba*. As to the suffixes *-bba*, *-va*, we have already found them in other borrowings from the non-Aryan languages, and precisely in the names of animals real or mythical.¹⁴

In *Mabābbār.*, I, 197, 32-33, the gods beseech Nārāyaṇa to free the earth from the burden of the wicked. Nārāyaṇa, then, pulls out two of his hairs, a white and a black one. These float down

13 For a similar lengthening in Pkt., see Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Sp.* § 70; *BSL.*, 1931, t. 31, p. 48.

14 Cf. J. Przyluski, 'Un ancien peuple du Pénjab: les Salva', *JA.*, Av.-Juin 1919, pp. 318-321.

to the earth, penetrate the womb of Devakī and give birth, the one to Kṛṣṇa, the other to Baladeva.

I have already remarked elsewhere the similitude of this myth and of that of Danaë, being fecundated by the rays of the sun.¹⁵ In the Indian tale, Nārāyaṇa, whatever his original characteristic be, acts the part of the sun and his hairs picture its fecundating rays.

As soon as we have admitted that the hairs or horse hairs can be the mythical image of the sun rays, we are able to understand the myth of the horse Bālāha.

Its long mane is the chief characteristic of this mythical horse. In Buddhist scripture, the unfortunate wrecked mariners cling to this mane, and are saved from death. These hairs are the images of the sun rays, and the divine Horse itself is a manifestation of the Sun.

An allusion to the myth of the rays which save from death and carry to an abode of immortality can be found in a passage of the *Taitt. Ār.* :

marīcīnām padam icchanti vedhasah

the Wise seek the way of the sun rays.¹⁶

In the same *Āraṇyaka*, *marīci* masc. sing. has become the generic name of the "vapours" which rise from the surface of the waters up to the Sun.

Sūryo marīcim ādatte

Lastly, and recently, *marīci* appears as a god quite independent,

the Prajāpati Marīci.

¹⁵ Cf. J. Przyluski, *La croyance au Messie.....* op. cit., 8.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, IX, p. 9, note 1. On the basis of late commentaries, Weber, who had at first translated *marīci* by "Sonnenstrahl" cf. *Indische St.*, II, 82, has reconsidered this translation and has translated "Sonnenstäubchen," introducing late atomic conceptions into a text to which these are probably quite foreign.

The meaning of *marīci*, then, oscillates between two distinct notions: rays which emanate from the god Sun, and vapours which, under the action of the Sun, rise out of the waters up to this god. The same semantical evolution can be observed in the word *valāha* which means either the horse-god with the ray-formed mane, or the cloud. In Vedic Skt. *varāha* means "cloud"; in Pāli *valāhaka* = Epic Sk. *balāhaka* (1) "a cloud, dark cloud, thundercloud" (2) "name of mythical horses" (cf. *Pāli-English Dictionary*, P.T.S.). These associations of ideas between the vapours and the rays originated probably from the old myth of the solar leg.¹⁷ It seems that the foot of the solar god Ēkapād must have been conceived sometimes as the very long mane of a horse or an animal of the same kind, and sometimes as a column of vapours drawn up by the Sun. The similitude of *vālāha*, *balāha* and of *vārdā* (water-giver) "rain-cloud" may possibly have also played a part.

The myth of the solar horse, then, which has survived in India from the Vedic period up to our days, permits to explain the hairy appearance of the god, his name *bālāha* derived from the root *bal* "hair", and the different meanings of the word *bālāha*. At the same time it seems more easy to understand the Aryan name of the solar horse, called *Keśin* already in the Vedic hymns as, later on, in Buddhist literature. *Keśin*, deriving from *Keśa*, "hair, horsehair", is the exact equivalent of the word *bālāha*, which derives from *bal* "hair." We have already found a couple of this kind in Indian mythology. In this *Quarterly* I showed some time ago that *Nāsatya* is the non-Aryan double of the Aryan name of the *Aśvin*. *Nāsatya* is to *sata* "horse", what *Aśvin* is to *aśva* "horse."¹⁸ The name of the solar horse is also twofold: the non-Aryan name

17 Cf. J. Przyłuski, *Deux noms indiens du Dieu Soleil*, BSOS., VI, pp. 457, 458.

18 *IHQ.*, IX, pp. 88-91.

bālāba is in regard to *bal(a)* the same as the Aryan *keśin* is in regard to *keśa*.

Common to the Vedic, Buddhist and Viṣṇuīte mythologies, the myth of the solar horse holds a considerable place in the history of the religions of India, chiefly in Deccan where the Andhras instaur a kind of Buddhistic-Viṣṇuīte syncretism.¹⁹ Their capital is the city of the Horse, they are the Sons of the Horse (Śatakarni) themselves. So that the name of the divine horse becomes current in the royal titling. After the great dynasty of the Śatakarni, mediæval history is full of the glorious title, diversified under the forms: Vallabha, Pallava, Balharā, etc., The Pallava kings are sometimes referred to as Vallabha.²⁰ The Cālukya kings of Badami are called Vallabha-rāja as well. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who succeeded the Cālukya in the sovereignty of the Deccan appropriated the same title. Obscure terms like *bālāba*, etc., which had no etymology in Indo-Aryan, have naturally degenerated and either the popular fancy or that of the learned has recreated them, more particularly on the model of *vallabha* "favourite, lover." And this is how terms like *śrī-prthivī-vallabha*²¹ have appeared. But, taking *vallabha* as a starting point, it is impossible to explain the more ancient forms.

The dynasty which reigned over Kathiawar between the VIth and the VIIIth century after J. C. chose Valabhi for its capital. The Valabhī era begins, according to tradition, in the year 318/9 after J. C. The founder of the dynasty is Bhaṭārka and we know an un-interrupted series of 19 personages, governors or kings, which lasts until Śilāditya VI.²² The numerous charts discovered register pious

19 See for instance, the image of the Buddha sitting on the nāga, as an imitation of Viṣṇu lying upon the mythical serpent. Cf. J. Przyluski, *Le Bouddhisme*, p. 44.

20 *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 154.

21 Cf. Dines Chandra Sircar, *IC.*, July 1935, pp. 131-133.

22 Sylvain Lévi, 'Les donations religieuses des rois de Valabhi', *Études de critique*

donations made in favour of private persons, corporations and deities. The princes claim to be the worshippers of Malheśvara, but their gifts go to the Brahmins as well as to the Buddhists. Many facts prove the importance of the cult of the Sun. *Silāditya*, which is the generic name of the Valabhi kings, was, according to the tradition, a worshipper of the Sun.²³ The coins of Bhaṭārka and Dharasena describe them as *parama-Āditya*. Bhaṭārka's last son is called *parama-Āditya-bhakta*. The kings of Valabhi belong to the clan Maitraka, and this name has been brought together with one of the names of the Sun, *Mitra*.²⁴ The Mīchars (from Mīhira) would be the modern representatives of the ancient Maitrakas.²⁵

“To this day, every Rajput wears an amulet embossed with a figure of a horse and the sun. This mythological emblem is quite indispensable...It is their personal deity and receives their daily adoration.”²⁶

The legend of the solar horse has been perpetuated, though rather deformed, with the Rajputs. James Tod gathered by the Jainas of the Rajasthan the following legend:

“There was a fountain (*Suryacoonda*) “sacred to the sun” at Ballabhipura, from which arose, at the summons of *Silladitya* (according to the legend) the seven-headed horse *Saptaswa*, which draws the car of *Surya*, to bear him to battle. With such an auxiliary no foe could prevail; but a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with

et d'histoire de l'École des hautes Études, 1896, pp. 75-100; La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes*, p. 132.

23 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 219.

24 Sylvain Lévi, *ibid.*, p. 98.

25 Flect, *Ind. Ant.*, XV, pp. 361-2. In the word Bhaṭārka, the name of the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, one is tempted to separate the well-known title *bhata* and the word *arka* “sun.”

26 Sir J. Malcolm, *Memoirs of Central India* (reprint) II, p. 119; Baden-Powell, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 543. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties* p. 351.

blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Saptaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous foe: the charm was broken, and with it sunk the dynasty of Ballabhi."²⁷

It seems that a confusion must have existed between the unique solar horse Bālāha, and the seven horses which, in later myths, draw the car of the Sun. And the legend of the sevenheaded horse that James Tod relates more or less accurately would have taken birth in this confusion.

It is perhaps to the fountain alluded to in the tale reported by James Tod that a chart of donation of king Śīlāditya I refers: it mentions the "Fountain of the god Sun" *Āditya-devapādiya-vāpi*. A chart of Śīlāditya V mentions Sūryapura, the city of the Sun. Now the name of Valabhī must seem clear enough to us. If *Valabbā* is one of the names of the solar horse, Valabhipura or Valabhī is the city of the solar horse, like the capital of the Andhras Viḷivāyakura or Hippokoura.

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Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1829; Madras, 1873; § 1902, I, p. 21; Cf. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, London, 1829.

Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish*

V. Conquests

Getting rid of his rival Yilduz and subduing Qabachah, Shamsud-Din Iltutmish turned his face towards Lakhnawti. Previously, on several occasions, he had despatched forces to invade the territory, completely subjugated Bihar and installed his own Amirs there.⁷⁶ In the year 1225 A.D., however, Iltutmish made a firm resolve to occupy the territory of Lakhnawti.⁷⁷ Accordingly he marched from Delhi, and Sultan Ghias-ud-Din moved his vessels up the river. But a treaty was concluded, and Sultan Ghias-ud-Din submitted by presenting thirty eight elephants⁷⁸ and eighty lakhs of treasure; and the name of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish was inscribed on the coin.⁷⁹ Iltutmish then withdrew⁸⁰ from Lakhnawti leaving behind Malik Izzud-Din Jani and his own son Malik Nasir-ud-Din as his lieutenants in Bihar.⁸¹ No sooner had the Sultan retired than Sultan Ghiasud-Din Iwaz marched into Bihar and occupied it.⁸²

In 1226 A.D. the Sultan marched from Delhi and occupied the celebrated strong fort of Ranthambhor, which was previously attacked by seventy kings but was never subdued.⁸³

In 1227 A.D. Iltutmish marched against the fort of Mandor⁸⁴

* Continued from vol. XII, p. 117.

76 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 163.

77 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 171.

78 Badauni, p. 60 has "seventy thousand tanghas". Firishtra, and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 59 have 38 elephants.

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 171.

80 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 54 says that "the two Sultans did encounter each other in battles;" but the contemporary authority, Minhaj Siraj does not refer to it at all.

81 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 163.

82 *Ibid.*

83 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

84 The oldest copies, according to Major Raverty, have Mandur but others have Mandud and Mandur. Badauni, p. 65 has Mandu. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 59 has Mandawar. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 19 has Mandur and Ajmer.

within the limits of the Siwalikh territory and conquered it. About the same time in the year 1227 A.D., Malik Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud-Shah, the eldest son of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish and Izzud-Din Malik Jani assembled the forces of Hindustan and marched from Audh to Lakhnawti.⁸⁶ Luckily Sultan Ghiasud-Din Iwaz had led an expedition into the territories of Kanrup and Bang and had left Lakhnawti undefended.⁸⁷ Malik Nasir-ud-Din availed this opportunity by capturing the fortress of Hasankot and the city of Lakhnawti.⁸⁸ Ghiasud-Din Iwaz, perforce, retired from his expedition, and fought an engagement with the victors, but was defeated and his Khiliji Amirs were taken prisoners.⁸⁹ Sultan Ghiasud-Din Iwaz was immediately put to death after a reign of twelve years. The territory of Lakhnawti now fell into the hands of Malik Nasir-ud-Din, who proved to be a benevolent, intelligent, energetic and sagacious ruler.⁹⁰

Having extended his sway over Bihar and Lakhnawti, the Sultan, in the year 1227 A.D. invaded Sindh with the intention of overthrowing Qabachah⁹¹ who was the only rival now left. Accordingly, he made ample preparations, and Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah also stationed his forces before the gate-way of the town Amrut⁹² along with his fleet and boats. It was soon discovered that Malik Nasir-ud-Din Aiytum,⁹³ the governor of Lahore had appeared

85 The famous poet Amir Ruhani composed the following verse on the victories. *که از بلاد ممالک شهینشاه اسلام - کشاد باز دیگر قلعه سنهیر آمین*
Firishta, p. 66 and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pp. 59 and 60.

86 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 163.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

91 The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 58 and Badauni, p. 64 leave out this expedition against Qabachah and drown him in the year 1217 A.D.—about ten years before his actual defeat and drowning into the river Sindh.

92 It is variously written as *امررت - اهررت - هرات - هرات*

93 Aiytum was a slave of Malik Bahaud-Din Tughril, from whose heirs Iltutmish purchased him. The fief of Lahore was assigned to him, and subsequently, in

before the walls of Multan and Iltutmish himself set out by way of Tabarhindah towards Uchchah. The intelligence of these news so terrified Qabachah that he at once retired towards the strong fort of Bhakkar, and directed his Vizier the Ain-ul-Mulk Husain-i-Ashari to convey all the treasures from Uchchah to Bhakkar.⁹¹ Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish pushed forward his advance-guard under the command of the *Amir-i-Hajib* (Lord Chamberlain) Malik Izzud-Din Mohammad Salari and Gazlak Khan Sanjar-i-Sultani⁹⁵ the Malik of Tabarhindah, and four days after himself reached the fort of Uchchah on the 9th Feb., 1228 A.D. Iltutmish now laid siege to the fort of Uchchah, and despatched the Vizier Nizam-ul Mulk Mohammad Junaidi with other Maliks towards the fort of Bhakkar in pursuit of Qabachah. For about three months, hostilities went on at the fort of Uchchah⁹⁶ and the enemy was reduced to extremities until, June 5, 1228 A.D. the fortress surrendered on terms of capitulations.⁹⁷ On becoming aware of the fall of Uchchah, Qabachah sent his son Alaud-Din Masud Shah along with many presents to Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish to sue for peace. He was received with all the outward marks of kindness, but was not permitted to depart.⁹⁸ In consequence Qabachah was much alarmed,

return to his services in the acquisition of Multan, the Siwalikh territory along with Ajmer and Levah Kasili were made over to him. He was, however, drowned into a river in an expedition against the Hindus of the Bundi territory. See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 236, 237.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 173; Firishta, p. 66 has Thankar.

95 Kazlak Khan was purchased by Sultan Shamsud-Din from Khwajah Ali Nasinabadi and brought up under the protection of Prince Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud. Soon after he was made Lord of the Stable. Subsequently he became Amir of Multan, Kohram and Tabarhindah one after another. After the defeat of Qabachah the fort, city and dependencies of Uchchah were made over to him. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 232-235.

96 *Rauzat-us-Safa*, vol. IV, p. 888 says that, on the flight of Qabachah from Uchchah, Iltutmish left his Vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk Abu Said to carry on the investment of Uchchah. The Vizier, after capturing it, marched towards Bhakkar.

97 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 173.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

and before a reply could come, the garrison of Bhakkar was reduced to the last strait. Qabachah desperately threw himself into the river Sindh and got into a boat hoping to find refuge in some island, but in the middle of the stream his boat capsized and he was drowned.⁹⁹ Thus ended the chequered career of a warlike monarch after a reign of twenty years in the lands of Sindh, Uchchah and Multan. After a few days, the treasures were taken possession of, and the remaining forces of Qabachah were enlisted into the Royal army. The country of Sindh as far as the ocean was acquired, and Malik Shahabud-Din Habsh,¹⁰⁰ the ruler of Dewal and Sindh presented himself before and paid homage to the Sultan. Being satisfied with the conquest of Sindh, the Sultan started for Delhi. 'According to some account,' says Qazi Minhaj Siraj, 'the city and fortress of Multan and its dependencies were conferred upon Izzud-Din Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz,¹⁰¹ and was entitled Kabir Khan-i-Mangirni. After some time he was succeeded by Malik Ikhtiar-ud-Din Qaraqash Khan-i-Aetkin¹⁰² as governor of Multan.

99 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 144, 173.

100 The printed text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 173 has "Shahabud-Din Habsh" while Major Raverty turns it into Chatisar or Jatisarin in conformity with the oldest copies.

101 A Rumi Turk of Nasir-ud-Din Husain, the Chief Huntsman of Ghaznin, whose son Sher Khan-i-Surkh sold him to Iltutmish. He was given Multan and the Palwal in his reign. He was a party to the hostile element against Sultan Raknud-Din Firoz Shah. Raziyya made him the governor of Lahore and its dependencies. Multan was again entrusted to his charge, and he assumed sovereignty on the invasion of Mongols. He died in the year 1241 A.D. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 234, 235.

102 Aetkin belonged to the Qira Khitai Turk and was one of the oldest slaves of Iltutmish. First he became Saqi-i-Khas (Personal cup-bearer) and acquired the fief of Barihun and Darangawn. Subsequently he became the Superintendent of the Crown-province of Tabarhindah. Then Multan became his fief. He became governor of Lahore and then of Bhianah in the reign of Sultan Raziyya. He conspired against Bahram Shah but afterwards became Amir-i-Hajib. During Sultan Nasir-ud-Din's reign, he was killed within the limits of Karachi (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 250, 251).

In the month of August, 1228 A.D. Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish reached the capital city. About this time, the Arab messengers reached the frontier of Nagore with splendid robes from the Abbaside Caliph, and on Monday, February 18, 1229 A.D. they reached the capital. The Sultan received them with great honour, and respectfully accepted the robes of distinction. There was a great demonstration in the city, which was decorated; and gifts were bestowed upon the royal princes, Maliks and Amirs.¹⁰³

Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish was extremely pleased on his recognition as the Sultan of Hindustan by the Abbaside Caliph, but he could not enjoy it long as the sad news of the death¹⁰⁴ of Prince Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud was conveyed to him. Balka Malik Khiliji, son of Husam-ud-Din Iwaz broke out into rebellion in the territory of Lakhnawti.¹⁰⁵ In the year 1230 A.D. he marched against him with a strong force, quelled the disturbances and captured the rebel. The Sultan conferred the throne of Lakhnawti upon Malik Alaud-Din Jani,¹⁰⁶ and himself returned to the capital in the month of February 1231 A.D. Soon after Malik Alaud-Din Jani was deposed and was succeeded by Malik Saifud-Din Ibak-i-Yughan Tat as governor of Lakhnawti.¹⁰⁷

In the year 1231 A.D., Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish marched from Delhi to capture the stronghold of Gwalior, which the Mussal-
mans had lost since the days of Qutbud-Din. Rae Mangal¹⁰⁸ son of

103 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 174.

104 "A year and a half afterwards he was afflicted with disease and weakness and he died"—*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 181.

105 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 163, 174.

106 Firishta, p. 66, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 60 and Badauni, p. 67 all have 'Khani'.

107 Malik Saifud-Din was a Khitai Turk and was purchased by Iltutmish from the heirs of Ikhtiar-ud-Din Chust Qaba. He became Amir-i-Majlis (Lord of the Assembly) and then the fief of Sursuti was bestowed upon him. The territories of Bihar and Lakhnawti were entrusted to his charge one after another and he died in the year 1233 A.D.—see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 238, 239.

108 The best Petersburg copy, according to Major Raverty, has میکل بہو دیو.

Mal Deo, offered strong resistance and began war. The Sultan continued fighting, and remained under the walls of the fort for a period of eleven months. In the month of March, 1231 A.D. Qazi Minhaj Siraj, the famous author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* came to the royal presence from Delhi and obtained audience. He was ordered to deliver discourses ordinarily three times a week, but daily during the holy month of *Ramazan*. The two great prayers of *Ids* were said at three different places in the army of Islam, and at one of these places at the front of the Gwalior fort the prayers were conducted by the said Qazi. The fortress was, however, kept under investment until December 12, 1232 A.D. when it was captured.¹⁰⁹ The garrison was reduced to straits, and in course of night its chief Mangal Deo fled away and evacuated the fort.¹¹⁰ Many of the defenders were captured, and about eight hundred¹¹¹ of them were put to death.

Just after this great victory, the Sultan was pleased to make promotions in the ranks of Amirs and Maliks. Majdut Mulk Ziaud-Din Mohammad Junaidi, *Sipah Salar* (Commander of troops), Rashid-ud-Din Ali and Qazi Minhaj Siraj were created *Amir-i-Dad* (Chief Justice), Kotwal, and ecclesiastical head respectively.

In the year 1232 A.D., Malik Izzud-Din Tughril-i-Tughan Khan¹¹² was made governor of Badaun; the office of *Amir-i-Akbur*

Zabdat-ut Twarikh has Mangal Diw. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 60 has - مسک دیو مل -
Mirat-i-Jahan Nama has ملک دیو مل Tazkarat-ul Mulk has ملک دیو سبیل
Firishta, p. 66 has دیو بل مل

¹⁰⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

¹¹⁰ Malik Taj-ud-Din Raiza composed the following verses on the victory.

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین بگرفت * از عون خدا و نصرت دین بگرفت
 آن قلعه گوالیار و حصن حصین * در ستمانده سزاه تا ابدین بگرفت

¹¹¹ *Firishta* p. 66 has only 'three hundred' کردن سیست means: —
 'to put to death' and not 'to receive punishment' as in Elliot, vol. II, p. 327:

¹¹² Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, a Qira-Khitai Turk was purchased by

(Lord of the Stable) thus vacated was assigned to Malik Qamarud-Din Tamar-Khan-i-Qiran.¹¹³ Hindu Khan, Mihtar-i-Mubarak,¹¹⁴ held the office of the treasurer throughout the reign of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish. In the month of April 1233 A.D. the Sultan reached the capital.

In the year 1233 A.D., Malik Tughan Tat died and was succeeded by Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan as governor of Lakhnawti.

In the year 1234 A.D., Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish invaded Malwa, and captured the fort and city of Bhilsa.¹¹⁵ An idol temple to the height of one hundred and five yards which was constructed in the course of three centuries,¹¹⁶ was rased to the ground by the imperial orders. The Sultan then marched from Malwa to Ujjain Nagri, and demolished the famous idol temple of Mahakal-Dev. Among other things, which fell into the hands of

Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, who made his *Saqi-i-khas* (personal cup-bearer) then *Dawat-Dar* (keeper of writing case), *Chashnigir* (controller of the Royal kitchen) and then *Amir-i-Akbur* (Lord of the Stable). In the year 1232 he was made governor of Badaun and in 1233, the feudatory of Lakhnawti. Ultimately he was killed in an engagement against Aor Khan, the ruler of Lakhnawti—see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 242.

113 Tamar Khan-i-Qiran, a Turk of Qifchak was purchased by Iltutmish on payment of 50 thousand Dinars to Asad-dud-Din Mankali. He was created Naib-i-Amir-Akbur and then *Amir-i-Akbur*. During Sultan Raziyya's reign, he was the governor of Kanauj and was sent to Gwalior and Malwa as a leader of forces. The territories of Karah and Audh were afterwards entrusted to him. In the year 1244 A.D. he proceeded to Lakhnawti and fought against Malik Tuhiril-i-Tughan Khan for two years and then died—see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 247, 248.

114 Hindu Khan was a Hindu convert. He joined the service of the Sultan when he was Malik as *Yuzban* (keeper of the hunting leopards) and subsequently *Shola Dar* (keeper of the Torch). On his accession to the throne, Iltutmish made him the treasurer. During Raziyya's reign Uchchah was entrusted to him. During Sultan Muizzud-Din Bahram Shah's reign he died in the territory of Jalandhar, which was under his charge then—see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 248, 249.

115 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 176.

116 Badauni, p. 67 gives the astonishing account that the temple was built in the course of 66 years. He seems to know better than the contemporary authority.

the victors, was a statue of Vikramajita, a sovereign of Ujjain about thirteen centuries back and from whose reign they date the Hindu era. A tremendous quantity of stones and other statues were brought to the capital and buried before the gate of the Juma mosque for the people to tread upon.

In the year 1234 A.D., the Sultan entrusted Bhiana¹¹⁷ and Sultan Kot to Malik Nasrat-ud-Din Tayasi.¹¹⁷ The contingents of Kanauj, Mahir and Mahaun were placed under his charge to make an inroad into the territories of Kaliñjar and Candiri. The same year, he fell upon the Rae of Kaliñjar, put his army to the rout, and obtained a vast booty. On his return, the Rana of Ajar,¹¹⁸ Chahav by name, blocked up the road against the Muslim forces. But Tayasi defeated the Hindu forces and put them to the rout.¹¹⁹

In 1235 A.D. the Sultan led his forces towards Bunyan, a place within the territory of Sindh, but, on account of serious illness he was forced to return to the capital, and on April 30, 1236 A.D. he breathed his last.¹²⁰ About this time, Malik Saifud-Din Ibak,¹²¹ the governor of Uchchah, defeated in battle Malik

117 A slave of Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor. He was a Turk of short sight but was adorned with many praiseworthy qualities. His career in Iltutmish's reign has been described above. Sultan Raziyya conferred the territory of Audh upon him, but when he advanced from there against Malik Alaud-Din Jani and Saifud-Din Kuji, he was taken prisoner and he died of a sickness which afflicted him.

118 اجار - اجاركي - اجارنه probably Acharya.

119 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 239-241.

120 Towards the close of his reign, Fakhrud-Din Asai, the Vizier of Baghdad came to Delhi and was appointed Vizier of the kingdom. Another accomplished man of his reign was Nasir-ud-Din Mohammad Aafi, who had dedicated the Jam-ul-Hekayat to the Sultan's Vizier Mohammad bin Abu Said Junaidi. See *Firishta*, p. 67.

121 Saifud-Din Ibak was purchased by the Sultan from a certain Jamal-ud-Din. He was entrusted with the charge of Narnul, Baran and Sunam one after another. On the death of Malik Taj-ud-Din Sanjar-i-Gazlak, the fortress and city of Uchchah was assigned to him. For the rest of his life see above.—*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 237, 238.

Saifud-Din Hasan, the Karlugh, who had come from the direction of Banian and invested the fort of Uchchah. The reign of Sultan Iltutmish extended over a period of twenty-six years.

Estimate

A great king is the result of a great need. When the Turkish nation was sore beset, the times were full of presage of disaster, and ruin hanged ominously on the horizon, the great king came to rescue his people from danger, to restore order and peace and once more made the realm happy and prosperous. There was no peace or stability in the central government under Aram Shah. Foreign government is the most ugly of political facts and the vanquished Rajas and Ranas could no longer lightly bear the galling Turkish yoke. The rest of Hindustan was divided into contending rivals. Such was the time when Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish came to the throne of Delhi and saved the empire from being torn to pieces. Out of the Alberi tribe of Turkistan, he was, Joseph like, sold and delivered over to merchants, until after some time he attained a position of sovereignty and power.

Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish is decidedly the greatest sovereign of the Early Turkish Empire, and almost excelled all the Sultans of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in his excellence as a man. "Never was a sovereign, so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines," says the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, "sat upon the throne of Delhi." He was 'just, benevolent, impartial, beneficent, a zealous warrior, patron of the learned, the dispenser of justice, possessor of pomp like Faridun, disposition like Qubad, empire like Alexander and majesty like Behram.' Oriental praise is apt to the somewhat highly flown, but making every allowance for the exaggeration of the court chronicle, Iltutmish really deserved a high admiration which has been lavished upon him. His accession was hailed with satisfaction on all sides. His handsome

presence, and princely bearing, combined with a singular grace of manners and acknowledged powers of mind made him generally popular. His career is an interesting example of what pluck, talent and gallantry could accomplish in a Muslim State of those days when the road to power was open to genius, however humble the beginning may be. With the exception of Sultan Qutbud-Din, no other ruler of the Dynasty has anything so romantic as Ilutmish has to his credit. It is his ability as well as his character that raised him to an unquestioned pre-eminence. A petty slave, emerging from obscurity won his way and distinguished himself by an unimpeachable loyalty to his master. His unquestionable supremacy over his fellowmen was due to the excellent qualities of his heart and soul. His character was as noble as his presence was commanding. Possessed of surpassing abilities, intelligence and high moral qualities, Ilutmish was a man of sagacity and progressive views.

The combination of a high degree of intellectual culture with soldierly quality is one of the common place of history. Sultan Shamsud-Din Ilutmish excelled most as a patron of letters. His court was as grand and magnificent as that of Mahmud or Sanjar. The poets, priests and courtiers of foreign countries began a peaceful penetration of the country and made his capital a centre of learning, culture and civilization. The Sultan was a man of broad views and perfectly tolerant of philosophical speculation. Religious studies were respected, tolerance was extended to men of secular learning and handsome allowances were granted to poets, who composed verses as nicely as they were paid. His reign is consequently marked by great achievements in science, literature and art, and the widening of limits of human knowledge. A new atmosphere of refinement and polish prevailed in the court and the camp, and a taste for poetry and fine arts was shared by the high and the low alike.

"Bravery is the heritage of the Turk," says Stanley Lane-poole, and Ilutmish was no exception to the general rule. The fighting

spirit of the Turk was inherent in his nature, and his rapidity of action had long before earned him the title of Iltutmish (hand-grasper or world conqueror). Even in the fatal moment of disaster, Iltutmish rose fresh, vigorous and invincible, and displayed the signs of valour and generalship in the memorable suppression of the Gakkhars. Once inside the campaign, he refused to come out unsuccessful. He plunged bravely into the thickest of the enemy's lines, and gave repeated proofs of his military genius, though he never threw caution aside. His martial vigour, physical strength and dashing courage, combined with statesmanlike qualities and diplomatic moves placed him on the pinnacle of renown. His conquests, however, were not his sole achievements. The Sultan's personal character and no less the policy of his government are matters of interesting speculation. The extraordinary skill with which he reorganised the state, administrated justice and systematised civil and military departments along with his ambition and imperious pride and above all his knightly honour gave him a remarkable place in Indian history.

What Aiybak had been to Ghorī was the reverse of what Iltutmish was to Aiybek. The rapidity with which the armies of Qutbud-Din overturned the various kingdoms of Hindustan shows his martial energy and the faithful alliance of his followers. The conquests of Iltutmish should be compared with his master's, but it should not be forgotten that Qutbud-Din had at his disposal the support of an empire, while Iltutmish inherited but a remnant of his master's vast dominion, a disorganised army and an empty treasury. Qutbud-Din, however, succeeded in keeping allied the different dynasties by means of political marriages and kept in pact the empire of Hindustan by encouragement and support for his colleagues, patronage of his subordinates and suppression of his rivals. Full of the example of his master, Qutbud-Din had brought vigorous but uncultivated mind

to bear upon the problems of government but Iltutmish possessed the ideal of a man of trained intellect and tutored imagination. He had brought exceptional abilities and a highly cultivated mind to the task of government and was a far-sighted and constructive statesman. To the daring and restlessness of his master, he added diplomacy and tact. It was no easy throne that Qutbud-Din had left for him, but Iltutmish was a master of strategy. To the hardy life and martial fire of Qutbud-Din and his followers were mainly due the first spread of Islam in India and the martial prosperity of the empire. There was a sudden change in the policy: the fervour of religious enthusiasm gave place to self-aggrandisement, kingly glory and consolidation of the empire. Iltutmish with Sultan Mahmud's genius for exploitation, which no impartial historian can fail to detect, turned the missionary zeal of his predecessor to his own profit. He brought to his task a vigour and firmness with a statesman's insight, which his predecessor awfully lacked. In politics he was a 'realist of the modern type', and his outlook on life was essentially secular and selfish. Perhaps he had no enlightened desire for the spread of Islam.

Before Iltutmish came to the throne of Delhi, the empire of Hindustan was in a state of utter confusion. The territories of Sindh, Multan and Siwistan were occupied by Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah; the dominion of Delhi belonged to Aram Shah; the territory of Lakhanawti was appropriated by the Khilji Malik and the state of Lahore and Ghaznin was ruled by Yilduz. Iltutmish recognised his position very well. First of all he conquered Aram Shah, who opened the gates of the city with a mere show of resistance. His next step was to reorganise the army with a remarkable speed and to engage himself in a deadly struggle with his rivals. One by one all the hostile elements were eventually swallowed up in the empire of Delhi, and Iltutmish rapidly gained the mastery and triumphed over his adversaries who were no match for

the great military genius of the age. He defeated and captured Yilduz at the battle of Tarain in 1216 A.D. For a time he was content with repelling his enemies, but soon made up his mind to face the most determined foes of the empire. Consequently Iltutmish attacked Qabachah in the heart of his kingdom, obtained a fatal hold upon his capital and not satisfied with the humiliations to which his rival had submitted, finally demanded a surrender of his dominion in 1221 A.D. Jalalud-Din Khwarazm Shah flying a helpless fugitive to an inhospitable land of Hindustan received a cold greeting from Iltutmish and he was obliged to retire towards Siwistan and Sindh. Next followed the conquests of Behar, Ranthambhor, Mandor, Gwalior, Malwa, Bhianah and Bunyan. Bengal which had attained a position of almost entire independence now recognised the sovereignty of Delhi, and formed a part of the Turkish empire. Iltutmish next invoked the shade of a great name by attaining the sanction of the Abbaside Caliphate to his title as the Sultan of Hindustan, and received the mantle and diploma of investiture. Whatever may be said against the degeneracy of the Caliphate, it was still considered to be the fountain head of all political authority, and public sentiment regarded it with deep respect.

The historians with reason hold Iltutmish as the real founder of the Early Turkish Empire. At the very outset of his career, Iltutmish clearly grasped his position and realised that his policy must be steady consolidation rather than expansion. He had long borne a very high renown as a soldier and a general. Now he made preparations with almost superhuman exertion and lost no time in giving abundant proofs of his mettle. With no apprehension, he prosecuted his scheme of conquest, exterminated the rivals and substituted his own sway over all the petty dynasties. The new ruler was destined to surprise and stagger his contemporaries with the brilliancy of his achievements: they were dazzled with his genius

which never lost a single battle during twenty years of ceaseless war. A clear man with a clear eye to his own profit, Iltutmish fought with Hindus and Muslims alike for the consolidation and extension of his empire. His reign was thus a perpetual series of efforts towards the expansion of an originally small territory. The time had really come for a great stroke of diplomacy and Iltutmish admirably succeeded in gradually expanding his power. The acuteness with which he unravelled a complicated situation and the restless activity with which he maintained the integrity of his dominion and consolidated the empire, are the finest achievements of his military genius. By impulsive and chivalrous acts he took the first step towards founding an empire that was destined to endure in diminished and undiminished glory for about three decades more. Iltutmish may rightly be called the greatest statesman of the Early Turkish Empire; there was a 'blessing in his arms and a glory in his crown.' He had a firm will and a stern sense of duty. The reign of Iltutmish forms the climax of Turkish rule in India: the next regimes that remain to be described consist of one long decline, relieved of course, by a temporary rise of the old warlike spirit of the Turk under the reign of Balban, but nevertheless a steady and inevitable fall of the empire.

AZIZ AHMAD

The Beginnings of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi

The Cālukyas, after their migration from Ayodhyā, settled down in the Deccan and carved out a kingdom for themselves there. After a number of kings of the family had ruled over that part of the country with their capital at Bādāmi, Kirttivarman II ascended the throne in 743-44 A.D.² He was deprived of the kingdom and the throne by the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga in the middle of the 8th century A.D.; and his attempt to regain the lost position was frustrated, once for all, by the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I, successor of Dantidurga.³

The Cālukyas, after the overthrow of Kirttivarman II, sank into insignificance and their history till the time of the revival of the family in the second half of 10th century is buried in obscurity. A few glimpses of the family, we get from the Rāṣtrakūṭa inscriptions, in which references are made to some princes of the family ruling as feudatories to the Rāṣtrakūṭa kings. Vimalāditya, son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, was governing the Kunim-gildeśa in about 813 A.D.⁴ The Kūḍatani inscription dated Śaka 842 = 920 A.D. mentions Balavarman, father of Daśavarman, as a feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Nityāvarṣa Indra III.⁵ Kātyera, a Cālukya chieftain and a feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, was governing the Kogāli 500 and the Māsavāḍi 40 divisions in 944 A.D. Kogāli 500 and Māsavāḍi 40 formed part of the Hādagali and Harhanpali Talukas of the Bellary District, Madras Presidency.⁶ The Mahāsāmanta Goggi and Narasiṃha are referred to in other

2 Sewell: *HISI.*, p. 335.

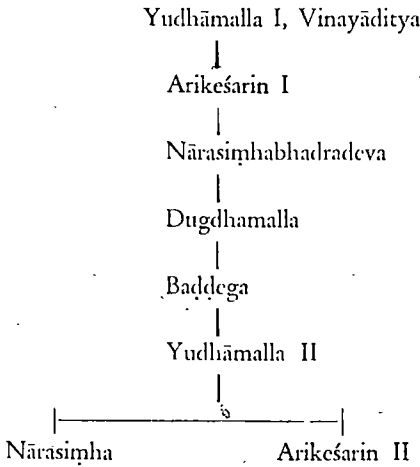
3 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, ii, p. 390.

4 *IA.*, XII p. 18; *EL.*, IV, p. 340.

5 *HISI.*, p. 46; *IMP.*, I, By .No. 267.

6 *IMP.*, vol. I, By. No. 94.

inscriptions of the Mysore State.⁷ The Kanarese poet Pampā, author of Vikramārjunavijaya, otherwise known as Pampābhārata, records that his patron the Cālukya-prince Arikeśarin II was ruling as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and that he had helped the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa in his accession to the throne.⁸ He gives the following genealogy of the family of his patron:—⁹



Of these princes Yudhāmalla is said to have ruled over the seven and a quarter-lakh country in the Deccan and stormed the hill-fortress Citrakūṭa in the Cedi country. Arikeśarin I is said to have penetrated into the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nirupama.¹⁰ Narasiṃha defeated the Pratihāra Mahipāla of Kanauj.¹¹ In the Vemulavāda inscription Arikeśarin II claims to have defeated and killed (?) the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (718-33 A.D.) in battle. The Cālukya Prince Rājāditya was defeated by the Gaṅga-prince Mārasimha.¹² The Cālukya feudatory Sudrakayya was governing the

7 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, ii. p. 380.

8 *Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 380.

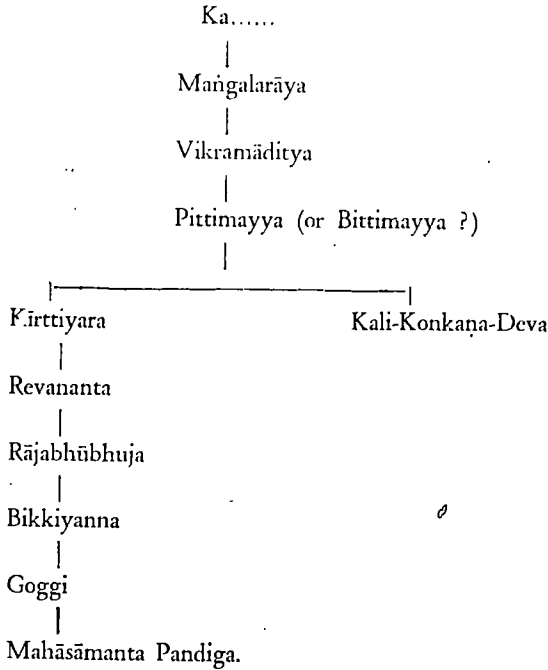
9 *JRAS.*, 1882, p. 19; Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 129.

10 *JRAS.*, 1882, p. 19.

11 *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 129, 51, f.n. 10.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 129.

Kadambalige 1000 in 968 A.D. as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.¹³ Another inscription dated 968 A.D. records the genealogy of another Cālukya family, the last prince of which was governing the Kadambalige 1000. The genealogy runs thus:—¹⁴



The relation of these princes with the Imperial Cālukya family of Kīrttivarmaṇ II cannot be definitely ascertained. If the migration of the Cālukya family from the North to the Deccan be taken as correct, then they must have belonged to some collateral branch of the family.

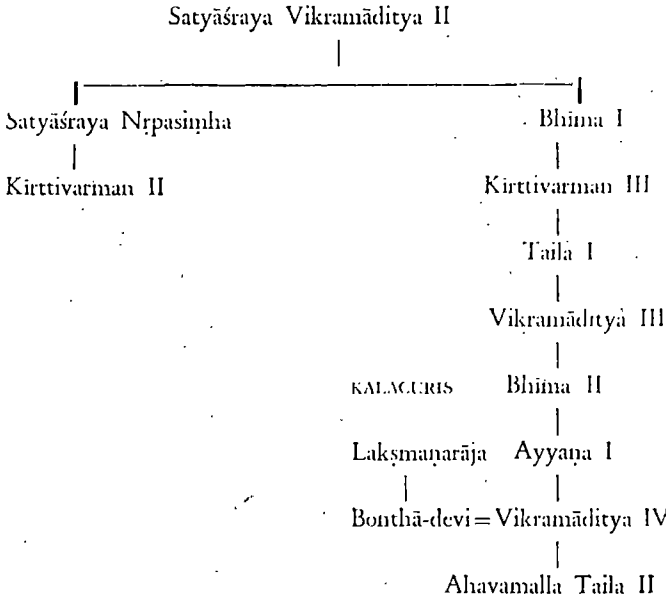
The inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, without a single exception, claim their descent directly from the Early Cālukyas of Bādāmī. The genealogy in the inscriptions,¹⁵ after giving the names

¹³ *EC.*, vol. II, No. 58.

¹⁴ *EC.*, vol. XI, Hl. No. 23. 8. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Cd. No. 49.

¹⁵ See *IA.*, vol. VIII, p. 14; vol. XVI, p. 22.

of the kings, who ruled at Bādāmī, continue it after Kirttivarman II, through his brother Bhīma¹⁶ thus:—



These names occur only in the records from and after the time of Taila II. An inscription at Pattadakal mentions a king named Taila mahādhirāja and gives him the title Sri Peraggade mahārāja. The inscription has been assigned to the 9th century and probably belonged to the Taila I, ancestor of Taila II (*ASR.*, 1928-29, p. 117). Ayyaṇa I married the daughter of a certain king Kṛṣṇa. Dr. Fleet has identified this Kṛṣṇa with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II.¹⁷ He further identified Ayyaṇa I with Ayyapadeva of the Begūr inscription, who was killed in a war against the Gaṅga king Ereyappa.¹⁸ Mr. Rice thinks that Ayyapadeva of the Begūr inscription is not a Cālukya, as taken by Dr. Fleet, but he was a Pallava prince and Mr. Rice's contention may be accepted, because the titles applied to Ayyapadeva

¹⁶ *IA.*, vol. VIII, p. 14, f.n. 36.

¹⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 379.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

in the Begūr inscription are similar to those applied to the Pallava prince in the Sītāpur Stone Inscription.¹⁹ The date of Ayyaṇa I may be fixed somewhere in the first half of the 10th century A.D. He was followed by his son Vikramāditya IV. There are some epigraphic evidences to show that he was a royal personage. He married Bonthā-devī "the glory of the Lords of Cedi." Bonthā-devī was the daughter of the Kalacūri Lakṣmaṇarāja of Tripuri.²⁰ The marriage of the Cālukya Vikramāditya IV with the princess of the then powerful ruling family shows that he had acquired certain prestige and place among the ruling families of the time, which alone could have made him worthy for the hand of Bonthā-devī. The event had a definite influence in the rise of the fortune of the Cālukya family. This will be clear after a brief survey of the then diplomatic relations between the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The two dynasties were closely connected by matrimonial ties.²¹ There was little reason for them to fall out, but the Rāṣṭrakūṭas probably were too proud of their strength to realize the significance of the friendship with the Kalacuris. Kṛṣṇa III attacked the Kalacuris²² and thus alienated their sympathy which was helpful in keeping the Northern part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire intact.²³ The Kalacūri Lakṣmaṇarāja had increased the glory of his family by winning many victories and it was natural that he should have been opposed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas' supremacy in the North, therefore, crumbled down. The marriage of Bonthā-devī with the Cālukya Vikramāditya IV was a diplomatic marriage alliance to check the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and to keep their attention diverted to their own dominions. Vikramāditya, once he secured the Kalacūri sympathy and alliance, was not slow to take its advantages in full.

19 *EC.*, vol. I, Intro. p. 4 fn. 3, Sr. No. 134.

21 Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. II, pp. 760-61.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 761; *El.*, vol. IV, p. 288, V. 25.

23 Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. II, p. 761.

20 *IA.*, vol. VIII, p. 15.

The genuineness of the claim of the later Cālukyas about their direct descent from the Cālukyas of Bādāmī has been questioned by various scholars. The Cālukya genealogy from Bhīma I to Ayyaṇa I is not considered authentic and complete. The main objections put forth by R. G. Bhandarkar²⁴ are (1) that the last known date of Kirttivarman II is Śaka 679 and the earliest known date of Taila II is Śaka 895. In this interval there passed seven princes. This gives an average of 32 years to each generation "which is far too much." (2) On the face of the multiplicity of the branches of the Cālukyas after Kirttivarman II, "it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch." Therefore, he thinks, that Taila belonged to quite an 'unimportant and collateral branch' and the main branch had become extinct, because the claim of the main branch of their descent from Hārīti and their belonging to Mānavya Gotra is also not repeated by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī; the latter "trace their pedigree to Satyāśraya only." So far as the difficulty about the time is concerned, the average of 32 years for one generation does not seem to be "far too much". The duration may be, though even this is not usually the case, less in the case of the ruling families, because of the upheavals in the relations of the different States, but in the case of ordinary feudatory families, as the Cālukyas seem to have become, the average may be even more. Various examples, to support this contention, may be quoted from Indian history.

In the Paramāra genealogy there were six generations from Siyaka II (498-71 A.D.) to Yaśovarman (c. 1134-42 A.D.) i.e. within a period of about 200 years.²⁵ Eight kings ruled in this period. Of these 8 kings Vākpati II,²⁶ Bhoja I,²⁷ and Jayasimha I²⁸ were

24 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 211.

25 Ganguly, *Hist. Par. Dy.*, Genealogical table; Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 927.

26 Ganguly, *Hist. Par. Dy.*, p. 61

27 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

killed in the battle-field, while Yaśovarman could not rule till the time of his death. He was deprived of his kingdom and the throne by the Cālukya Sidharāja Jayasiṃha in the 4th decade of the 11th century A.D.²⁹ Even then the average for each generation is about 33 years. In the genealogy of the Cālukyas of Aṇahila-Paṭaka there were again six generations between the years 941³⁰ and 1174 A.D.³¹ i.e. in about 230 years; and there were only seven kings. Of these kings Cāmuṇḍarāja had to abdicate his throne in favour of Vallabharāja.³² He died of fever within a year and Durlabharāja, brother of Vallabharāja, came to the throne. But Durlabharāja also had to abdicate in favour of his nephew Bhīma.³³ Karṇa was killed in the battle-field.³⁴ Death of Jayasiṃha is shrouded in mystery³⁵ and does not seem to be natural. Kumārapāla was poisoned.³⁶ In this case the average for each generation is about 38 years. Similarly in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa genealogy there were seven generations from Dantidurga to Khoṭṭiga, between A.D. 948 and 972-3 A.D. i.e. in about 225 years.³⁷ In this period there were 14 kings. Of these kings Dantidurga is supposed to have been deposed by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I;³⁸ Govinda II was deposed by his brother Dhruva,³⁹ and Dhruva seems to have abdicated in favour of his son Govinda III.⁴⁰ Amoghavarṣa I also seems to have abdicated in favour of his son Kṛṣṇa II⁴¹ and Jagattuṅga died when his father was alive.⁴² The death and end of Amoghavarṣa II is mysterious and his brother Govinda IV cannot be passed without being looked askance.⁴³ The overthrow of Govinda IV was violent⁴⁴ and Khoṭṭiga

29 Ganguly, *Hist. Par. Dy.*, p. 168.

30 *Id.*, 1929, 234-36, Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. II, p. 944.

31 Ray, *DHNI.*, p. 1047.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 945.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 946.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 964.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 976.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 998.

37 Sewell, *HISI.*, p. 383.

38 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, ii, p. 391.

39 Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 50 f.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

died probably during the time of the invasion by the Paramāra Siyaka Harṣa.

The above examples are sufficient to show that an average of 32 years is "not far too much" even in the case of Imperial families. In the case of the Cālukyas, the overthrow of Kīrtti-varman II does not show that his generation ended with him. As regards the second objection of Bhandarkar the testimony of the Mirāja and Yewūr Inscriptions may be sufficient to show its inconsistency. They record "the birth-place of jewels of kings who were of the lineage of Mānavya, which is praised over the whole world, who were descendants of Hārīti, who acquired the white umbrella and other signs of sovereignty....."¹⁵ and so on. Their claim as to their descent from Satyāśraya i.e. Pulikeśin II was, it seems, merely to glorify themselves. It was also an attempt to put forth a glorious past and a definite title to the throne acquired after violently overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It does not mean as opined by Dr. Bhandarkar that it was due to want of genuineness in their direct descent from the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. A similar parallel instance can be quoted from the history of the Pallavas. The successors of the Pallava Dantivarman belonged to the same line, descending from Siṃhavarman III, as Mahendrarvarman III;¹⁶ but the successors of the Pallava Dantivarman call themselves only as descendants of Dantivarman Pallavatilaka¹⁷ and not of the earlier Pallavas. This shows that the claim of descent from a hero from the middle of the pedigree means a direct descent and not the contrary.

Fleet also agrees with Bhandarkar on the grounds that (1) there is an excess in the average of 25 years assigned to a Hindu generation, as there were seven Cālukya princes in 240 years; and

45 *IA.*, vol. VIII, p. 12.

46 K.V.S. Aiyer, *Hist. Sk. Dn.*, vol. I, p. 34.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 52: Pallava-tilaka-kulodbhava.

(2) there is a difference in the family name, the former, the Cālukyas of Bādāmī, using 'Calukya' and the latter, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi using 'Cālukya'.⁴⁸ Fleet's first objection is already answered. As regards the second, it has been clearly shown by Bhandarkar that the Cālukyas of Bādāmī were designated as Cālukya and there is no difference between the terms Cālukya and Cālukya.⁴⁹ The objections of other scholars are not substantial; and they think in the line of the above two scholars. Thus in the absence of any positive or negative evidence to the contrary, it is not possible to deny the epigraphic evidence to the fact that the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi were but the direct descendants of the Cālukyas of Bādāmī.

Scholars have been thinking that Taila II was the first personage of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, who received the Cālukya empire. His previous history was a 'mystery'. But things are not actually the same. Undoubtedly there is no contemporary corroborative evidence to show the existence of any of the princes from Bhīma I to Ayyaṇa I, but we are on definite grounds about Vikramāditya IV.

The Cālukya Vikramāditya IV and his son Taila II were governing some districts, under the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The difficulties of the Rāṣtrakūṭas were their opportunities and the Kalacuri sympathy, if not open help, probably encouraged them to declare independence and throw off the yoke of allegiance. A recently discovered stone inscription gives us a definite foothold to arrive at our conclusion. It clearly shows that Taila II before he actually became the sovereign-king was governing as a feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The above mentioned inscription is discovered in the village Narasalgi, in the Bagevadi Taluka of the Bijapur District of Bombay Presidency. It is dated in Śaka 886, Raktākṣi Samvatasara, Phālguna; Solar Eclipse = Monday March 6, 965 A.D. It

48 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 390.

49 *Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 180, fn. 1.

mentions that the Cālukya Taila II at that time was governing the Tāravāḍī 1000, which comprised the modern Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency, as Anuṅga Jivita (Vassal's fief). It gives Taila the subordinate titles of Mahāsāmantādhipati, Pādapadmopajivinam and describes him as Cālukya-rāma, Ahavamalla, Tailaparasa and Satyāśrayakulatilaka. The inscription belongs to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Akālavarṣa i.e. Indra III.⁵⁰ Another inscription discovered long back at Soṇḍekola, in Citaldrug District of Mysore State, shows that Vikramāditya had declared independence and was ruling in the Kadambalige 1000 division. It is dated in Śaka 892 (expired) 893 current, Puṣya Śu 13 = January 23, 970 A.D. and records the grant of a tank, 12 gādyana to Paṇḍayya, for the Tribhuvaneśvara temple. The inscription records that 'when the victorious kingdom of "Vikramāditya, favourite of the earth and fortune, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka was increasing to continue as long as the sun, moon and stars and his feudatory, a dweller at his lotus-feet, entitled to five drums, the Cālukya omniscient etc. Paṇḍārasa, was an officer over the hidden treasures and stores of the Kadambalige 1000."⁵¹ Paṇḍayya or Paṇḍārasa, mentioned in the inscription, was governing the same province as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nityāvarṣa in 968 A.D.⁵² This shows that Nityāvarṣa lost control over that province some time between 968 and 970 A.D. and the subordinate feudatory chief had changed his allegiance to another overlord. Unfortunately the name of the family to which Vikramāditya belonged is not given in the inscription, but in the absence of any other contemporary independent king of the same name during that time and the evidence of the Narasalgi inscription leads us to the fact that it was no other than the Cālukya Vikramāditya IV, father of Taila II.

⁵⁰ *ASIR.*, 1929-30, p. 170.

⁵¹ *EC.*, vol. XI, Cd. 25.

⁵² *Ibid.*, No. 5c.

Vikramāditya IV, therefore, was in fact the man who laid the foundation, on which Taila II, his son, was to build the Cālukya empire. It was here in the Kadambalige 1000 division, the principality of his father, that Taila II organised his resources to give the final blow to the tottering Rāṣtrakūṭa empire. The Rāṣtrakūṭa Khottiga Nityāvaraṣa Amoghavarṣa came to the throne in 968 A.D. The reign of Amoghavarṣa was beset with difficulties. His predecessor Kṛṣṇa III had carried aggressive expeditions in the north and south. His wars with the Candellas, the Kalacuris and the Paramāras were suicidal for his own empire. The temporary success achieved in the north vanished after his departure from that part and his victories in the south completely drained out the resources of his empire. The invasion by the Paramāra Siyaka II Harṣa completed the downfall. The timely help of the Gaṅga prince Nāraṣiṃha saved the capital from the hands of the invader, but the signal of rebellion to the feudatory chiefs could not be pulled down. These circumstances made easy for Taila II to complete the work of usurpation begun by his father Vikramāditya IV. He overthrew the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kakkal II and once again restored the Cālukya empire. He became king in about 973-74 A.D. It seems Vikramāditya was dead by that year, as we hear nothing about him.

SANT LALL KATARE

Religious Toleration of Vijayanagara Rulers

There were four dynasties which ruled the kingdom of Vijayanagara, and these were the Saṅgama, Sāluva, Tuluva and Āraṇḍī. The Vijayanagara seals indicate that the Saṅgama rulers were Śaivas by religion. On their seals is found the legend ŚRĪ VIRŪPĀKṢA, who was undoubtedly their chosen deity. But the three dynasties which succeeded the Saṅgamas were followers of the Vaiṣṇava creed, as borne out by the testimony of their seals. The legend on their seals is ŚRĪ RĀMA.¹ Their adherence, however, to a certain faith did not make them either bigoted or intolerant. Theirs was uniformly a policy of toleration.

The period of Vijayanagara may be roughly said to begin with the commencement of the fourteenth century. At this time the important powers in South India were the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Kākatīyas of Warrangal, the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra and the Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south. When there were frequent wars among these powers, came on the Muhammadan invasion which resulted in the subjugation of all Karnāṭaka.² Madura became the seat of a Sultanate. Thus Muhammadanism got slowly but surely rooted in the Deccan and on the fringes of South India. Besides the Muhammadans, there were religious sects such as Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Mādhyas, Jains, Buddhists and the Christians. The last, viz., the Christians may be said to belong to the later period of Vijayanagara history. The encouragement given by the Rājās of Vijayanagara sometimes in the shape of money grants and the

¹ See S. K. Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 6, 71-3; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 25.

² Ferishta, p. 413.

tolerant policy pursued by them have made members of the different sects feel that in their sovereign they had a staunch supporter.

Islam

With the settlement of the Muhammadans on the soil of South India, peaceful relations prevailed between them and the Hindus. It was given to the genius of Devarāya II to befriend the Muhammadans by several acts among which were (i) the building of a mosque for their worship in his capital and (ii) placing the *Koran* on a desk before his throne so that they could perform the ceremony of obeisance before him 'without sinning against their laws.'³ This policy was pursued by Sadāśiva and Rāma Rāya. The latter firmly refused to interfere with their religious practices.⁴ The kings of Vijayanagara also encouraged the Dargha, in honour of the Muhammadan saint Badanātha. Venkaṭa II (1638-9) renewed grants of villages to the Dargha at Penugoṇḍa.⁵ Mangammāl the Nāyak queen of Madura is said to have granted certain villages near Trichinopoly to the Dargha in 1701-2.⁶ Besides the encouragement by the State, Islam seems to have attracted the pious Hindus of that time, and it is recorded in A.D. 1537 that an orthodox Hindu erected a mosque for the sake of the Mussalmans.⁷

Śaivism

The orthodox form of Hindu religion was represented by two sects, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Among the Śaivas there were four groups, viz., the Smārtas or the Advaitins, the Pāśupatas, the Viraśaivas and the Śaivasiddhāntins. The Smārtas were the followers of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and Śaṅkara's *maths* were established in the days of Vijayanagara at Śrīṅgeri and Kāñci as well as at Puṣpagiri

3 Scott: *Ferishta*, I. 118.

4 *IBBRAS.*, vol. XXII. p. 28.

5 *MER.*, 1911, p. 59.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

7 *Ep. Car.*, IV. KP. 72.

and Virūpākṣa. It is said that in A.D. 1346 the five Saṅgama brothers made a grant jointly to the *maṭh* at Śrīṅgeri.⁸ Kṛṣṇadeva, though a Vaiṣṇava, rebuilt the Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi. He erected a hall and a *gopura* there at the time of his coronation and made grants to other temples of Śiva.⁹ The Pāśupatas were those whose gospel of faith was the Śaivāgamas. It is probable that the first kings of Vijayanagara adopted Pāśupata as their personal faith. Harihara I and Bukka I were disciples of a certain Pāśupata preceptor, called Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti.¹⁰ Kriyāśakti was not a staunch bigot, for, according to an epigraph at Vagata in Bangalore district he granted some lands to the local Vaiṣṇava temple.¹¹ A word may be said of the Vīraśaivas. They came into prominence after Basava, a minister of king Bijjala of Kālacūryas, who popularised this faith. They wore and adored the *liṅgam*, the phallic emblem of Śiva and rejected the authority of the Vedas. There was again a class of Śaiva Siddhāntins who propagated the religious literature of the country by popularising it in the vernaculars of the land. One Meykaṇḍadeva was the sponsor of this movement and his work was *Śivajñānabodha*, a treatise on the principles and tenets of the Śaiva Siddhānta creed. To the Śaiva Siddhāntin, *bbakti* or devotion was more important than rituals and ceremonies. This movement gained more ground in the Tamil districts during the Vijayanagara times.

Vaiṣṇavism

The other important sect of orthodox Hinduism was Vaiṣṇavism. After the death of Rāmānuja the Vaiṣṇavas came to be divided into two camps—the Vaḍagalais and Tengalais, the former preferring the Vedas and the Śrutis and the

8 *EC.*, II. Sr. 1.

9 Ramanayya, *Studies in the His. of the Third Dyn. of Vijayanagara*, p. 317.

10 *EC.*, VII. Sk. 281.

11 *Ibid.*, I. Hk. 129.

latter the Tamil prabandhams. This gulf of difference became widened with the march of time, and led often to disputes between the two sects.¹² The Vaiṣṇavas developed more and more in the direction of *Bhakti* and this was given a stimulus by Vallabhācārya, the founder of the Vallabha sect. It is said that Kṛṣṇadevarāya invited him to his court, and duly honoured him.¹³ Vaiṣṇavism was greatly encouraged by the rulers from Kṛṣṇa Rāya's time; it was the avowed faith of the royal house: and a number of religious teachers were greatly influential and did much in spreading the religion which may be regarded as having had a renaissance in the 16th century. Among the great teachers of the times are Ettur Śingarācārya, and the great Tātācārya, and Lakṣmī-Kumāra of Conjeevaram. The allegiance of the Rāyas shifted from Śrī Virūpākṣa to Śrī Venkateśa and with this shifting, was effected a shifting of the centre of gravity of the empire from the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā to the neighbourhood of Tirupati and Candragiri.

Madhvaism

Originally founded in the thirteenth century by Madhvācārya, the great Dvaita teacher, Dvaitism gained in numerical strength during the epoch of Vijayanagara. Kṛṣṇadeva's contemporary was one Vyāsarāya, a Madhva teacher of eminence, who was his great favourite. Śrī Vyāsa Tīrtha was looked upon by Narasa Nāyaka, as the guardian saint of the empire (Śaka 1422, Raudri); and the Yantroddhara Hanumān at Hampi, described in the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* for 1918-19, was probably installed by Śrī Vyāsarāya. The latter saint obtained at this period the green flag on the camel, as an honour from Muhammadan sovereigns, perhaps from Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. The

¹² See Monier Williams: *Brahminism and Hinduism*, p. 125.

¹³ *En. of Religion and Ethics*, II, p. 345.

emperor rewarded him with a number of villages in connection with a *maṭh* which Vyāsarāya built. The same teacher was also the recipient of several honours at the hands of Sāluva Narasiṃha.¹⁴ It would thus appear that whatever was the personal faith of the Vijayanagara kings, they tolerated all faiths and creeds in their empire.

Jainism & Buddhism

The same patronage was extended to the Jaina faith. During the reign of Bukka I there were some disputes between the Vaiṣṇavas and Jains. Bukka sent for the influential leaders of both sects and passed a decree, ordaining that the Vaiṣṇavas should protect the Jain creed and both of them should consider themselves as parts of one whole. He who transgressed this ideal was a traitor to the king, to the *sanga* and *samudāya*.¹⁵ We are also told that Devarāya I constructed a stone temple in honour of Arhat Pārśvanātha in Vijayanagara.¹⁶ From this and similar acts of patronage on the part of the Vijayanagara kings, it has been surmised that some of these rulers professed the Jaina faith.¹⁷ But the fact was that these kings were not Jains but patronised the Jaina faith. The same patronage was extended to Jainism by Kṛṣṇadevarāya and his successors.¹⁸ The small Jaina temples on the Hemakūṭam to the south of the Pampāpatiśvara temple are perhaps older even than the city. Bukka Rāya brought about a reconciliation between the Jainas and the Vaiṣṇavas in 1368 A.D. and ordered that 'they should each pursue their own religious practices with equal freedom.'

Though Jainism was flourishing Buddhism had become practically extinct. A few vestiges of that creed were seen here and

14 *Ep. Car.*, IX, Cp. 153; See also 370 of 1919.

15 *Ep. Car.*, II, SB. 344; IX, Mg (A) 18.. 16 *SIL.*, vol. I. 82.

17 See M. S. R. Aiyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 118.

18 See 528 of 1928-9.

there. According to an inscription, the Buddhists of the place offered worship to God Keśava in Belur as Buddha.¹⁹ There is also a reference to a Buddhist temple at Tiruvilanturai in a Kumbakonam inscription.²⁰ From this it would appear that the Buddhists formed a very small minority in the Vijayanagara days, and their institutions equally found favour with the monarchs of the time.

Christianity

On page 341 of volume I of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (new series) reference is made to the fact that a certain Christian was the Dewan of Vijayanagara in 1445. The king then was Devarāya II. But it is only with the coming in of the Portuguese, Christianity began to spread in South India. It is said that Venkaṭa I honoured these gentlemen and took interest in religious debates between the Jesuit Fathers and leaders of Hindu faith. Permission was given to them to erect churches at Candragiri and Vellore, besides a recurring annual income amounting to one hundred gold pieces was given from the State.²¹ The famous Madura Mission started by the Jesuits and conducted by such great personages as Robert de Nobili and his successors received some degree of passive encouragement from the Nāyak rulers who were the feudatories of Vijayanagara.

Thus we see that the Vijayanagara rulers, enlightened as they were, identified themselves with every community and with every sect in their empire. And this has been testified to us by Barbosa²² who says: 'The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

19 *Ep. Car.*, V. Bl. 3.

21 See Fr. Heras: *Āraṇḍa Dynasty*, pp. 464-85.

20 No. 292 of 1929.

22 I. p. 202.

Janaka and Yājñavalkya

The whole context of *BU.*, IV. 1-4 consists of a dialogue between the Prophet and Comprehensor—Yājñavalkya and King Janaka of Videha; the former as teacher expounds to the latter as pupil the whole doctrine of the Brahman and of liberation (*vimokṣa*). *BU.*, IV. 5 (like II. 4 and Buddhist *S.*, I. 75 = *Udāna*, 47) follows with a dialogue between Yājñavalkya and his two wives Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī on the occasion of his abandonment of the household life (*anyad-ṛttam upākaraṇa*, “taking up the other path” = Buddhist *abhinikkhamana*) and becoming a homeless wanderer (*parivrajaka* = Buddhist *paribbājaka*). It would be myopic to regard these “persons” merely as, or even in any sense as, historical characters, however it may be that there have been, are now, and ever shall be human protagonists playing analogous parts.

Yājñavalkya is the son or ilk of Yajñavalkya, “author” of *VS.*, and frequently cited thence in *SB*. Yajñavalkya, according to Śaṅkara’s hermeneia is *yajña-vakṛ*, “Promulgator of the Sacrifice.” That can be only the polynominal (*bhūrināma*) Agni, preeminently the “Priest” (*hotṛ*) Who, for example, inasmuch as He “sacrifices intellectually, is become the Friend (*mitro nabhūt*),¹ and driver of the wonder-car” (*adbhutasya rathī*, *RV.*, I. 77. 2-3), i.e., the Sun.

¹ *Na bhū* is not “to become as it were”, but to assume the aspect of, actually be-come. That Agni “becomes” the Friend implies a having been “Unfriend” (cf. Śiva-rudra, *śivāśiva*), a having been Himself the “unkindly Father” (*pitur aśivasya*, *RV.*, VI. 44. 22, *pitre asmāya*, X. 124. 3), whom Agni, accompanying Indra, abandons “when the kingdom is reversed” (*pary āvard rāstram*, *ibid.*, 4), albeit reflecting that it were truer to say that “I myself ungracious (*aśivaḥ*)-am leaving Him that is truly gracious (*śivam yad santam*), from Him, the very Comrade (*svāt sakhyāt*), departing to the alien navel” (*araṇim nābbhim*, *ibid.*, 2),—that “naval” viz., “whence Agni is generated by the fire-sticks (*araṇi*),—and “whence the Spirit proceeds to multifarious birth” (*rathanābhau... antāś carate babudhā jāyamānaḥ*, Muṇḍ. II. 2. 6).

In the same way *RV.*, V. 3. 1 “Born art Thou, Agni, of Varuṇa, and becomest

Yājñavalkya is the "Eternal Avatāra"; and the wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyani² ("daughter of the Friend," and "Daughter of How-many mansions"), the 'Mary and Martha' of the Upaniṣads, respectively in BU., IV. 5.1, "theologian" (*brahma-vādinī*) and "endowed with a woman's wit" (*stri-prajñā*), or as Śaṅkara adds, "having the habit of exegesis" (*brahmavādana-śilā*), and "busied about household matters" (*grhapratiyojanānveṣaṇa-lakṣaṇā*), are the two brides of the Sun, the sisters Night and Dawn, and it may be added, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī, Brynhild and Gudrun.

The designation of Janaka's realm as the 'Bodiless' (*videha*) and of his subjects as "the disembodied" (*videhāḥ*) affords already an adequate orientation. For there is no *āsarīratva* under the Sun, all existences hitherward thence being hylomorphic: and however the kingdom of Mithilā may have been regarded as an analogous 'centre', its citizens are beings clothed in flesh and blood. Janaka himself (whose father's and grandfather's names, ending in *-roman*, suggest a 'Yakṣa' ancestry), is the Royal Ploughman whose "daughter" Sītā becomes the bride of the solar Rāma, and must be also the Kṣetrapati associated with 'Sītā'; in RV., IV. 57; in BG., III. 20 this Janaka is cited as having attained perfection (*samsiddham*) by works.³

Mitra when kindled" implies a having been "Unfriend" within, as Varuṇa. He that is Ahir Budhnya ("the Chthonic Serpent") *ab intra* is Agni Gārbhatya ("the Household Fire") *ab extra*, AB., III. 36, cf. VS., V. 33. Conversely in SB., IV. 1. 4. 8 this same Mitra, who would be "universally a friend (*sarvasya...mitra=viśva-mitra*) becomes "unfriend" (*amitra*) inasmuch as He takes part in the slaughter of "Soma who was Vṛtra". We may say in other words that however much the Deity may be "without duality" (*advaita*) there is always this "duplicity" in Him in whom the contrariety of all pairs of opposites is unified, in whom the lion and the lamb, majesty and mercy, lie down together: cf. AB., III. 4 cited below.

² Kātyāyana=Kati, perhaps to be connected ideologically with RV., X. 90. 11-14 "kati"—*dhā vy akalpayan...lokān vy akalpayan*.

³ Just as with Prajāpati, whose works done in a former birth are the occasion of this Gnosis of the Unity of the Spirit (*evam eva āmaikatva-jñāne 'pi kvacij-janmāntara-kṛtam karma nimittam bhavati, yathā prajāpateḥ*, Śaṅkara on BU., I. 4. 2).

Janaka is etymologically simply "the Progenitor", and as such can only be the Titan Father, Vedic *asura-pitr* and *janitr*, and the Earthy (*purīṣinah*) Father of *RV.*, I. 164. 12. Janaka as *mumukṣu* (*vimucyamāna*, *BU.*, IV. 2. 1) is none but the "buried treasure of gold", the sleeping and occulted Sun referred to by so many names and aided by the *Aśvins* in *RV.*, I. 117, the "light inhibited by darkness" (*tamasāpauratena*, V. 40. 6) and ever yearning "Trita by the interior operation" (*trito.gubhyena vratena*, I. 164. 12). Janaka as *mumukṣu* is *Mṛtyu* (Death,—*para brāhman*), in *BU.*, I. 2. 1 represented as *nirātmā* and willing to enter upon the *via spirativa* (*ātmanvī syām*, in effect "May I become the Sun"): and *Prajāpati* ("Progenitor") in that aspect of senility (*jīryyā mūrah*, *PB.*, XXV. 17) whence He rejuvenates himself by means of a sacrificial session, and thereby thrives in all wise, or again *Prajāpati* as in *PB.*, XVI. 1. 1, where being "Alone in the beginning, when as yet there were neither night nor day (as in *RV.*, I. 129. 1-2), He crept forward in the blind darkness seeking for the Light" (*andhe tamasi prāsarpāt*, etc., of Janaka *upāvasarpan...mucyamānah* in *BU.*, IV. 2. 1)⁴

This is also the position of *Cyavāna*, whom we can only regard as one of the many personae of the occulted Sun and of *Prajāpati*, *Mṛtyu*, etc., as *mumukṣavah*. A full discussion of *Cyavāna* must be undertaken elsewhere, in connection with the whole problem of the Vedic *ṛṣayah*. Here we shall only recall that in *RV.*, *passim* the inveterated *Cyavāna* (from root *cyu*, to fall, decline, or die) is rejuvenated by the *Aśvins*, and refer to a pair of texts, in one of which

4 *Upāvasarpan* (*ava*, "down") here, because this is a "descent" (*avatarāṇa*) from the throne of *Videha*: but *upōdasarpāt* (*upa*, "up") in the case of *Arbuda*'s procession, *AB.*, VI. 1, and similarly *upōdāsṛptam* in the case of *Agni*'s procession, *SB.*, IV. 3. 2. 14, because the notion "up out of" the primordial waters is implied. Viewed from within, the divine procession is a descent into "life", but viewed from without an "ascent" from "death"; as in *RV.*, I. 164. 19, "Those that come hitherward, they call 'remote'; and those (whom we think of as) 'removed', they call 'arrived'."

it is made clear that *vyuti* (often simply 'fall', 'decline', or 'death', as also Pali *cuti*) is the recession of an individual or personal principle and that in this sense even the highest Persons of the Deity recede or pass away. In *RV.*, X. 17. 3-4 (a requiem) we have "May Pūṣan, Shepherd of the Universe (designiation of the Sun or Fire as the 'Good Shepherd', *RV.*, *passim*) send thee down hence (*itaś cyāvayatu*, causative), may He, the Comprehensor (*vidvān*), Agni give thee over to these Patriarchs... May Life, Life Universal (*āyur viśv-āyus*)⁵ prosper thee, ward thee, on the way beyond (*prapathe pura-stāt*), there may Angel Savitr set thee (*ivā...dadhātu*)⁶ where the Perfections (*sukṛtaḥ*)⁷ dwell who passed before thee." In *RV.*,

5 These are regularly designations of Agni. If with Sāyana we understand *vāyur viśvāyus*, then the sense becomes "the Gale and Fire"; that Gale of the Spirit into which the breadths-of life (*prāṇāḥ*) are always thought of as returning when the body is abandoned, and that funeral Fire from which the deceased is due to be reborn into that world to which he is destined by his own quality

6 In effect, "May He, Savitr, when thou hast past by the sun-door of the worlds, grant thee forwarding and be thy guide beyond the Sun": "May He establish thee in immortality" (*amṛte nidadhātu*, *JUB.*, I. 6. 1): and thus 'Mayst thou be one to win beyond the Sun' (*paramād ādityād jayati*, *CU.*, II. 10. 5). With *prapathe* cf. *prapadanam* in *CU.*, VIII. 6. 5.

7 *Sukṛtaḥ*, *sukṛtātmanah*, are regular designations of the departed, in so far as they are assumed to have reached the end of the road (*adbhvanah pāram*, Viṣṇu's third stride, *KU.*, III. 9), cf. *RV.*, V. 4. 8 "May we become Perfections amongst the Angels" (*vayam deveṣu sukṛtaḥ syāma*). In *SB.*, I. 9. 3. 10 the "Perfections" are called "Rays" of the Sun. The expression *sukṛtaḥ* is very technical, and needs a more extended analysis than can be undertaken here. That an ethical interpretation is generally to be avoided is clear from *CU.*, VIII. 4. 1 where "neither the well done nor the ill done can cross over the bridge of the Spirit" (*na sukṛtam na duṣkṛtam*, cf. *BG.*, V. 15. *na...pāpam na caiva sukṛtam*) and *Munḍ.* I. 2. 6 where those are ridiculed who fondly believe that they have reached the goal "by their good works" (*sukṛte*). The Vedā already knows that "Neither by sacrifices nor by works can one attain to Him" (*RV.*, VIII. 59. 3).

To be perfect, from the Indian point of view, is to have "become what one is" (*geworden was er ist*),—"That art thou", *CU.*, VI. 9. The Spirit (*ātman*) is said to be "Perfect (*sukṛtaḥ*) inasmuch as It made Itself" (*ātmanam svayam akuruta*, *TU.*, II. 7), cf. *svayambhū*, and *Gnostic autogenes*; and if in like manner the sacrificer is said to "integrate himself" (*ātmanam samskurute*, *AB.*, VI. 27) it is plain that he too

X. 124. 4, where "the kingdom is reversed" (*pari āvard rāstram*) and Agni abandoning the Father follows Indra to the alien (Aryan) altar, it is said that Agni,⁸ Varuṇa and Soma 'decline' or 'die'

becomes a 'Perfect Self' (*sukrātman*, *Mund.*, III. 2. 2 and 5, and VI. VIII. 13),—or, as perhaps we ought to understand, *sukrasyātman*, "a spiritual member of the Perfect-One", an interpretation in agreement with that according to which the 'Perfections' are identified with the Rays of the Supernal Sun. In any case, one who has thus 'integrated himself, and is consequently a Perfect Substance, has certainly "done what must be done" and is therefore *kṛtakṛyah*, no longer in *potentia* but altogether in act. (The "Great work" of the alchemist, rightly understood, is precisely *this* transmutation of base metal into "gold".

Amongst the Christian parallels may be cited "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (*Mat.* V. 48); "That ye may stand perfect and complete" (*Col.* IV. 12).—'complete'=*kṛtsna*, whole, holy. With *sukrasya pātibā* (*RV.*, X. 71. 6) cf. 'perfect way' in *PS.*, XVIII. and 2 *Cor.* XIII. 9 "this also wish, even your perfection".

8 There is no contradiction (antinomy), but merely a contrary involved in the mention of Agni as both receding and proceeding: the old "Year" dies, the new is born the "Year" is endless, and in this sense Agni "being inveterated, forthwith renews His youth" (*RV.*, I. 195. 5. cf. I. 144. 4), nevertheless being the "sole immortal" (*RV.*, IV. 1. 1, IV. 2. 1. *SB.*, II. 2, 2, 8 etc.) and as such the timeless pivot about which all the "turning" (*Pravṛtti*, *niṛtti*) takes place, "in accordance with the operation" (*anu vṛatā*, VIII. 41. 10) whereby He is Varuṇa *ab intra* and Mitra *ab extra* (*RV.*, III. 5. 4. V. 3. 1, etc.). It is just inasmuch as His flame rises and falls (*uc ca bṛsyati ni ca bṛsyati*) that Agni's form is Mitra's and Varuṇa's, Varuṇa's viz., inasmuch as He is deadly to be touched, and Mitra's inasmuch as although deadly to be touched, men "approach Him, making Him the Friend", (*mitrakṛtyevōpāsate*, *AB.*, III. 4, cf. *RV.*, V. 44. 6 *yādṛg eva dadṛše iādṛg ūcyate*, and *SB.*, X. 5. 2. 20 *yāthōpāsate tad eva bhavati*). It is thus on the one hand that Agni is a "guest in every house and universal friend", and on the other "devourer and unfriend" (a distinction emphasized in *RV.*, X. 16. 10 and *AV.*, XII. 2), against whom so many apotropaic incantations are employed in the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, e.g., *RV.*, X. 16. 9-10. All this is also admirably represented in the two persons of the "Eater" (*atṛi*), who as a proceeding power is always the friend of Indra and finder of the light, and as the "Consumer" (*atṛin*, *ignis consumens*) by all means to be avoided and repelled. We must, finally, emphasize that these contrary aspects of Agni, *noster Deus*, are not really, but only logically, alternate and successive: more truly "He remaineth in his ground (*budhnaḥ*) even when He proceeds" (*RV.*, III. 55. 7), and is inwardly Ahir Budhnya at the same time that He is outwardly Agni Gārhapatya, as stated in *IB.*, III. 36.

(*cyavante*),” all of which implies that Indra, whom Agni elects-to-follow (*indram vrnānab*, *ibid.*), is now in power,¹⁰ as in I. 165, 9-10 where Indra, enjoined to “do what must be done” (*yāni kariṣyā kṛnūbi, suvṛddha!*) replies with the assurance, “I, Indra, am the Lord of these (*sic.* Agni, Soma, Varuṇa) whom I have ruined” (*yāni cyavām indra id iśā eṣām*).¹¹

Cyavāna (or Cyavana) is then, like Bhujyu, Dirghatamas, etc. one of the many Vedic ‘types’ of the inveterated, dispossessed, despirated, impotent and unmanifested Godhead, Death, Privation,—Who, being not merely such, but the Supreme Identity, equally spirated, despirated (*RV.*, X. 129, 2), equally Being and Non-being (*RV.*, X. 5. 7, etc.), is immediately and nowever rejuvenated, propped, enspirated, and progenitive in the manifested Person of the

9 That is, as Sāyaṇa expresses it, “abdicate” (*rāṣṭrāt pracyutā abhavan*), becoming precisely “Cyavānas” in “exile”. Or we may express it by saying that the Persons retire to “the farther half of Heaven” (*RV.*, I. 164. 12=*Prās.* I. 11), the abode of the Year, “being unified” *ekī* or *ekavṛto bhavanti*, *AV.*, XIII. 4. 13 AA. II, 3. 8) in that Imperishable (*akṣara, apara brahman*); Eckhart, I, 469, “All the Persons being clapt into their nature vanish into the dim silence of that interior being”. It is just so that the Brahman, after the act of creation had been completed, “retired to the farther half” (*parārdham agacchat*, *SB.*, XI. 2. 3. 3) or to employ the Biblical equivalent, “rested on the seventh day”.

Grassmann, indeed, takes *cyu* in its causative sense, and renders *cyavante* by “activate themselves” (*sich rühren, geschäftig sein*) and *cyavāna* by “active” (*rührig*), i.e., in effect equates *cyu* with *cu*. We cannot accept this value for *cyu* in the present contexts, though it would not affect the equation of those who “*cyavante*” with him that is “*cyavāna*”.

10 Cf. *AV.*, V. 9. 8. “Up with thee, Act! Up with thee, Potentiality” (*ut kṛtam, ut kṛtyām*). Numerous parallel passages could be cited: and in the same way “The Tathâgata does what there is to be done” (*kartavyam karoti*, *SP.*, XV). *Yāni kariṣyā*, i.e., “Those things which God must do of necessity” (*STb.* I. 45. 2.) i.e., *per necessitatem infallibilitatis, avyabhicāravat*. These expressions do not invalidate the doctrine that God is “all act”; for whereas the sacrificer proceeds from potentiality to act, and is assured that he shall come to be *kṛtakṛtyah* (e.g., *MU.* II. 1), the divine Procession is only logically a “proceeding”, and really the simple and immediate act of being.

11 It is, of course, the most conspicuous of Indra’s *kilbiṣāni* that he destroys his own parents.

kindled Fire and risen Sun, "who indeed never really rises nor sets, but only inverts Himself" (AB. III. 44). Although this revolution or turning (*vr̥tti*) is not in reality a temporal event, in every *itihāsa* (= *sub ratione dicendi vel intelligendi*) it necessarily becomes a narrative; and we have accordingly such 'myths'¹² as that of Cyavāna outlined in *RV.*, and more fully related in *SB.*, IV. 1. 5. Here then Cyavāna, Bhārgava and Āngirasa, is described as having been 'left behind (*jabe*)'¹³ by those of his kin who have passed on to their

12 Sāyaṇa on *SB.*, XI. 5. 6. 8 defines *itihāsa* as "an account of primordial events (*purāvṛtta pratipādakam*); or as others express it, *itihāsa* means a Brāhmaṇa account of emanation (*sr̥ṣṭi-pratipādakam brāhmaṇam*, i.e. what modern scholars would call a 'creation myth'), such as "In the beginning all this universe was just the waters". For the meaning of "myth" see R., Guénon, "Mythe, Mystère, et Symbole", *Le Voile d'Isis (Études Traditionnelles)*, 40, 1935, p. 355 f.

13 The desertion of Cyavana by his sons (comparable to that of the Father by Indra and Agni in *RV.*, X. 124) is related more fully in *JB.*, III. 120, see *JAOS.* 26. 58. Here Cyavana is left behind at the cradle of the River of Life (*sarasvatyai śaiśave*). Somewhat as Agni in *RV.*, X. 124 abandons the father by no means without remorse, so do Cyavana's sons. Cyavana, however, assures them "I have good hopes of renewing my youth, do ye just leave me and go your ways" (*mama punaryuvatāyā āsā, hitvaiva prayāte*). "Thus abandoned in his place (*vāstau binah*, or as *JB.*, III. 77 would say, as *Ahi*), he willed, 'May I be a youth again (*akāmayata... punaryuvā syām* = *BU.*, I. 2. 1 *ātmanvi syām*; *yuvā* as in *RV.*, II. 4. 5 and in *TS.*, III. 5. 6), may I get a maiden to wife, may I sacrifice with thousand'. Then he saw (*apaśyat*) this (*cyavana*) *sāman* and lauded therewith".

Needless to say that the *sāman*s or liturgical chants (which correspond exactly to the Gregorian chants employed in the Christian sacrifices, the Mass) are "unobstructed paths" that lead directly through the midst of the Sun (*JUB.*, I. 6, I. 30. *CU.*, II., 24, etc.), and regularly take their names from the Prophets who first "saw" them.

Vāstau, rendered above by "in his place" we take to be synonymous with *budhnaḥ* in *RV.*, III. 55. 7 *ḥṣeti budhnaḥ*, and *budhne* in such passages as IV. 1. 11-12 where *rajaso budhne* = *rtasya yonau, vṛsabbasya nīle*, and in the same way synonymous with *adrau* in I. 70. 2, etc. Cyavana is "grounded" in the Godhead, the "foundation" of the universe, and in just this sense is the Supernal *Vāstoṣpati* (= *Kṣetrapati*, *RV.* IV. 57) who is worshipped analogically as the "guardian of the site whenever a microcosmic and human home is erected. *Vāstoṣpati* in *RV.*, VII. 54 is identified with Soma. "Now Soma was *Vṛtra*", and similarly *Ahi*, (see "Angel and Titan", pp. 382-3), and in *RV.*, VII. 55 is addressed as "Thou that dost assume all forms" (*viśvarūpaṇy āviśan*), in other words as *Viśvarūpa* (for what this implies see

goal, and as 'inveterated' (*jṛṇah*) and "under the aspect of potentiality" (*kṛtya-rūpah*); Cyavāna is also significantly referred to as a 'recumbent' person (*puruṣa evāyam jṛṇah kṛtyarūpah śete*, cf. the discussion of *āsāyamānam* (in Angel and Titan', p. 399),¹¹ the M. text adding "in the forest." To have been thus 'abandoned' or 'left behind' is a formula almost invariably employed in connection with the Vedic *mumukṣavah*, e.g., Cyavāna himself in I. 116. 10, and Bhujyu in VIII. 5. 22; it is thus that Indra urges his companions

"Angel and Titan", p. 383 f.), and besought to "Proceed as our gracious Companion" (*sakhā sūsevah edbi nah*), i.e., as Agni or Indra, and at the same time in his mordant or consuming (*bapsatah = bhakṣayatah - kravyāt*) aspect as the canine "Son of Saramā" (i.e. Death, as the questing "Hound of Heaven") averted by apotropaic formulae, "Revert, sleep fast" (*punaḥsara.....ni su svapa*, i.e. "be *susṛpvānsah*") cf. RV. I. 121. 1 where Indra *vṛtram.....vajreṇā sisvapo varābhum*, and X. 18. 1 *param mṛtyo anu parēbi*, etc. *Punaḥsara*, literally "flow back" may be compared with AV. X. 1. 7 *parēbīti pratikūlam ulāyā*, similarly apotropaic. The expression "Hound of Heaven" occurs literally in SB., XI. 1. 5, where the "descending Moon" (*avacandramas*) on the night of the new-moon (*amāvāsyā*, "cohabitation," i.e. of Sun and Moon," cf. AA. III. 2. 4. where *yatra candramā ivādityo drśyate* it is an omen of death) is first seen in the West, and in this baleful aspect is called the "Hound of Heaven" (*divyāḥ śvā*), and driven off (*bādhate*), or "banned" with bow and arrows and staff, and because it casts a greedy eye on the sacrificer's cattle, and is the cause of "lunacy" (as *upatapat* may be rendered in this context), "or, as men describe it, 'dog's hold'" (*śvalucita*, cf. Bloomfield's rendering of *namuci* by "Holdfast"), "one creeps into the shade" (*chāyām upasarpanti*, as to which expression cf. RV. VI. 16. 38 "to Agni, as to shade from heat," *chāyām iva grṇeh*, and discussion in JAOS., 55. 278 f., and the whole discussion of the metaphysical values implied in *srp*, in "Angel and Titan," the "Darker Side of Dawn," and the present article).

The connection of Skr. *vāstu* with English "waste" has also its significance here, in connection with the "Fisher King" and the "Waste Land," the Fisher King being in the Vedic sense a *mumukṣu*, destined to be rejuvenated by a solar hero:

The "cradle" (*śaisava = brada* in SB. IV. 1. 5. 12) of the Sarasvatī, in which Cyavāna's youth is restored, is the *sindhūnām upōdaya*. Varuṇa's seat in RV. VIII. 41. 2, the *avatam.....akṣitam* of VIII. 72. 10, *utsam akṣitam* of VIII. 7. 16, etc.—in other words the Fountain of Life where the Eagle renews his youth, the *Fons vitae in seipsum fusus et in seipso stans* of Dionysius, *Ep. ad Tit.* 1. 2, the "great Brahma womb" of BG., XIV. 3 and "Pleroma" of BU., V. 1; symbolised by the *pūrṇa ghata*, *pūrṇa kalaśa*, and *pūrṇa kumbha* or inexhaustible solar Grail of Indian iconography.

14 For example, RV. I. 32. 10 (Vṛtra) *dirgham tama āśayat*, and X. 124. 1 (Agni) *jyog eva dirgham tama āśayīṣṭhāb*.

to "abandon the unfriendly powers and cross over to them that are friendly" (X. 52. 8 *jabāma...āsevāh...uttarema śivān*), and thus in fact that Agni "abandons the Father" (X. 124. 4 *pitaram jabāmi*), "choosing" (*vr̥nnah*) Indra; the "Father", to whom therefore may be assimilated Jahuṣā, the Rejected" (I. 116. 20, VII. 71. 5).

It may be observed further that in *PB.*, XII. 11. 11 Kalyāṇa, similarly abandoned, becomes a Śvitra, i.e., white or colourless serpent, or analogically a leper, and that according to the significant hermeneia¹⁵ of *JB.*, III. 77 this Śvitra the Āṅgīrasa, being an Ahi (serpent, and synonymous with Vṛtra) "is called an Ahi because he was 'left behind' (*abiyata*); it is the very 'snakiness' of snakes, to have been 'left behind'" (*atha yad abiyata, tad abinām abivam*); and it is evidently from the same point of view that the Nāgarāja Ananta, who can be identified with the *apara brahman*, is also called Śeṣa, the 'Residue'.¹⁶ It may be added that in *AV.*, XII. 3. 60 Bṛhaspati as overlord and guardian (*raksitr*) of the Zenith is Śvitra; and that in *RV.*, I. 23. 14 Śvaitreya is referred to as "standing up for conquest," and in V. 19. 3 that "the children, the yeomen

15 See my "Nirukta=Hermeneia," *Viśvabhāratī Quly.*, Aug. 1936.

16. There is always an undiminished "Residue" (Śeṣa), "Without end" (Ananta), because of the irreciprocity of the Infinite and the Finite: "The Pleroma is neither decreased by the emanation of worlds, nor increased by their involution (*BU.* V. 1), "He (Agni) both proceedeth to the summit, and remaineth grounded" (*RV.*, III. 55. 7): "He knowing this full well decided to go forth out of the private chamber (*gubā*) of his eternal Fatherhood where he has slept for aye (*susupvānsah*) and be proclaimed abroad (*naraśaṅsah*) while inwardly abiding (*kṣiyantah*) in the first beginning (*agre*) of his primitive light nature" (Eckhart, I. 224).

It is of considerable interest in connection with the ritual *sarpaṇa* (e.g. *SB.* IV. 6. 9. 13) to remark that *JB.* III. 77 adds to the hermeneia of "Ahi" cited above the further statement that whereas the Ahis are essentially "derelicts" by definition, "the others are the very serpents" (*atha bhānye sarpā evā*) by which we understand, of course, serpents that become Ādityas, as in *PB.*, XXV. 15. 4, and such as Arbuda, the *sarparsi*, whose procession is described in *AB.*, VI. 1 as an *upôdāsarpaṇa*, and is assuredly of the same sort as Agni's whom they find *adbhya upôdāsrptam puṣkara-parṇe*, *SB.*, VII. 3. 2. 14. *KU.* V. 4 *kim atra śisyate?* *CU.* VIII. 4-5 *atiśisyate. ātman. Tad śisyate = Śeṣa = Ātman = Brahman = Ananta.*

(*jantavo kṛṣṭayab*)¹⁷ of Svaitreya (whom Sāyaṇa identifies with Agni Vaidyuta)¹⁸ are waxen in glory.” All this is in perfect agreement with the ontological law that “the Serpents and the Suns are con-substantial” (PB., XXV. 15. 4): and we take this opportunity to add to the evidences of the ophidian quality of the Asura Piṭṛ, Varuṇa, *apara brahman*, assembling “Angel and Titan, a study in Vedic ontology” (JAOS., 55, 1935), the remarkable formulation to be found in *Mund.*, I. 1.6, where the *apara brahman* “neither to be grasped nor seen,” is described as a “blind (-worm) and deaf (-adder), handless and footless” (*acaksusśrotram tad apāṇipādām*), cf. BU., III. 8. 8 *acaksuskam aśrotram...anantaram*. We shall revert to the “ophidian” theme in further discussion of Janaka, below.

In the SB. account it is related that the children of Śaryāta, the Mānava (the ‘Man’, or ‘kin of Manu’) “regarding Cyāvana as a ne’er-do-well; pelted him with clods” (*anarthyam*¹⁹ *manyamānā loṣṭair*.

17 On *kṛṣṭayab* (ploughmen, yeomen), also spoken of as *carṣanayab*, (migrants, pilgrims), as the subjects of Agni or Indra (with whom we identify Janaka as ploughman in R. LXVI), and on the general significance of ploughing, see my *Rg. Veda as Land-Nāma-Bok*, pp. 2, 14 and Note 33.

18 The whole doctrine of the “Lightning” requires a separate and more detailed exposition. “Lightning” is that highest form of Agni that is beyond the Sun and Moon, and in particular the symbol of the immediacy of the Brahman, contrasted with conceptual and theological knowledge thereof, a distinction of *para* and *apara-vidyā*) clearly drawn in *Kena* 29-30. Cf. BU., II. 3. 6; VI. 2. 15; *Kaus.* IV, 2; CU., IV. 11, 1; IV. 13. 1; MU., VII. 11; JUB. I, 30; III, 32, etc.

The “two eyes” of the Deity are regularly the Sun and Moon, and it is as regularly affirmed that beyond the world door (*lokadvāra*) neither Sun nor Moon nor Fire shine any more, the only light is there the “Light of the Spirit.” (BV. IV. 3. 6.) In iconography accordingly, such as Śiva’s the “third eye” is the “Lightning,” and it can well be understood how it is that when this eye is opened the world of contingent being, such, is destroyed.

19 *Anarthyam*, one who has not attained his object, and with the associated idea of “unborn”: a purpose-to-be-fulfilled (*arthab*) being the fundamental *raison d’être* of birth. Cf. RV., X. 51. 6 “Long since mine, Agni’s, brothers chose for me this goal (*artham*, here = the “cup” in *Mat.*, XXVI. 39), viz. to be the “Charioteer” (*rathi* = *dhūrṣadam agnim mitram* in I. 143. 7, *pracodayitr* in MU., II. 4); X. 143. 1 “Ye sent the inveterated Atri forth (*yātave*) even as the (sun-) horse to attain his goal

vipipiṣub).²⁰ It will hardly escape notice that this action exactly corresponds to *RV.*, X. 18. 13, where the "human" survivor of the deceased (*mṛtab*) is represented as saying "I lay this clod on thee injure me not" (*te...imam loḡam nidadban mo abam ṛsim*), where 'thee' is not, or not so much the corpse (which, in fact we suppose to have been cremated), but that 'Death' (*mṛtyu*) who is repelled (*naḥ praḡam r̥riṣo mōta v̥rān*, *ibid.*, 1) and "buried within the mountain" (*antar mṛtyum dadhatām parvatena*, *ibid.*, 4)²¹ in preceding verses, where there is nothing to show that by 'mountain' a funeral

(*arḡham*), when ye restored to youth Kakṣivan"; *SB.*, II. 3. 1. 6 "Even as the serpent frees itself from its skin (*yathābhis tvaco nirmucyeta*), so does He (the solar embryo) free him from the night, from evil (*pāpmanah*, i.e. from *Vṛtra*, cf. *ibid.*, XI. 1. 5. 7)... and after the manner of His birth (*etasyaivānu praḡatim*) it is that all these creatures (*praḡā*) are born, for they are released according to their purposes" (*sr̥jyante yathārḡham*).

20 Similarly in "John Barleycorn," "laid clods upon his head, and they have taken a solemn oath, John Barleycorn is dead." The phraseology of this well-known folksong is unquestionably Dionysic and sacrificial; a trace of the authentic language of the Lesser Mysteries surviving in "popular agricultural rites." The "pelting with clods" (in *JB.*, III, 121 a "bespattering with dirt, dung, and ashes") is in effect an entombment of the "Dying God," who nevertheless, as the song says "springs up again."

At the same time the contemptuous pelting with clods by Śaryāta Mānava's "boys at play" (*kumārāḥ kṛḡdantaḥ*, here = *bālāḥ*, "foolish" or 'profane', *avidvānsaḥ*) is an offence against the Father, and brings down on the human race (Śaryāta Mānava's *grāma*) condign punishment: the sin consists in the treatment of Cyavana (*Varuṇa*, Death) as an enemy, in having been afraid of him who, had they "approached him as one to be made a friend of" (*mitrakṛtyōpāsan*), treating him as *Mitra*, would have been their "Friend." Śaryāta atones for "whatever is that he has done" amiss, by the gift of his daughter Sukanyā (*Sūryā*), just as in *RV.*, X. 109 the primordial *brahma-kilbiṣa* (original sin) of Gods and Men (the rape and subdivision of *Vāc*) is expiated by "the restitution of the Brahman's bride" (*punardāya brahmajāyām*), whereby they effect their release from guilt (*nikilbiṣam*),—or as this might be expressed in the ritualistic sense suggested by the word *juhū* in X. 109. 4, expiated by the marriage of words to music (*ṛk* to *sāman*, earth to heaven, *Yamī* to *Yama*) in the sacrificial liturgy.

21 It is by no means without significance that this text could very well serve as a "prescription" for the imprisonment of Rāvana within the mountain, as illustrated in such Rāvanānugrahamūrtis as those of the well known reliefs at Elūrā, see Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, Pls. LIII. LIV.

mound is primarily intended, whatever appropriate application of the hymn may have been made.²² It must not be overlooked that it is constantly said that the footsteps of the proceeding and ascending powers are ever dogged by Death, Privation, whose appointed "food" is precisely all things "left behind" under the Sun.

22 The wording and the application of the funeral hymns, however correct the analogies may be, are nevertheless two different things. Just as the divine Nativity of V. 78 is used to avert human miscarriage, just as the Marriage in X. 85 is adapted to the blessing of human nuptials, just so the funeral hymns are not by first intention composed as such for so-and-so, the late departed, but as Requiems for the Eternal Avatāra, for the Sun when He goes home into the Night of Time, and angelic Incantations intended to effect His resurrection. If men lay a body in the Fire "believing (*śraddhayā*), This one, hence, will again come into being" (*sam ayam ito bhaviṣyati*, *JUB.* III. 11) it is because *He* is the Resurrection and the Life.

It is precisely because of their superhuman validity and macrocosmic truth that the incantations (*mantra*, *brahman*) can be efficaciously applied to human circumstances: the whole validity of "magic" depends upon the application of what is nowever true in principle to whatever may befall at a given time and place. If, for example, a "charm" can be effectively employed against snakes (as assumed in *AV.*) it is only so far as one does according to what was done by the primordial Abihān.

It is not denied by anyone that the "primitive mind" is severely logical in its own way. There would be no logic of any sort in an attribution of magical power and authority to any formulae if these had been regarded, by those who made use of them, as having been made by themselves or by such as themselves, and thus as no more than expressions of wishes, or *extempore* "prayers" in the Nonconformist sense. It is irrelevant that a scholar, superior to "superstitions", may not believe in the possibility of magical efficacies; that is his own affair, and merely stands in the way of his own converse procedure from fact to principle, the Rks having then for him merely a curiosity value or ornamental value as "literature". The point is that one cannot hope to understand even the "literary form" of the Rks except the assumption be made, at least "for literary purposes", of their superhuman origin and eternal content. It is just because this originally assumed eternal sense has been deliberately ignored that the actual meaning of such texts as X. 18. 7-13 which have all to do with resurrection and not with burial (cf., *SB.*, XI. 2. 1. 3-4 where in connection with the symbolic cremation of the sacrificer "there is a mention of birth" (*janmōdyate*), and thereby the third and last birth of the sacrificer is ensured, i.e., of course, a birth beyond the Sun), has been missed, and that it has been overlooked that even if such texts could have been adapted to rites of inhumation, the primary reference is to cremation (cf. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, p. 571, "It can just as well refer to cremation"); for as it has been expressed in another tradition, "All resurrection is from ashes".

The designation of Cyavāna as *kṛtyā-rūpaḥ* "in the likeness of potentiality" is significant of his quality (*tādṛg-bhāva*) as the Hidden Sun (*gūlba sūrya*). For in the first place the expression *kṛtyā-rūpaḥ* is just the masculine equivalent of *kṛtyāśaktiḥ* "attainted or attached by potentiality"²³ as this term is used of Sūryā in *RV.*, X. 85. 28 f. anterior to her procession (*padvatī bhūtvī*)²⁴ and marriage to the Sun, whose own aspect is described as inglorious when he is coloured by this evil (*aśarīrā tanur bhavati ruśati pāpayāmuyā*), i.e., when he, the husband (*pati*) wears the robes²⁵ of the bride; Sāyaṇa glosses

23 *Kṛtyāśaktir vyajate*, literally "is in the coils of a clinging potentiality", and the exact converse of the state of the man who in *BG.*, VI. 4 "is not involved in purposes or works", (*na... artheṣu na karmasu anusajjate*).

In continuation of what was said in a previous note regarding *yāni kariṣyā*, observe that *kṛtyā*, "Potentiality" is the passivity of the divine nature (*prakṛti*, "that which is effected or enacted", cf. also *dāvān prakṛ*, "to marry") as distinguished from the activity of the divine Essence (*puruṣa*, etc. as *karṣ*, *dhātṛ*) whereby what can and must be done (*yāni kariṣyā*, *kṛtavayam*) is ever done (*kṛta*), coincide with Non-being (*asat*) as distinguished from Being (*sat*): and that if we distinguish the former from the latter as "evil" from "good", this is a descent from the divine level of reference (where there is no distinction of nature from essence) to the human level of reference (with its "procedure" from potentiality to act).

Apart from a "to be enacted", there could not be an "enaction": 'Being is born of Non-being' (*RV.*, X. 72. 2-3): Agni is *sadasat* in the Empyrean (*RV.*, X. 5. 7): cf. *STB.* I. 45. 1. c. "Creation is the emanation of all being is from the non-being, which is nothing". While therefore it is not untrue to say that God is "all act" and "without potentiality", in so far as He is God, and not the Supreme Identity of God and Godhead, *sadasat*, it would be more completely true to say that as the Supreme Identity He is nowever altogether in potentiality and altogether in act; bearing in mind, at the same time, that "all potentiality" includes not only such potentialities of being as can be reduced to act, but also an infinity of possibilities that are not possibilities of being. Taken over literally and narrowly, to say that God is "all in act" would be a pantheistic affirmation and would amount to a denial of transcendence.

24 For the significance of *padvatī*: 'footed', in the sense of "no longer ophidian" but "having cast off the snake skin" (in Christian terms "cleansed of original sin", or "no longer showing the cloven hoof") see my *Darker Side of Dawn*, Smithsonian Institution Publication, 3304, Washington 1935.

25 I.e., the clinging (*śaktiḥ*) snake skin, the *kṛtyā*, by which the bride is invested (*vyajate*) before the marriage, and corresponding to the reptilian forms in which Apālā appears before she is drawn through the hub of the wheel and made

ruśati pāpayāmuṣā as *pāparūpayā kṛtyayā yuktā*. Inglorious, that is to say, by night, however glorious by day, when wedded with the Dawn, no longer in the form of Sasarpārī, but *padvatī bhūtvī*. What it means to be 'inglorious', 'without one's 'Śrī' is made abundantly clear in *SB.*, XI. 4. 3. 1 where when Prajāpati has done his creative work, the "Glory departs from him" (*tas māc cbrantāt tapanāt śrīr uda-kramāt*) and the various aspects of properties of "glory" are shared amongst themselves by the separated deities, these properties being those of the kingship, empire, the temporal power, the glory of the spiritual power, the realm, fertility, and manifestation (*rājyam, samrājyam, ksatram, brahma-varcasam, rāstram, puṣṭim, rūpāni*); the absolute Person, in other words, being now represented by the functional Persons of the Several (Cosmic) Deities.

The various types of the divine *mumukṣu* so far alluded to can be embraced under the designation *vrātya*. The Titan (Asura), 'non-sacrificing' or 'inoperative' or 'idle' (*avrataḥ*) is potentially as 'sacrificing' and 'active' (*savrataḥ*) Angel or God (Deva), and therefore *vrātya*, as being one who is 'operable' or 'capable of operation' and in this sense qualified to be inducted into the Aryan way and rite; just as the categories of the deity *ab intra* are sometimes called 'Perfectibles' or 'Feasibles' (*sādhyab*) with reference to their potential *sādhū-bhāva*.²⁶

We had not originally intended to raise the "Vrātya problem" here; it nevertheless presents itself inevitably. This might never have been a problem, had the question been approached (1) with some

samślistikā as the bride of the solar Indra, and "sunskinned" as he is. The Sun, indeed, frees *himself* from the snake skin, from evil, and has done this more effectively than any other (*AB.*, V. 2., *SB.*, II. 3. 1. 3 and 6). The procedure from interior to exterior operation is repeatedly figured in *RV.*, as a changing of the dark and dirty for clean and white 'robes'.

26 For the Sādhyā deities 'as *mumukṣavaḥ*, desirous of the World of Heavenly-light, and proceeding thitherwards by means of sacrifices, cf. *TS.*, VII. 2. 1.

a priori understanding of metaphysics, and more especially²⁷ bearing in mind the doctrine of the dual operation (*vivṛata*), i.e., interior (*gubhya*) and exterior (*āvis*) operation, which is taken for granted throughout the Vedic tradition and wherever else an orthodox teaching has been transmitted, notably in Christianity, (2) with confidence (*śraddhaya*) in the texts themselves (*AV.*, XV; *PB.*, XVII. 1-4, cf. *JUB.*, III. 21. 3) which texts show plainly that *the* “Only Vrātya” is *the* Brahman, and (3) proceeding from the essential nature of this “Only Vrātya” to that of the many other *vrātyas*, whether *divyā* or *mānuṣyā*, just as in the analogous case of Yakṣas and Gandharvas one must start with that of the one and only Yakṣa or Gandharva. According to the texts, the One Vrātya is the Brahman, about to turn (*vṛt*) from interior to exterior operation; *vrātyas* in the plural, as *divyā*, are the hidden and Titan names of individual potentialities, by the primordial utterance of which names the Devas assume their being and individual qualities; and descending to the human level of reference, the *vrātya* is an alien guest, qualified by nature to be received into the Aryan fold and inducted into the Aryan way, the *devayāna*. It is easy to see, accordingly, how it is that an honoured guest should be “welcomed as a Vrātya,” and how it is that for an Aryan thus to address a stranger, who may be not-an-Aryan, is to pay him the highest honour, and to say in effect “we are altogether your servants”; viz. inasmuch as the archetypal Vrātya is the Brahman, the Spirit (cf. *Pras.*, II. 7 and 11) welcomed by the elements of being as their king (*ibid.* and *BU.*, IV. 3. 37). It may be that the “Vedic Aryans” were visited by outlandish guests deserving of royal honours; and if now-a-days few or none such enter Bhārata-varṣa from abroad, one may at least recall that the type of the uncouth and uncanny but welcome wanderer, who neither studies the Vedas, nor ploughs, nor trades, is still represented by that of the errant Śaiva ascetic, dishevelled and

27 See, for example, Hauer, J. W., *Der Vrātya* Stuttgart, 1927.

unkempt, whom all might wish to welcome as a king, although in fact he has already and once for all rejected all that human society could offer him.

The One Vrātya recognizable in our *mumukṣavaḥ* is then the Brahman, the Spirit, as He first comes forth, "moving towards the kindreds" (*AV.*, XV. 9) to be welcomed as a royal guest (*atithi*) in all men's homes.²⁸ He who, a priori, is typically "inveterated" and "impotent," one who neither studies the Vedas, nor ploughs, nor trades (*PB.*, XVI. 1. 2 and XVII. 4), who has no 'caste' (*avarna*, as Brahman, *Mund.* I. I. 6), but is cosmically speaking a dark-skinned aboriginal and in every sense of the words a "wild man of the woods", a Dāsa and Asura, He it is that is accredited to be received by men and angels as their King. (*Prās.*, II. 11; *BU.*, IV. 3. 37). It is for this "One Vrātya" (*AV.*, XV. 1. 6) who brings with him into the world the spiritual-power (*brahman*, as rightly understood by Aufrecht in *AV.*, XV. 10. 3), and himself assuming Indra's bow (*AV.*, XV. 1. 6) thus becomes the King of the World, served and waited upon by all beings (*AV.*, XV. 3. 10, etc.); and it is not, then, without good reason that the throne (*āsandi*) prepared for the Vrātya in *AV.*, XV. 3²⁹ so closely

28 The epithet of "guest in all men's houses" is typically Agni's (e.g., *RV.*, X. 91. 2); or it is Soma to whom the "guest-offering" is typically made (*SB.*, III. 4. 1. 2).

Therefore it is, and not merely by way of good will or mere impulse, that hospitality has been regarded as a virtue in all traditional societies, where conduct is invariably modelled on what was done in the beginning, and in principle, *agere, in principio*: as in *Heb.* XIII. 1. "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares", and *Mat.*, XXV. 40. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of these, ye have done it unto Me".

29 Observe that *AV.*, XV. 3. 3-4, where the Vrātya is seated upon a throne of which the four feet are the four seasons, corresponds to *AV.*, XIX. 53. 3, where "A full vessel (*pūrṇa kumbhaḥ*) is set upon Time, Whom now we behold in a plurality" (*kabudhā*). The "full vessel" and "inexhaustible wellspring of Soma" is assuredly the symbol of that ancient *brahma-plenum* or *pleroma (pūrṇam)* of which it is said that It is neither diminished by the emanation of worlds nor increased by

corresponds on the one hand to that of Brahman described in *Kaus.*, I. 5, and on the other to that prepared for Soma and called "Varuṇa's" in *SB.*, III, 3. 4. 20-27, and to that of Indra in *AB.*, VIII. 12; and we may also add, to the type of the four-legged Buddha Cakravartin's throne as represented at the foot of the Tree in the actual iconography. The welcome accorded to the Vrātya is a species of Rājasūya; and it is by the analogous ceremonies performed at the coronation of a human king that the latter is really endowed by the priesthood as representatives of the "spiritual power", with the "divine right". The Vrātya's reception is primarily an acknowledgement by all creatures of the overlordship of the Sun, and of the solar Indra's world dominion: "The Ruddy (Sun) when He ascends the sky, glowing with a glowing, proceeds to the womb, He indeed is reborn, He becomes the Overlord of the Angels" (*AV.*, XIII. 2. 25).

We say then in conclusion that Janaka of Videha, described in *BU.*, IV. 2. 1. f. as "gliding from his seat" (*kurcād upāvasarpan*), about to be released (*mucyamānaḥ*) from the realm of disembodiment (*itas = videhāt*, as rightly understood by Hume and wrongly by Svāmi Madhavānanda), but still ignorant of the Aryan path on which he is about to set foot³⁰ (*nāham...veda yatra gamiṣyāmi*), and as becoming the pupil of Yājñavalkya, upon whom he bestows his cattle, his kingdom, and very self, is the Brahman, Prajāpati, Varuṇa, Ahi.

their involution (*BU.*, V. 1. 1, cf. *AV.*, X. 8. 1 *brahmaṇe namaḥ*, 14-5 *kumbhena... pūrṇena*, and 29 *pūrnam pūrṇena sicyate*). The Indian "Grail" (*pūrṇa kumbha*, *kalāśa*, or *ghaṭa*), so familiar a feature of the iconography, is the principal visual symbol, as the *akṣara Om* is the principal aural symbol, of the (solar) Brahman,—who is thus "seen of all men visually, though all do not know Him intellectually", *AV.*, X. 8. 14.

30 We say advisedly "set foot", For the distinction of "footless" from "footed" see my "Darker Side of Dawn" and 'Angel and Titan', passim, cf. also *AV.*, X. 8. 21 "Footless was He born in the beginning, luciferous (*apād agre samabhavat*, *svar ābharat*) and having become four-footed (*catuspād bhūtvā*), as the Enjoyer (*bhogyah = bhokṛ*, *BG.*, IX. 24 = *kṣetrajñah*, *śarīrātman*) took unto Himself all enjoyment" (*sarvam ādatta bhojanam*, converse of *RV.*, VII. 5. 3. *asiknir asamānā jatatir bhojanāni*).

Sādhyā, Vrātyā, proceeding from interior to exterior operation, potentiality to act. The descent from the throne of Videha and gift of the kingdom are an abdication in favour of Yājñavalkya, now about to retire from the world (*anyad vrtam upākarisyān...pravrajisyān...asmāt sthānāt*, BU., IV. 5. 1-2), and accordingly qualified like the Comprehensor in *Kaus.*, I. 7 to ascend the throne of Brahman and to receive from Him whatever and allever that is His; Janaka on his part now following in Yājñavalkya's footsteps until he too shall have obtained the same Gnosis of the Spirit, "attaining perfection by sacrificial works", as in *BG.*, III. 20. All this is but an excerpt, as it were, from the eternal, and strictly speaking timeless, cycle, in which the Father proceeds as the Son, and the Son having done his work in due course returns to the Father, who then once more comes forth by day as the Son; the *genealogia regni Dei* repeating itself for ever, in *saecula saeculorum*. In all these respects the case of Janaka is not different from that of Br̥hadratha, the "Lord of the Mighty Chariot" (Vedic *ijyōtirathab̥*, "Rider in the Chariot of Light") to whom the Muni Śākāyanya gives assurance that "Thou shalt speedily come to be one that has 'done what there is to be done' (*kṛtakṛtyab̥*), and shalt obtain the Gnosis of the Spirit".³¹

A. K. COOMARASWAMY

³¹ The case corresponds to that of the Bodhisattva to whom there is made a "prediction" of future Buddhahood.

A South Indian (Malayalam) Evaluation of Sanskrit

t, (d) and ṭ, (ḍ)

In the contexts and circumstances adverted to below, the Sanskrit dental plosives *t* and *d* and the cerebral plosives *ṭ* and *ḍ* are evaluated by Malayâlis today respectively as *l* and *ḷ*. I propose in this paper to define and explain these contexts, to trace the history of this change and to suggest an explanation for it.

I may say at once that such an evaluation of these Sanskrit sounds is not met with in any of the other South Dravidian areas today, except colloquially in some parts of the Tamil nâḍ in the pronunciation of Skt. *adbhuta* as *alpudam*. The past histories of Kannada and Telugu do not disclose the existence of these changes; but inscriptional Middle Tamil does have instances showing the change of Skt. *t* > *l* in a restricted context (see below).

I give below a table of instances to illustrate the treatment in Mal. and Tamil of the Skt. sounds under reference.

Skt. sounds	Treatment in Malayâlam	Treatment in Tamil
1. <i>r</i> in the following groups:— <i>rk</i>	<i>rk</i> (or <i>lkk</i> where the long <i>kk</i> is due to Mal. sandhi)—as in <i>ulkaṣam</i>	<i>r̥k</i> —as in <i>ut'kaṣam</i> [<i>r̥</i> represented in writing by a symbol now pronounced as a trill <i>r</i> sound]. <i>r̥k</i> —as in <i>cat'kannam</i> .
<i>dg</i>	<i>lg</i> —as in <i>salgunam</i>	<i>r̥p</i> —as in <i>tât'pariyam</i>
<i>dgb</i>	<i>lgb</i> —as in <i>ulgbôṣam</i>	<i>r̥p</i> —as in <i>put'pudam</i>
<i>tp</i>	<i>lp</i> —as in <i>tâlparyam</i>	<i>r̥p</i> —as in <i>at'pudam</i> , and <i>lp</i> in modern regional colloquial <i>al'pudam</i>
<i>db</i>	<i>lb</i> —as in <i>bulbudam</i>	<i>r̥c</i> —as in <i>ut'cavam</i>
<i>dbb</i>	<i>lbb</i> —as in <i>al'bbudam</i>	<i>r̥p</i> —as in <i>ât'panêpadam</i> [Skt. <i>âtmanêpâda</i>], or <i>nm</i> as in <i>ânma</i> [Skt. <i>âtma</i>]
<i>is</i>	<i>ls</i> —as in <i>ulsavam</i>	<i>r̥p</i> —as in <i>pa'pam</i> [Skt. <i>padma</i>], or <i>n̄m</i> as in <i>pannam</i> [Skt. <i>padma</i>]
<i>im</i>	<i>lpm</i> —as in <i>âlpmâvu</i>	Generally, no change in literary evaluation except when nominal bases are adapted with <i>-ttu</i> , as in <i>upanisattu</i> , etc.—But Middle Tam. inscriptions have <i>candrâdityaval</i> .
<i>dm</i>	<i>lpm</i> —as in <i>palpnam</i> , or <i>lp</i> as in <i>palpanâvan</i>	Change not recorded in the texts or inscriptions.
2. Skt. final <i>-t</i> .	<i>l</i> —as in <i>sâksâl</i> , <i>candrâdityaval</i> ; or <i>-ttu</i> when Skt. nominal bases are adapted as in <i>jagattu</i> , <i>ksuttu</i> .	No change observable in the reading of Skt. passages; but nominal bases are adapted with <i>ttu</i> , as in <i>sarrâttu</i> .
3. <i>dg</i> , <i>dj</i> , <i>tp</i> , <i>rk</i> , etc.	<i>lg</i> —as in <i>kbalgam</i> ; <i>lj</i> as in <i>saljam</i>	
4. Skt. final <i>-t</i> .	<i>l</i> when Skt. passages are read; but Skt. nominal bases are adapted with <i>-ttu</i> in Mal., as in <i>sarrâttu</i>	

I. *Skt. t (and d)*

1. The sound *t* or *d* of the *Skt.* consonant groups *tk, dg, dgb, tp, db, dbb, ts, tm, dm* is evaluated as *l* (i) when *Skt.* passages are read, and (ii) when the *Skt.* forms or compounds containing these groups occur in *Mal.* writing or speech:—

<i>tk</i> :—	<i>ulkarsam</i>	<i>db</i> :—	<i>bulbudam</i>
	<i>talkâlam</i>	<i>dbb</i> :—	<i>ulbhavam</i>
	<i>ulkaṅṭa</i>		<i>albbudam</i>
	<i>âpalkaram</i>		<i>talbhavam</i>
	<i>salkâram</i>	<i>ts</i> :—	<i>ulsavam</i>
<i>dg</i> :—	<i>salgunam</i>		<i>vâlsalyam</i>
	<i>galgadam</i>		<i>malsaram</i>
<i>dgb</i> :—	<i>ulghâtanam</i>		<i>malsyam</i>
	<i>ulghôsam</i>		<i>ulsâham</i>
<i>tp</i> :—	<i>tâlparyam</i>		<i>talsamam</i>
	<i>ulprêkṣa</i>		
	<i>ulpatti</i>		

tm [internal group only]:—*âlpmâ* (or *âlt'mâ*).

dm [internal group]:—*palpmam* (or *palt'mam*).

(ii) The large majority of Malayâlis (including *Skt.* scholars) employ only these sound-values for the above *Skt.* groups. Of late, however, a somewhat "puristic" reaction appears to have set in among some scholars who would like to remove what they would describe as an "anomalous corruption," and to bring the Malayâli evaluation into line with the usage current outside Malabar; but the peculiarity is a very old one (see below) and has struck such deep roots in Malabar that it is doubtful if the "tradition" would ever disappear.

(iii) A word or two regarding the values given to the groups *tm* and *dm* should be said here.

Skt. *âtmâ* is brought out with the value *âlpmâ* where

1. The values *âlmâvu, paltmam* are also heard occasionally; here, a *t* which may be dental or denti-alveolar is intercalated between *l* and *m* in the effort to

l represents Skt. *t*, and *p* is an unexploded bilabial plosive appearing between the *l* and *m*. This *p* is usually voiceless, and then the *m* following is, at the outset of its phonation, partially denasalized and devoiced, though the vocal chords begin to vibrate and the sound passes through the nasal passage almost immediately afterwards.

Similarly, one hears *palpmam* for Skt. *padma*, *palpmini* for *padmini*, *palpmanâbhan* and colloquially *palpanâvan* [Cf. *palpanâbhan* in *Ker. Soc. Papers*, I, p. 23] for *padmanâbha*.

That the production of *p* here was a very old one would be clear from my discussion (see below) of the Tamil adaptations of Skt. *tm* and *dm*.

2. Apart from the consonant groups mentioned above, others involving *t* or *d* are not affected by this change:—

Satyam, satvam, udyânam, uddêsam, udrêkam, udvah-i-kk, etc.

The change does not also affect Skt. initial or intervocalic *t* or *d*.

3. Final *t* or *d* of Sanskrit words and forms occurring in Sanskrit passages is evaluated as *l*:—

îsal, jagal, âsara, cil, upaniṣal, sal, bathâl, sâkṣâl, yathâval, svâmival, dandaval.

It has to be remembered that Skt. *t* or *d* (in sentence-sandhi) is retained as such in Skt. sentences only when followed immediately by those plosives (and *s*) that occur as second constituents of the consonant groups mentioned above in which the change of *t>l* is introduced. Thus the contexts here are practically the same as those in connection with the groups *tk, dg, tp*, etc. mentioned above.

4. Skt. nouns among the above are adapted with a long *tt*

bring out "puristically" the correct *tm* or *dm* of Skt. It is significant that Skt. *dm* of *padma* appears only as *lpm* (or *ltm*), and that the symbol used in Mal. for *dm* in Skt. *padma* is actually a conjunct symbol formed of the symbols for voiceless *t* and *m*. The use of the voiceless *p* in *lpm* is connected (see below) with the *p* of the adaptation *t'p* of an older stage where *t'p* represented both Skt. *tm* and Skt. *dm*.

(followed by the *samvrta*) when used in Mal. passages, or employed in speech:—

jagattu (declined with Mal. endings as in *jagatt-il*, *jagatt-âl*, etc.).
cittu, *upanisattu*, *sattu*, *âpattu*, *sampattu*, *parisattu*.

This method of adopting nominal bases (by lengthening Skt. final *-t*) is common to all the literary Dravidian speeches of South India. For Kannada, see *Śabdamanīdarpana*, 86; and for Telugu, a similar rule is provided in sūtras 3 and 4 of the *balanta* portion of *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*.

When however, these nouns form the first constituents of Skt. compounds with *k*, *g*, *gb*, *p*, *b*, *bb*, *s*, *m* following as initials of the second constituents, then the value of *l* is given to *-t* or *-d* concerned.

In compounds like *jagad-īsan*, *marud-adhipan*, the voiced *d* (arising from Skt. sandhi before vowels following) is retained unchanged.

The final *t* of Skt. forms which are not nouns is evaluated as *l* in Mal. passages also.

candirâdiccaval [Tr. Arch. Series, II, p. 43—11th century.]

âcandratâraval [*ib.*, III, p. 28 (12th c.); p. 61 (13th c.)].

candrâdityaval [*ib.*, V, p. 29; p. 91; p. 182.]

kêcil atrayumalla [K. Bhâg., p. 59].

yathâval-ê in the language of the *câkyârs*.

īsal converted into a colloquial verb *īsalikk*.

5. It deserves to be noted in this connection that one of the two symbols (of the modern Mal. alphabet) for *l* is a modification of the native symbol for *t*, originally used for representing the pure consonantal value of *t* (or *d* adapted as *t*, according to the genius of the older stage of speech which had no symbols for voiced sounds) occurring in adaptations from Skt. When the change in the sound-value of Skt. *t*, *d* to *l* became established in Mal. in the contexts referred to in this essay, the original symbol for the pure consonantal *t* became more or less permanently associated in Mal. with the value *l*. Today, this symbol and the old native symbol for *l* are some-

what indiscriminately used by many people in Malabar for *l* in all consonant groups with *l* as the first constituent (except *ll* and *ly* where the old symbol for *l* is invariably used); the old symbol is used invariably in initial and intervocal positions, while the newly formed symbol is used to represent the absolute final *-l* sound.

The treatment in Tamil

1. In literary Tamil, the Skt. groups *tk*, *dg* and *dgb* are all adapted as *t'k* i.e. with the alveolar plosive *t'* (for Skt. *t*) and *k* (for Skt. *k, g* and *gb*). The value given to the alveolar plosive today in *t'k* is that of a trill *r* [see my *History of the Tamil alveolar plosive*].

Similarly Skt. *tp*, *db* and *dbb* are adapted as *t'p*; and Skt. *ts* appears as *t'c*.

It is in accordance with the genius of Tamil that the Skt. voiced plosives have been adapted as voiceless plosives and Skt. *s* has been accepted as *c*.

Skt. internal *tm* and *dm* undergo different kinds of treatment:—

(i) Skt. *âtmanêpada* is adapted as *âtpanêpadam*; Skt. *padma* appears as *pat'pam*; Skt. *padmanâbha* is *pat'panâbhan* (in the old Vaiṣṇavite texts), though colloquially *pattanâvan* (contracted to *pattu*) is also heard.

(ii) Skt. *âtman* appears as *ân mâ* where there has been regressive assimilation; *padma* alternatively has the value *panmam*, and *padmini* is sometimes (in the texts) *panmini*.

(iii) The values *âtumam* for *ât mâ*, and *padumam* for *padma* show adaptations with an anaptyctic vowel.

(iv) A peculiar learned form for Skt. *ât mâ* is *ât't'umâ* which appears to be a "cross-formation" with *t'* (lengthened here) from *t'p* in (i) above, and the anaptyctic vowel (followed by *m*) from (iii) above.

Among the representatives in Tamil of Skt. *tm*, *dm*, the group *t'p* is the significant one for the purpose of this essay. Here, *p* owes its origin to the influence of voiceless *t* on *m*.

This *t'p* is old in Tamil, attested as it is in Nâlâyirappabhandham and other Middle Tam. texts; and the *p* of Mal. *palpanâbhan* (from which the contraction *palpu* has arisen) and perhaps of Mal. *palpmam* also (where the *m* may have been reintroduced by Skt. scholars) is also old.

2. In the colloquial of some people, I have heard *alpudam* (for Skt. *adbhuta*) instead of the literary *at'pudam*. This would indicate that the use of *l* for Skt. *t* in connection with Skt. consonant groups is not unrepresented in Tamil, though ridiculed as an "illiteracy."

3. In literary Tamil, Skt. nouns with final *t* are adapted with lengthening of *t* and the incorporation of an enunciative, as in *upanisattu*, *sattu*, *cittu*, etc.

Apart from these changes, literary Tamil does not show any peculiarities worth noting here, in the treatment of Skt. *t*.

4. But in inscriptional Tamil (which uses many colloquial forms) I have found the following form represented numerously in the Middle Tamil period:—

candrâdityaval ceyvômânôm [*SII.*, III, p. 103].

„ *kollapperuvadâga* [*ib.*, III, p. 222].

candirâdittaval erivadâga [*ib.*, III, p. 228].

This form with final *l* for Skt. *t* occurs also in *SII.*, II, p. 404; *ib.*, III, p. 100; *ib.*, III, p. 230; *ib.*, III, p. 233; *ib.*, III, p. 244; *ib.*, III, p. 248; *ib.*, pages 249, 341, 343, 376.

These forms with final *l* alternate in these inscriptions with others showing *t* (as in Skt.) or *a-t*, the alveolar plosive:—

candrâdityavat [*SII.*, III, p. 228,—which inscription shows the same form with *-l*].

candrâdittavat [*ib.*, III, p. 245].

„ [*ib.*, III, p. 255].

candirâdittavat' celuttuvadâga [*ib.*, II, p. 125]. The form with *t'* occurs in *SII.*, II, pp. 126, 146; *ib.*, III, pp. 222, 233, 245, 250, 256.

There is little doubt that the use of *l* for Skt. *t* was common in

Tamil colloquial in the Middle Tamil stage, as attested by the presence of the numerous inscriptional instances of this form.

I have not been able to find out from among these inscriptions any instance of the use of *l* for Skt. *t* in Skt. words or compounds containing the consonant groups *tk*, etc.

Whether the colloquial *alpudam* which one hears in the speech of uncultured people forms part of a colloquial heritage is a matter requiring further investigation.

The following facts emerge from the above discussion :—

(a) —The evaluation of Skt. *t* as *l* is very old in Mal., attested as it is in early texts and inscriptions and “embodied” as it is in one of the two Mal. symbols for *l*.

(b) The numerous inscriptional instances with *l* for Skt. *-t*, occurring in the Middle Tam. period show that the peculiarity should have existed in Middle Tamil also (perhaps only in the colloquial, since literary texts do not show *l* but *t'* pronounced as *r*).

(c) The change in the sound-value of Skt. *t* occurs only in Skt. consonant groups where *t* or *d* is followed by the plosives or in *ts*, *tm* and *dm*.

II. Skt. *t* (*d*) > *l*

Skt. *t* or *d* in groups in which these are followed by plosives is evaluated in Malayalam pronunciation as *l* :—

<i>khalgam</i>	<i>ṣalḡavyam</i>
<i>ṣaljam, ṣalkarmam</i>	<i>vaṣalkāram</i>

2. The final *-t* (when not modified by sentence-sandhi) of Skt. forms is evaluated as *l* by the Malayālis when Skt. passages are read :

<i>saṃrâl</i>	<i>virâl</i>	<i>parivrâl</i>
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When nominal bases are employed in Mal. literature or speech, the change of *t* to *l* does not occur, but the bases are adapted as *saṃrâtṭu*, *virâtṭu*, *parivrâtṭu* i.e. with the lengthening of the final Skt. *t* and the embodiment of the “enunciative or supporting” vowel. This method of adapting these bases is not peculiar to Mal.,

but (as in the adaptation of Skt. nominal bases having final *-t*) is common in the other south Dravidian literary languages.

In Skt. compounds like *virâd-âkâra*, *parivrâdîsa*, *d* appearing before vowels undergoes no change in Malayâli evaluation.

3. The change of *t* (*d*) > *l* is not met with in Tamil or in any other languages of the south; nor is it attested by any inscriptional instances of Middle Tamil.

4. So far as Mal. is concerned, the change must be fairly old,² in view of the fact that one of the symbols for Mal. *l* in the modern alphabet is formed from the symbol for *t*.

The probable origin of the changes

It is tempting to postulate that Skt. *t* was directly changed to *l* in the first instance and that this *l* according to characteristic Tamil sandhi rules became *t'* (pronounced *r*) before *p*, *k* and *c*; but the fact that this change does not affect any Skt. *t* except when involved in the consonant groups *tk*, *tp*, etc. under reference, should lead one to think of the alternative possibility of the change of Skt. *t*, *d* (in the groups under reference) to the Tamil alveolar *t'* in the first instance (especially since native Tamil tolerated only *t'k*, *t'p*, *t'c* and not *tk*, *tp*, *ts*), and then to the colloquial evaluation of this *t'* and *l* under the influence of the normal correspondence of colloquial native *lk*, *lp*, *lc* = literary *t'k*, *t'p*, *t'c*. The sandhi change of *l* to *t'* in these native groups was not universal in the colloquial, as shown by the large number of instances with *lk*, *lp*, *lc* in the Middle Tamil inscriptions and by common usage in the modern colloquials. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the adaptations *t'k*, *t'p*, *t'c* (from Skt. *tk*, *dg*, *dgb*; *tp*, *db*, *dbb*; *tm*, *dm*; *ts*) of the learned dialect may have "popularly" been regarded, under the influence of the analogy of the

² The circumstances in which the change occurs in Mal. are different from the change of *d* to *l* in some recensions of the R̥g-Vêda. The Vedic change appears to be essentially an intervocalic one; cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, § 222; and Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 54.

native instances mentioned above, as arising from *lp*, *lk*, *lc*. This "popular" reconstruction appears to have more strongly established itself in the west coast dialect than in the east coast, though not unrepresented in Tamil in the use of *candrâdityaval* referred to above. It may be mentioned here that Malayâlam had, from early stages, an aversion to *t'k*, *t'p*, *t'c*, and commonly used the primary native sounds instead of *t'* in these groups. So strong was this aversion that at a particular stage one notes that Mal. "reconstructed" and used forms like *mul-p-pâdu*, *pil-p-pâdu*, *pol-p-pu* from literary *mut pâdu*, *pit' pâdu* and *pot' pû* in which the *t'* arose from an original alveolar *n* in sandhi contact with the plosives following. The use of *l* here (instead of the primary *n*) on the basis of a "popular" feeling that *l* may have been original here (as in *kat' kulam* < *kal-kulam*, etc.), is analogical to the popular reconstruction³ of *l* in the adaptations of the Skt. groups under reference. [See my *Primer of Mal. Phonology*]. Thus the peculiar Malayâli evaluation appears to be a "false restoration" based on a process of "back-analogy" suggested by the existence in the early stages of alternating native consonant groups like *lk* [free from sandhi] and *t'k* [sandhi-modified].

A similar explanation might be offered for the Mal. evaluation of Skt. *t*, *d* (of the Skt. groups *tk*, *dg*, *tp*, *db*, etc.) as *l*. The original adaptations *tk*, *tp*, etc. (with voiceless sounds only, according to the genius of the "parent" speech) may have been "popularly" evaluated as *lk*, etc., under the influence of the native correspondence of colloquial *lk*, etc. = literary *tk*, etc. (the literary *t* arising from a characteristic native sandhi change).

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3 After the changes here referred to had materialised, Mal. (owing to the dominant influence of Skt.) appears to have "restored" the Skt. voiced plosives in *ulbbavam*, etc. Skt. *s* in *ulsavam*, etc., and Skt. *m* in *palpmam* and *âlpmâ*.

Ranjit Singh's Diplomatic Relations

(with special Reference to Sind)

Of all the Indian rulers in the various parts of India who have played their chequered part in her history during the first half of the 19th century, Ranjit Singh prominently stands out as the most diplomatic-minded personality, and but for the presence in those times on the Indian scene of a nation far better equipped than any other for the sovereignty of India, viz., the English, it would be interesting to speculate as to what channels the course of Indian history would have drifted. The fact that Ranjit Singh could manage to maintain throughout his career a policy of friendliness with the British in spite of the limitations set by them to his scheme of conquests, and thus could hold his own in the Punjab till his very death, is a manifest proof of his political sagacity and foresight.

In the early part of the nineteenth century North-West India was the centre of political intrigues, and the diplomatic relations among the various parties entailed a most conflicting mass of events, for the interests of the English, the Sikhs, the Sindhis, and of those at the other end of the border, viz., the Pathans and the Persians all came into a strange conflict with each other, and thus presented a very confused spectacle rendering it difficult to trace any thing like a consistent and an unbroken chain of history.

The Maharaja's relations with the English

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's meteoric rise in the Punjab and more particularly his designs on Sind at once brought him into an enviable position with all those who then struggled for supremacy, and the strain of oppositions, jealousies and intrigues only paved the

way for the ultimate collapse of his kingdom. Alarmed at his marvellous progress of conquests over different territories ruled by the chiefs belonging to different associations of the Sikhs (called 'Misl'), the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej territory besought the protection of the British Government and were thus saved from a sure and certain annihilation. The treaty of friendship which was thus concluded between the British Government and the Maharaja in 1809 restricted the scope of his conquests to the north and west of the Sutlej. But although the chain of his conquests in other directions, viz., the north, the east and the west continued for a time unbroken, this treaty, as later events showed, proved a set-back to his ambitions which he might otherwise have realised. He was indignant that his sure and certain prey, the Cis-Sutlej States, should be denied to him under the treaty to which he was not a willing partner, but it is perhaps to his credit that by entering into the treaty he proved to be too far sighted a politician of his day to risk an open conflict with the British Government. Though he carefully preserved an attitude of friendship with them, he was inwardly chaffing at the restrictions imposed on his wide schemes of conquests. He betrayed his personal sentiments in this connection when on being shown by one of his courtiers a map of India in which the British territory was indicated in red, he uttered with disgust the well-known and prophetic remark—"all will become red." Nor was the intervention in 1831 and 1836 of the Governor-General in his designs against Sind less exasperating to him, but his patience and cold calculation of the strength and of the resourcefulness of the nation with which fate had brought him into contact prevented any open conflict with it. He was perhaps alive to the probability of his own country being 'painted red' whenever there should be a clash between the two powers. It would not be an exaggeration to observe that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the greatest and wisest enemy of the English, and in fairness to him, it may

be added that any ruler placed under similar restrictions, howsoever justified, could not have with profit acted otherwise.

Before dealing with his relations with the British Government any further, it seems necessary here to analyse the nature of his connections with the other powers.

His relations with Afghans

Ranjit Singh was hostile to the Afghans and Afghanistan, and naturally so, as he was their successor in the Punjab, and because they were his neighbours who could neither be trifled with nor relied upon, and besides were ready and willing to invade India whenever their domestic troubles allowed them the necessary respite. In the early stages of his career he evaded a pitched battle with the Afghans when they twice occupied Lahore early in the nineteenth century, but later in 1811, he found himself strong enough to fix himself in battle array near Rawalpindi when Shah Mahmud crossed the Indus with his army. On learning, however, that the Shah had no designs on the Punjab but had come to punish the Governors of Kashmere and Attock for aiding his brother and opponent Shah Shuja in his attack on Peshawar, the Maharaja accorded to the king a warm welcome and received him as a guest of honour. Gradually Ranjit Singh's power increased and that of the Afghans weakened until in 1835 Ranjit Singh's general was able to wrest Peshawar from the hands of the then ruling Afghan king Dost Mohammad Khan.

In the affairs of Afghanistan he had throughout shown suspicion and jealousy; he would not have willingly spared even Kabul if only he had ever felt himself strong enough, but nothing was ever likely to tempt the Sikhs to face the terrors of the Khaibar Pass.

Ranjit Singh's relations with the Sindhis

Ranjit Singh had a vast scheme of conquests, and the occupation of Sindh was an important part of it. At the beginning of

his reign he had been much occupied in consolidating his power in the Punjab and in reducing that of his neighbouring chiefs so as to remove from the field all competitors for the sovereignty of the Punjab. He had at the same time a definite design on Sind as early as 1809 when he wrote to Muhammad Amir Khan exhorting him to invade that country which he then believed to be yielding an annual revenue of two crores of rupees. He also offered him the help of his own troops in case he were prepared to act up to his proposal.¹ It might well be argued that this was hardly a politic move on his part to invite a strong successor to the Amirs of Sind and thus to lose all chances of self-aggrandisement in respect of Sind, but he appears to have done so for two reasons. First, in the beginning of his career he feared the treachery of his nobles and doubted their fidelity and perseverance on long campaigns² such as the invasion of Sind would have involved, and did not therefore believe himself equal to the task. Secondly, in return for his assistance which he offered to Amir Khan he must have counted on a share of the hoarded wealth of the Amirs. Amir Khan did not, however, respond to any such overtures.

The Amirs of Sind were, on the other hand, anxious for a defensive alliance with Ranjit Singh against the English whereby each State was to assist the other with troops in the event of its being attacked by the English. They sent messengers to the Maharaja with this object on the 29th September 1809³ but Ranjit Singh proved to be too far-sighted to risk hostilities with the British and did not encourage these advances. Moreover, since the treaty of friendship had been already concluded at Amritsar on 25th April of the same year between him and the British Government, and no cause had yet arisen for its violation, Ranjit Singh was un-

1. Resident, Delhi to Govt. dated 15.7. 1809.

2. Mr. Metcalfe to Govt. No. 30 dated 8.11.1808.

3. Resident, Delhi to Govt. dated 26.10.1809.

willing to risk the consequences that the deviation from the treaty might have involved. Both the States, viz., Sind and the Punjab, however, remained outwardly on footings of friendship (till 1823) and a regular friendly intercourse existed between the Maharaja and the Amirs through the medium of their vakils.⁴ But he had nevertheless his eyes longingly cast upon Sind all the time and did indeed make occasional demands for tribute or 'presents' on one pretext or the other.

The conquest of Sind was the main ambition of the Maharaja for manifold reasons which he did not prefer to reveal, but for the establishment of his 'right' to the possession of that territory he advanced flimsy and in some cases even ludicrous grounds. The one interesting ground was that since he had succeeded to a major part of the Afghans' possessions in India he believed that he had *ipso facto* become entitled to all the rights and privileges that were attached to the Afghan authority including the homage which the Amirs of Sind had previously paid to the Afghans carrying also with it the tribute which they used to pay to that Government.⁵ The least that can be said of such a claim is that it was fantastic without a precedent in history; indeed if Ranjit Singh had conquered Kabul and had installed himself there as the king of Afghanistan, there might have been some substance in demanding the renewal of the suspended allegiance of Sind, but as matters actually stood, his claim on Shikarpur on that ground was hardly tenable. The British Government held that "the title to Shikarpur as assumed by the Maharaja had no validity as a dependency of Peshawar—it may with equal justification be claimed by the king of Persia, the chiefs of Kabul and by the British Government as having been at different times in dependence upon their dominions."

To take the point of succession still further, it may be argued

4 Captain Wade to A.G.G., Delhi, dated 24th August, 1823.

5 Capt. Wade to Govt., dated 18th May 1831.

whether the British Government was not to all intents and purposes a successor of the Mughals in India, and if so, as they indisputably were, whether they had not acquired equally strong rights on the Punjab which was a dependency of the Mughal empire.

He further argued that he was compelled to undertake the subjugation of Sind as a measure of retaliation for the attacks of the Sikh posts at Mithankot by Mazaris (under the leadership of Bahram Khan) who, it was alleged, were "incited and aided by the officers and servants of the Sind Government in charge of Ken and had thus plundered the territory of Mithankot....."⁶ This either was not the real reason for Ranjit Singh's designs but was a mere plea which he was on the look out. The Amirs, on a complaint by the Sikh Government, denied the charge of incitement, and stated that the Mazaris, although nominally owing allegiance to them, were of too turbulent a character to be properly controllable. The fact that the Amirs expressed their willingness to make good all losses which the depredations of the Mazaris on the Sikh territory had caused⁷ was a manifest proof of their helplessness in controlling the lawless activities of the Mazaris for which they were prepared to pay 'indemnity' as it were! Moreover the fact that the Amirs placed a hostage with the Sikh authorities as a surety for bringing back Bahram Khan, was a further proof of their *bona-fides*, although they could not fulfil these engagements owing to Bahram Khan's having fled far into the hills defying arrest. The opinion of Captain Wade, the British Political Agent at Ludhiana, on the point is significant. "With regard," he says, "to the argument of self-defence and retaliation which the Maharaja has laid down to justify his intended attack on Shikarpur, it is convenient to him to have recourse to it when his own acts are called into question."⁸

6 Govt. to Capt. Wade 2.3.1837. Capt. Wade to Govt. 5.10.1836.

7 British Agent at Mithankot to Capt. Wade 14.5.1835.

8 Capt. Wade to Govt. dated 5.10.1836.

Real reasons

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had in fact begun to love Sind—and hate its Amirs—because primarily of Shikarpur. This was a place of great strategical importance commanding the gates of Afghanistan and the countries beyond through Bolan pass (and this incidentally is why it had been an object of Shah Shuja's frequent visitations). As a military base, therefore, its importance cannot be over-estimated. From the commercial point of view, too, it was a centre of first-rate importance owing to its natural geographical advantages, being situate on the trade route from Sind through Bolan Pass to Kelat and Afghanistan, and also to the rich valleys of Khorasan, Turkestan and Central Asia. It was at that time perhaps a more prosperous commercial centre than most others. It is therefore no wonder that Ranjit Singh's thoughts were so keenly fixed on this district whose possession would have made him rich and prosperous as also the master of the keys of an exceedingly important gateway. By its possession he would have become a more dreaded rival of the Afghans whom it was his special mission to crush by reason of the continued dread of an invasion from them.

The Amirs were admittedly weak rulers and had but an inefficient army. It was a known probability that in view of the ever-changing political conditions they would surely succumb to the overlordship of any of the foreign powers, viz., Afghanistan, Persia, Russia, England etc. As Afghanistan was, during that period, involved in her own domestic troubles, Sind was virtually enjoying independence with impunity, but there was no doubt that the Afghans would reclaim allegiance of the Amirs as soon as there was a favourable opportunity. Similarly all others were trying to get their hold on Sind more particularly owing to its strategical importance, and it must have occurred to the Maharaja as to how far such possibilities were consistent with the safety and tranquility

of his own kingdom. This consideration seems also to have inspired his thoughts for the conquest of Sind.

Failing in his endeavours of actual conquest and annexation of Sind as a dependency of the Punjab, his alternate aim seems to have been to compel the Amirs to pay him an annual tribute by recognising him as their overlord, and thus preventing any foreign influence in the courts of Sind.

There is yet another factor which might in all probability have inspired his contemplated design on Shikarpur, and that was his desire for the ultimate conquest of Ghazni—an evidence of his limitless ambition. Guru Nanak had prophesied that the *khalsa* army would conquer Ghanzi and recover the sandal portals which Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had despoiled from the temple of Somnath. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a great military adventurer and was naturally restless for adding new laurels to his fame. The fall of Ghazni, if it could be achieved, would have been an exploit far more daring than any he had hitherto accomplished and would have immensely raised him in the esteem of the Hindus. Whether Ranjit Singh really thought of undertaking such a hazardous venture, and if so, whether he believed his 'khalsas' equal to the enterprise is a difficult matter for speculation, but Capt. Wade in the course of his report to his Government about the occupation of D. I. Khan by the Sikh forces under Nau Nihal Singh, observes that "should nothing untoward occur, and the Maharaja's life be spared for another year I will not be surprised to find the Sikhs at Ghazni fulfilling the prophesy of their law-giver by recovering the sandal portals of Somnath." That being the case there was no other route to Ghazni except through Bolan Pass, which as already stated, was commanded by Shikarpur. There was a route through Peshawar too, but passage through Khaibar Pass was fraught with insurmount-

9 Capt. Wade to Govt. 13.7.1836.

able difficulties and perils, and an attempt of that kind was apparently believed to be neither wise nor feasible. The fact that there was no direct route from D. I. Khan to Ghazni at that time is borne out by Captain Wade's report dated 9th December, 1839 to Government in which he intimates of the arrival of an engineer Pir Ibrahim Khan who was deputed in August 1839 into the mountains for the purpose of opening communication between D. I. Khan and Ghazni. Thus it may fairly be assumed that Shikarpur was the means to the end which Ranjit Singh had in view, and that may be one of the important reasons why that 'prohibited land of promise' was an object of such a recurring ambition, never destined to materialize.

Apart from these political considerations, Ranjit Singh saw, by subjugating Sind, the prospects of usurping a large amount of money which the Amirs were believed to be possessing, and also of succeeding to a recurring revenue of an exorbitant sum of money which Ranjit Singh put at about two crores of rupees per annum.¹⁰

Moreover the possession of Shikarpur offered to its conquerors the prospects of a flourishing maritime trade,¹¹ and it is highly probable that Ranjit Singh attempted the conquest of Sind with a view to attempting to secure a maritime intercourse in that direction.

At one time the English took advantage of the dread which the Maharaja exercised on the imagination of the Amirs, and that was in connection with preventing Russian advances into India which were apprehended through strange diplomatic and social channels. In 1831 negotiations were afoot for the marriage of the daughter of the Shah of Persia with the son of Mir Morad Ali Khan of Hyderabad, and this move was viewed by the British Government as a step preliminary to Russia's extending her sphere of influence in the East through the medium of Persia in whose

10 Resident, Delhi to Govt. dated 15.7.1809.

11 Capt. Wade to Govt. 11.9.1823

courts Russia possessed ascendancy.¹² The Persians were regarded as the advance guard of the Russians who, it was feared, would thus be brought into close proximity with the most exposed frontier of India. The Home Government as well as the British Government in India were much perplexed at this time with regard to the Russian designs on India, and they were bent on all possible grounds to prevent any such advance on their part. Ranjit Singh's dread in the minds of the Amirs was here intended to be used in counteracting Russian diplomacy.¹³ Evidence is not available to show that Ranjit Singh actually brought his influence to bear upon the Amirs, but that the marriage did not take place and thereby the schemes of Russia and Persia were successfully frustrated coupled with the fact that Ranjit Singh did not invade Sind—a much coveted land of his dreams, in spite of his being at the pinnacle of power at that time, only show that some understanding must have been arrived at on the point between him and the Amirs. It is true that Burnes' mission to Sind may have something to do with the scheme, but the British Government did not seem to have possessed at that time any direct or effective means of influencing the Amirs to the British point of view and thereby preventing the marriage except through the medium of Ranjit Singh.

Retrospect

Now to return to Ranjit Singh's relations with the British Government.

The Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) and Ranjit Singh met at Ropar on 26th October 1831 and concluded a "treaty of perpetual friendship." The British Government were at that time anxious on the one hand to encourage trade along the Sutlej, and on the other to counteract the possible Russian aggression, and

¹² Capt. Wade to Govt. 8.8.31.

¹³ Capt. Wade to Govt. 5.8.31 and 19.8.31.

for both these purposes Ranjit Singh's close co-operation was considered absolutely necessary. So far as the Maharaja was concerned, he was anxious to secure the perpetual friendship of the British Government towards the Sikh Government in order to ensure the latter's security and solidarity after his death. The treaty referred to comprehended all these points. Ranjit Singh could not, however, persuade the Governor-General to take a joint action against Sind, for the latter had already deputed Col. Pottinger on a political mission to the court of Sind to open negotiations with the Amirs for the opening of the Indus to the commerce between Upper Hindustan and Central Asia on one side, and Deccan and the countries beyond the sea on the other. It was not thought proper to apprise the Maharaja of this mission at that time lest he should endeavour by secret means to counteract the scheme of the British Government because such a move on the part of the British Government would have been regarded by him as one calculated to compromise his own ultimate designs in respect of Sind.¹⁴

Towards the close of the year 1831 Ranjit Singh seemed to have given up, at any rate for the time, the idea of invading Sind, because he had realised that it was sure to involve the displeasure of the British Government and a possible open conflict with them.

The proposal of the British Government regarding the opening of the Indus was looked upon by the Amirs of Sind with suspicion and they were thus only reluctant and forced partners in the British scheme of navigation. They had thought of gaining Ranjit Singh's support for counteracting the scheme even to the extent of offering him the gratification of his long-cherished desire on Shikarpur.¹⁵ Ranjit Singh would assuredly have made a common cause with Sind at that price but he had apparently realised that it was in vain to

14 *History of the Punjab*, II, (1846) p. 114.

15 Capt. Wade to Govt. dated 21.9.1834.

arrest the ever-growing power of the English, and apart from his own security, he considered it to be to the safety of his successors not to engage himself in strife with the English at any cost whatsoever.

Ranjit Singh's later troubles with the Mazaris, however, brought him almost in open hostility with the Amirs of Sind themselves in 1836 but since it was not consistent with the interests of the English that the Sikh power should extend along the banks of the Indus,¹⁶ Ranjit Singh was again requested to give up the idea on the ground that the commercial arrangements already arrived at among the parties concerned required the continuance of tranquility which the Maharaja's hostilities towards Sind threatened seriously to upset. He was also told that the Amirs of Sind had placed themselves under British protection¹⁷ and that if he persisted in his designs, it would bring him on the parting of ways with the British Government. Captain Wade was indeed armed with powers "to pursue further measures to secure these objects should the friendly remonstrancesnot have had the desired effect."¹⁸ The Maharaja argued (1) that under the terms of the treaty of 1809 his movements in respect of Shikarpur could not be restricted since it was lying beyond the river Sutlej¹⁹ and (2) that the British Government had no concern with the territories other than those situated on the south of the river.

These interpretations of the treaty were, however, held erroneous by the British Government for as to (1) they contended that the barrier of the Sutlej could not be assumed to extend to the ocean; and

16 Govt. to Capt. Wade, 26.9.1836. and Idem.

17 Simultaneously another mission was sent to the luckless amcers who had realised that their position in relation to their opponents was untenable. They were told that it was imperative not only to their own interests but to their very existence that the ties by which they were connected with the British empire should be strengthened. (Govt. to Col. Pottinger dated 26.9.1836). The amcers "protested, resisted, and evaded", but were compelled by the force of events to accept the British protection and subsidiary alliance much against their will (Treaty of 1836).

18 Capt. Wade to Govt. dated 10.10.1836.

19 Capt. Wade to Govt. 5.10.36.

as regards (2) they held that nothing more was stipulated than that the British Government should have no concern with the countries to the north of the Sutlej; also that of the countries to the westward of the Indus, as for instance Shikarpur, no mention was made.²⁰

Ranjit Singh yielded to these representations of Captain Wade although under a protest. His chiefs strongly opposed him for submitting to the British demands, for they were alarmed at the extent to which the British intervention (against his aggressive designs) had already been allowed to go, and accordingly advised him not to yield on this point, but this was to no purpose, for the Maharaja argued, "What became the fate of the two hundred thousand spears of the Mahrattas!" The Sikh forces were accordingly withdrawn from Rojhan under the pretext of the marriage of Nau Nihal Singh, his grandson, in order evidently to safeguard his prestige in the eyes of his subjects.

In 1837 Ranjit Singh is stated to have been harping on Sind again,²¹ but he then apparently based his hopes on diplomacy rather than on the force of arms.

Nothing of importance appears to have happened thereafter between the Maharaja and the Amirs or the Maharaja and the British Government, and the official relations of the former remained practically undefined till the Tripartite treaty of 1836 which marked the culminating point in the history of his diplomatic connections. In this treaty the perpetuity of the succession of the Amirs was recognised by Shah Shuja, and both he and Ranjit Singh were to be paid a substantial sum of money in final settlement of their claims, however fantastic, of supremacy over Sind.

MD. YASIN

20. Govt. to Capt. Wade 14.11.36.

21. Capt. Wade to Govt. 13.2.37 and 15.2.1837.

Akbar's Religious Policy

1. *His accession*

Akbar's reign forms the dividing line between the old and the new methods of Government which he was to make so successful. When he succeeded his father in 1556, he was only thirteen. The government was carried on his behalf by Bairam Khan. In 1560 Bairam Khan was ousted and a petticoat government established under the auspices of Maham Anaga. By 1562, however, Akbar was able to assert his own power and assume the supreme direction of affairs. From 1562 to 1605 he was his own master consulting whomsoever he liked but shaping his policy mostly according to his own lights. These years saw some fundamental changes in the policy of Government and enabled Akbar to leave behind him a name which entitles him to a very high place among the foremost rulers of mankind.

2. *The contemporary atmosphere*

Yet when his reign began, it gave no signs of the opening of a new era in the religious policy of the Mughal emperors. Almost his first act of state was to earn religious merit and the title of Ghazi by striking at disarmed and captive Hemu after his defeat at the second battle of Panipat. Akbar was not asked to whet his sword on Hemu because he was a rebel, but because he was a Hindu. He was to perform not the task of the official executioner but that of a victorious soldier of Islam. Abu'l Fazl would have us believe that the boy Akbar was wiser than his years and refused to strike a defenceless enemy.¹ But most other writers are agreed

¹ *Akbar Nāma*, II, 41, 42. Cf. also *Badāyūnī*, II, p. 17.

on the fact that he struck Hemu and earned the title of the Ghazi thereby.²

This was not an isolated instance of popular feelings. The spirit of the age sanctioned such and even worse practices. Mubarak, a scholar of no mean repute, was persecuted even though he was a Muslim, for holding rather unorthodox views.³ Mir Habshi was executed for the offence of being a Shia;⁴ Khizar Khan met his death on a charge of blasphemy—there were others as well who shared their fate.⁵ As Badāyūni tells us, it was customary to get hold of and kill heretics, let alone non-Muslims, even in Akbar's reign.⁶ In 1569-70 (977, A.H.) Mirza Muqim and Mir Ya'qub were executed for their religious opinions.⁷ Hemu's father, when captured, was offered his life if he turned Muslim. Even in 1588 when the murderer of a Shia was executed, the people of Lahore showed their religious feelings by desecrating the tomb of his victim.⁸ Feelings towards the Hindus could not be restrained; Abdul Nabi executed a Brahman for blasphemy on the complaint of a Qazi;⁹ Husain Khan, the Governor of Lahore who died in 1575-76 (983 A.H.), made his government famous by ordering that the Hindus should stick patches of different colours on their shoulders, or on the bottom of their sleeves, so that no Muslim might be put to the indignity of showing them honour by mistake. Nor did he allow Hindus to saddle their horses but insisted on the use of packsaddles by them when riding.¹⁰ The *Akbar Nāma*, the *Āin-*

2 *Tārīkh-i-Mubāmmad Ārif Qandahārī*, MS. p. 75; *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghāna* (MS), 128 a.; *Tārīkh-i-Dāudi* (MS), 318.

3 *Inshā-i-Abul Fazl*, Story of Abul Fazl's Life. Badāyūni, II, 198, 199.

4 Badāyūni, II, 198, 255.

5 *Ibid.*, II, 255.

6 *Ibid.*, II, 198.

7 *Ibid.*, II, 198. This refers to the period before 982, A. H.

8 *Ibid.*, II, 124, 125.

9 *Akbar Nāma*, II, 46; Badāyūni, II, 364, 365.

10 Badāyūni, III, pp. 80, 81.

11 *Ibid.*, 223; *Tabaqāt-i-Albārī*, 386.

i-Akbari and Badāyūnī are all agreed that prior to 1593, some Hindus had been converted to Islam forcibly.¹² When Todar Mal was appointed the Finance Minister, Akbar had to defend this appointment of a Hindu to such a high office by reminding his Muslim critics that they were all utilising the services of Hindu accountants in their own households.¹³ When Man Singh was appointed the leader of the expedition against Maharana Pratap, the appointment caused some resentment in the Muslim military circles.¹⁴ Badāyūnī accompanied Man Singh in this expedition. On the battlefield he failed to distinguish between the Imperial Rajputs and those led by Maharana Pratap. He asked a Muslim friend nearby who told him that it did not matter. He should shoot indiscriminately; whosoever would be killed would mean one Rajput less and hence Islam would gain.¹⁵ In 1581 some Portuguese captives were executed at Surat on their refusal to turn Muslims.¹⁶ When Kangra was invaded in 980 A.H. (1572-73), even though Birbal accompanied the expedition as a joint commander, the sacred umbrella of the goddess was riddled with arrows, 200 black cows were killed, and Muslim soldiers threw their shoes full of blood on the walls and the doors of the temple.¹⁷

Salim at one time intended demolishing some of the Hindu temples at Benares but desisted therefrom on Man Singh's intervention. A Mughal officer Bayazid converted a Hindu temple into a Muslim school and was thereupon punished by Todar Mal. Some Jain idols are said to have been broken in Gujrat, though Akbar later on sent a Farman to the governor asking him to protect the Jain temples from further injury. A cartload of idols was

12 Badāyūnī, II, 391. The date is of the order sanctioning reconversion of such new Muslims to Hinduism.

13 *Āin*, III, 384.

15 *Ibid.*, II, 231.

17 Badāyūnī, II, 162.

14 Badāyūnī, II, 228.

16 Monserrate, 167.

removed from the temples by a Mughal officer and was yielded up to a Jain on payment, sometimes after 1578.¹⁸

Such seem to have been the popular prejudices against the Hindus.

3. *Akbar's Heritage*

Akbar's task was therefore not an easy one. He had to formulate his religious policy in this atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion. There would have been nothing easier than to continue the age long traditions and govern as most of his predecessors had governed in India. But it seems that the problem as Akbar saw it was complicated. It is true that most of the Muslim kings in India had governed as foreigners but their fate left an interesting lesson behind it. The Muslim occupation and government of India upto this time seemed to have been superficial. Dynasties had risen and crumbled to the ground with a suspicious ease. During the last three centuries, the Slaves, the Khilijis, the Tughlaqs, the Sayyids, the Lodhis, the Mughals and the Suris had had their turn. The average life of these dynasties had been fifty years. His own father, Humayun, had been expelled from India easily enough. It seemed that to the Hindu population the names of their Muslim rulers, their places of origin, or their sub-castes did not matter. To them all were foreigners, non-Hindus and unholy. They were not thus ordinarily interested in their fate and changes of dynasties left them cold. This fact stared Akbar in the face. Unlike his predecessors he possessed an unusual amount of imagination and initiative. They had been content to govern as of old because they knew no better and were content to tread the beaten path. Akbar, like his grandfather Babar—but in a different field—loved adventure and was prepared

¹⁸ *Travels of Abdul Latif*, p. 51. *Biography of Karm Chandra*, pp. 66, 74; *Bayazid's Memoirs* l. 132 a, summarised by Beveridge in *IASB.*, 1898, p. 314.

to plunge head foremost in new experiments in government. Besides, he possessed an intensely religious nature and a profoundly inquisitive mind. This combination prevented his becoming a fanatic. Fortune favoured him in rather an unusual manner. His first prime minister and regent, Bairam Khan, was a Shia and, therefore, to a majority of Muslims in India, a heretic. He appointed Abdul Latif as his tutor who was so liberal in his views that among Sunnis he acquired the reputation of being a Shia (a heretic), and among Shias that of being a Sunni and therefore again a heretic.¹⁹ Bairam Khan further used his power as regent to appoint Shaikh Gadai, a Shia as the Sadr-us-Sadur of the empire.²⁰ Humayun in his own days as the emperor of India had been suspected of being a Shia²¹ and like Babur he had brought Persian aid with an outward show of respect for Shia practices and a promise to encourage the Shia religion in India.²² All this weakened the outer bulwarks of the orthodox Sunnism in India and gave Akbar a starting point for his experiments. His marriages with Hindu princesses further contributed to the liberalising process. Before his time, such marriages had taken place.²³ But Akbar improved upon the earlier practice by allowing his Hindu spouses to perform their religious rites in the palace.²⁴ This had its effect upon his religious policy. If idol worship was tolerated in the palace, it would have looked rather unreasonable to prohibit it outside. Akbar thus came to be surrounded by Hindu influences at home which must have worn away the natural repugnance of a Muslim, born and bred, for Hindu practices. Akbar's inquisitiveness also came to his help. He desired not only to profess and

19 *Akbar Nāma*, II, 20.

20 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 249.

21 Firūsha, 372.

22 *Jansab*, MS, p. 56.

23 Maldev is referred to as the father-in-law of the ruler of Nagore.

24 *Tazikrat-ul-Malūk* by Rafi-ud-Din Shirāzi, MS. (1608 A.D.), pp. 566-67. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 159.

practice the faith of his forefathers, but to understand it as well. With this end in view he established his 'House of Worship' and started religious discussions there. Here came theologians, scholars learned in law, Sufis of all grades and conditions, and his officers. When the discussions once started, it was discovered that orthodoxy was divided against itself. Differences of opinion appeared not only on questions of detail but of fundamentals as well.²⁵ Discussion on the number of wives a Muslim could lawfully marry went deeper and stirred up trouble over the question of the legality of the Nikah and the Mubah marriages.²⁶ When Jalal-ud-Din was appointed to write a commentary on the Quran it was discovered that the work could not proceed any further on account of the differences of opinion on many important matters.²⁷ 'One pronounced a thing lawful, another would pronounce the very same thing unlawful';²⁸ But more disconcerting than this difference of opinion was the intolerance for each other's views exhibited by the Mullas when they happened to differ. At the very outset as the emperor sat listening to their discussion 'a horrid noise and confusion arose.' The emperor was very much upset and commissioned Badāyūni to report to him such disputants as would talk nonsense and could not behave themselves. Badāyūni in an 'aside' declared that this would empty the house of all its members!²⁹ Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi declared that wearing of yellow and red coloured clothes was lawful. Sayyid Muhammad, the chief justice, could not tolerate the expression of this heretic view and abused Ibrahim roundly in the imperial presence.³⁰ They would call one another fool and heretic. Their personal bickerings necessarily detracted much from their claims to infallibility. They did not leave the ancient commentators either alone. In order to support themselves they quoted from ancient

25 *Badāyūni*, II, 255.

27 *Ibid.*, 211.

29 *Ibid.*, 202, 205.

26 *Ibid.*, 207, 208.

28 *Ibid.*, 259.

30 *Ibid.*, 210, 211.

authorities and proved that there existed as great a difference of opinion among them as among their modern representatives.³¹ The fall of the Mulladom was hastened by its pretensions as well. Abul Nabi, the Sadr-us-Sadr, would not pay heed to even the greatest among the imperial officials. The emperor had been handling his shoes for him to use.³² The combination of ecclesiastical office with unlimited patronage also brought forth its nemesis. The Sadr-us-Sadurs were supposed to be the highest church dignitaries in the empire. Left to themselves, the Sadrs might have proved themselves patterns of saintly life. But to their office was attached, among other things, the distribution of royal charities. This hit the holders of the office hard in two ways. Patronage provided opportunities for corruption and left little room for saintliness of life. The dishonest and corrupt working of the ecclesiastical department under Abdul Nabi became a crying shame.³³ Minor church dignitaries were not to be left behind. Mukhdum-ul-Mulk, another leader of the orthodox party, invented and pursued a very disingenuous method of defrauding the exchequer.³⁴ Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, provincial Sadr of Gujerat, was indicted for bribery and was dismissed.³⁵ Qazi Jalal-ud-Din of Multan forged a Royal order for half a million tankas.³⁶ These things had made the holders of these offices unpopular. Abdul Nabi was strangled to death in his bed in 992 A.H.³⁷ (1584 A.D.). Mukhdum-ul-Mulk died possessed of a princely fortune. Such representatives of orthodoxy naturally failed to impress the emperor and could not uphold their claims to exclusive protection much less to a right to persecute rival groups. These things might however have never been noticed but for the fact that in Mubarak, Abul Fazl, and Faizi, Akbar got three kindred spirits able to meet

31 *Badāyūni*, 255, 259, 260.

33 *Ibid.*, 204, 206, 77.

35 This happened in 992 A.H. (*Badāyūni*, II, 311).

36 *Ibid.*, I, 313.

32 *Ibid.*, 204; vol. III, 80.

34 *Ibid.*, 203.

37 *Ibid.*, I, 311.

the scholars on their own grounds and give them as good as, if not better than, they received. They had been victims of the spirit of vindictiveness and persecution which was so common in those days. When at last they obtained royal protection, fortunately for them their royal patron proved to be as liberal as themselves. But let us not forget that though they may have encouraged Akbar on his path, they did not choose it for him. Akbar had already made up his mind and made a start before they were allowed to be received at court. Their reception was the effect of a liberal policy already decided upon, rather than its cause.

The religious ferment through which India was passing at that time also made its contribution to the final evolution of Akbar's religious policy. Hindu India was at that time astir with life, the cult of devotion to a personal god had caught the imagination of some chosen spirits who were making it popular. The religious ideas of the people were in a melting pot. The leaders of the Bhakti movement were throwing down the barriers of caste and community and creating a saintly brotherhood in which weavers, butchers, cultivators and shopkeepers were rubbing shoulders with the high caste leaders of Vaiṣṇava thought.³⁸ It was only in such an atmosphere that Hindu teachers could be found willing enough to initiate the emperor into the mysteries of Hindu thought. A hidebound orthodoxy could not have tolerated this propagation of Hindu views to an outsider albeit he had been an emperor. Akbar's marriages with Hindu princesses and his relations with the Hindu Rajas provided the means for bringing Hindu teachers of all shades of opinion to those discussions in the imperial House of Worship when they were thrown open to the adherents of other

38 Cf. the list of contemporary devotees in the *Bhakti Mal*. Kumbhū Dāss is said to have been twice invited to the imperial court. His couplets quoted in *Mishra Bandhu Vinod*, vol. I, pp. 278, 279, refer to this experiences at the court and subsequent refusal. Akbar also saw Jodurup Gosain several times. (*Tuzuk*, 117.)

religions as well. Akbar's relations with Bikaner procured for him the services of Karm Chand who had once served as a minister to the court of Bikaner. He was a Jain and through him were introduced to the court such eminent Jain scholars as Man Singh and Jai Chand Suri.³⁹ The presence of the Portuguese on the western coast enabled the emperor to request for and receive at his court three missionaries.⁴⁰ The Parsis were also invited.⁴¹ These discussions in the Ibadat Khana had their immediate influence outside as well. When the Hindus could dispute with security with the Muslim scholars nice points of their respective theologies in the palace, some sort of freedom of views was naturally secured outside its walls as well.

All these things played a part in shaping Akbar's religious policy. But as said above, it was his mind that gave definite shape to the tendencies displayed therein. Many of these factors if they tended to create a liberal atmosphere were themselves in their turn created by Akbar's natural liberalism and political farsightedness. It has been maintained, sometimes by way of reproach, that Akbar's religious policy was due to political rather than religious reasons. Even if that were true, it would not detract much from his greatness. As we shall soon see Akbar's great achievement lay in liberating the state from its domination by the Muslim church. Even if for the toleration he granted to the vast majority of his subjects, he found sanctions outside orthodox Islam, it was not his fault. But this is far from being the case. Akbar's religious policy was intricately connected with his own religious views. It was the realization of the fact that there is some truth in every religion⁴² that finally com-

39 Cf. *Life of Karm Chandra*, edited by Mm. Pt. Gauri Shankar Ojha, to whom I am indebted, for his kindness in letting me have an advance copy of this work.

40 Cf. Du. Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*.

41 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 253.

42 Badāyūni

pleted the process, which may have been begun earlier by Akbar's political sagacity.

4. *The Jizya*

Let us now study what Akbar's religious policy was. The great achievement of Akbar in this field was the abolition of the hateful Jizya.⁴³ As a tax the Jizya was bad enough, it was retrogressive in its demand, and its incidence on income was too much. But it was hated more as a sign and emblem of inferiority. It implied a declaration that the Muslim rulers of India were still her conquerors holding Indians down by sheer force. It proclaimed the superiority of Islam over Hinduism in too brazen a fashion. It was based on the principle that the Muslims were the elect of the Lord. Every other aspect of the religious policy of Muslim emperors of India flowed from its imposition.⁴⁴ Thus its abolition in 1564 was a turning point in the history of the Muslim rule in India. As long as the Jizya was levied, the Muslims formed the only citizens in the Muslim state. Hindus were subjects who acquired certain rights as a result of their undertaking to pay the Jizya for them. With its abolition, Akbar created a common citizenship for all his subjects, Hindus and Muslims alike. Let us remember that this happened years before Abul Fazl and Faizi were introduced to the emperor.

5. *Public Worship*

Akbar further removed all restrictions on the public worship of non-Muslims. These had implied some restriction on the building of new public temples and a tax on pilgrimage to Hindu places of worship: The imposition of the Pilgrimage Tax was brought home to Akbar when he lay encamped in Mathura in 1563 at the

43 *Akbar Nāma*, II, 203, 204.

44 Cf. the author's article, 'Imposition and Collection of the Jizya under Aurangzeb', *Calcutta Review*, September, 1933.

time of a Hindu festival. It irked him to discover that his State was making money out of the religious obligation of the vast majority of his subjects. Forthwith orders were issued to stop the collection of the tax.⁴⁵ Akbar further removed all restrictions on the building of places of public worship as well. Churches,⁴⁶ prayer rooms, Hindu temples,⁴⁷ Zoroastrian fire altars, and Jain places of worship⁴⁸ were allowed to be built. The removal of these restrictions led to the building of numerous public temples in the famous places of Hindu pilgrimage. The Rajas made most of their opportunities and built temples dedicated to their favourite gods. Man Singh built a temple at Brindaban at a cost of half a million of rupees and another at Benares. Most of these temples perished during Aurangzeb's reign, but a Muslim traveller described some of them in his travel Diary compiled early in the reign of Jehangir. He was so pleased with the beauty of their structure that he wished they had been built in the service of Islam rather than Hinduism.⁴⁹ A Christian church was built at Agra, another possibly at Lahore. Several Jain temples seem to have been built at Satrunjaya and Ujjayanta.⁵⁰ Local tradition credits Akbar with the presentation of of golden umbrella to the shrine of the fire goddess of Jwala Mukhi in the modern district of Kangra in the Panjab.⁵¹

45 *Akbar Nāma*, II, 190.

46 Du Jarric, 75.

Shah Jahan pulled down the churches in Agra, Lahore, and Thatta (Hosten, 145). The church at Lahore was opened on September 7, 1597. (*Annual Report of the Jesuit Mission for 1597*, quoted in Maclagan, p. 71). Permission to build a church at Cambay was given in 1598. (Xavier's letter of 1598, quoted in Maclagan, p. 77).

47 Abdul Latif, *Travels*, pp. 33, 34, 50, 51.

48 Cf. Smith, *Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*.

49 Abdul Latif, *Travels*; (MS), pp. 33, 34, 50, 51.

50 *Biography of Karm Chandra*, p. 68.

51 'Oh, my mother, Akbar came barefooted. He donated a gold umbrella.' So runs a popular song in the praise of the goddess. The *Akbar Nāma*, however, declares that though he intended visiting this shrine, difficulty in travelling prevented him from reaching the place. He may, however, have sent a donation. Here Akbar's visit to the neighbourhood is perpetuated in the existence of a Dharm

6. *Cultural Contact*

The permission to build temples and churches implied toleration of public worship after the Hindu and the Christian fashion.⁵² Combined with the abolition of the pilgrimage tax, it made it possible for the followers of all religions to worship their gods in their own way. But Akbar's generosity and justice did not stop here. He had destroyed the then pleasant myth that the public celebration of the Hindu worship was a profanation to Muslim ears and eyes. There was another fiction almost of the same type. The study of the religious books of other religions was, to the average Muslim, a sheer waste of time if not worse. He was content with his own religion and had no use for anything else. The Hindus, on their own side, were not willing to let other prying eyes look into their religious books.⁵³ Akbar tried to break through these barriers which were keeping the two communities apart. He organized a translation department which among other things was entrusted with the task of translating the religious books of the Hindus into Persian. Sanskrit works had been translated into Persian and Arabic before but these had been mostly secular. Akbar now ordered that the *Atharva Veda*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivamśa*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* be translated into Persian. Most of these translations were completed to enrich the Persian literature and to extend toleration to Hindu religious books.⁵⁴ This naturally must have encouraged public recitations from Hindu religious books listening to which forms such an important part of the religious life of the Hindus.

Shala at Churru in the District of Hoshiarpur. Its *Mubants* claim that the place was founded by a personal grant from Akbar who allowed the founder, a recluse, to claim as much land as his cow could cover in a day.

52 Du Jarric, 28 and 97. *Badāyūni*, II, 391, 371.

53 *Badāyūni*, II, 320.

54 Persian translations of Akbar's reign include, besides those mentioned in the text, *Nal-o-Daman*, *Gangadhar*, *Mahaiśh Mahanand*, *Lilavati*, *Panchtantra*, *Memoirs of Babur*. and two almanacs, one from Arabic, and another from Sanskrit.

7. *Conversions to other religions*

Under earlier kings conversions to other faiths from Islam were not allowed. Akbar's toleration however would not be complete till he had permitted all to follow whatever religion they liked. This implied permission to followers of different faiths to make converts. Hindus were permitted to reconvert to their faith such Hindus as had been forcibly compelled to accept Islam earlier in his reign.⁵⁵ In 1603 a written Firman was issued to allow the Christian fathers to make willing converts.⁵⁶ Mulla Shah Ahmad a Shia is known to have made some converts to his way of thinking.⁵⁷ Early in his reign Akbar stopped at the source, a supply of unwilling converts to Islam. Prisoners of war were usually made slaves and they were presumably converted by their masters. In 1562 Akbar abolished this barbarous custom.⁵⁸ We do not know precisely how the prisoners of war were treated after this. Presumably they were set free where the war in which they had taken part ended by the submission of the chief they had served. What happened in other cases? Was no quarter given, as at Chitor, and were those who fell into the hands of the imperialists slaughtered?⁵⁹ Or were the prisoners of war otherwise employed drawn into the circle of imperial service?

Of course this did not put an end even to forcible conversion everywhere much less did it allow new converts to Islam to be reconverted back to the faith of their forefathers. At Surat we have already noticed that some Christian prisoners of war were asked to become Muslims and on their refusal were executed. A Portuguese

55 *Badāyūni*, II, 391.

56 Du Jarric, pp. 152 to 159. Oral permission had been given much earlier. Cf. Du Jarric, 28, 30, 67, 70, 71, 87, 92, & 94.

57 *Badāyūni*, II, 317.

58 *Akbar Nāma*, II, 159.

59 The Portuguese prisoners from Daman were offered Islam or death as the two alternatives before them.

was forcibly converted to Islam in 1604.^{59a} Elsewhere as well such things might have continued unchecked but active persecution of the Hindus and wholesale conversion of the believers of other religions to Islam seems to have come to an end.

8. *Public Services*

The permission to make converts was a very great concession to the members of other faiths. Before this it had been a capital offence.⁶⁰ All this permitted his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects to live together in peace without any fear of their religious activities being checked by the partiality of the state to Islam. But as we know from the history of political institutions elsewhere toleration alone does not put an end to all the civic disabilities of citizens. Akbar knew that, and, therefore, decided to remove all civic disabilities of non-Muslims. High public appointments used to be the monopoly of the ruling caste so far.⁶¹ The Muslims in India, like the English in the nineteenth century, formed the governing group from among whom all high officials were drawn. Akbar disregarded this monopoly and drew his officers from all ranks and conditions of men. Hindus were freely admitted to such high posts as they were fit for. Todar Mal became Akbar's Finance Minister and for sometime his Prime Minister as well. Man Singh, Bhagwan Dass, Rai Singh and Todar Mal served at various times as Governors of provinces. Out of 137 Mansibdars of 1000 horse and above mentioned in the *Āīn*, 14 were Hindus. Out of 415 mansibdars of 200 or above 51 were Hindus. The percentage of Hindus of high rank in Akbar's army is higher than the

59a Maclagan, 100.

60 Cf. Tritton, Cf. the author's monograph, *Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism*.

61 Sometimes Hindus were appointed to high offices even under earlier Muslim kings. The appointment of Hemu under Adil Shah Suri is a typical example. Such cases were, however, rare.

percentage of Indian Officers holding the King's commissions in the Army in India to-day. Against four governours in Akbar's reign of half a century, there has been only one Indian Governor in India during a century and a half of the British rule. No one in British India has so far risen to the high rank which Todar Mal held as the Viceregent and Finance Minister of Akbar in the empire. Of the twelve provincial finance ministers appointed in 1594-95 eight were Hindus.⁶² Further Akbar devised another channel for the utilization of the administrative talents of the Hindus. Cases between Hindus and Muslims had hitherto been decided by the Muslim jurists when they were brought to the royal court. Akbar set up new courts with Brahmin judges to decide such cases.⁶³ For the success of the royal policy, Todar Mal as the Finance Minister issued orders for the use of Persian as the uniform language of record throughout the empire.⁶⁴ The Hindus, who mainly ran the accounts and the revenue departments of the empire, were thus compelled to learn the language thereby breaking the barriers between the two religions.

9. *Respect for Hindu sentiments*

Akbar's toleration was not simply passive. He was not content at being neutral alone. He saw no reason why his being a Muslim should prevent his showing respect to the feelings of the vast majority of his subjects. As Badayuni puts it, 'on learning further how much the people of the country prized their institutions he began to look on them with affection.'⁶⁵ Use of beef was forbidden as cow was considered to be a sacred animal by the Hindus.⁶⁶ Bloch-

62 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 670.

63 *Badāyūnī*, II, 356.

64 *Khalāq-us-Siyāq* written during the times of Aurangzeb mentions that Todar Mal made Persian the language of official record in the 28th year of Akbar's reign.

65 *Badāyūnī*, II, 258.

66 *Ibid.*, II, 261, 303.

man,⁶⁷ and following him, Smith⁶⁸ are wrong in stating that those who killed cows were awarded capital punishment. The Persian text of Badayuni records the fact that the Hindus kill good men if they kill cows. There could not therefore be any question of killing those who offended the Hindu feelings by using beef. It has further to be remembered that by this injunction Akbar did not interfere with the performance of any religious rites of the Muslim. The eating of beef is lawful for Muslims, not obligatory. We are further told that Akbar forbade the killing of animals on certain days in 1583 (991 A.H.).⁶⁹ In 999 A.H. (1590-91) Akbar is said to have forbidden the flesh of oxen, buffaloes, goats or sheep, horses and camels.⁷⁰ Fishing also was prohibited for sometime when Akbar visited Kashmir in 1592. Again it is difficult to decide whether Akbar simply made the use of these materials unlawful for himself or tried to enforce his own personal opinion about their being unlawful on his Muslim subjects as well. The flesh of goats

67 Blochman, *Āin*, I, 183-84.

68 Smith, 220. Blochman was doubtful about his text and put a note of interrogation. But Smith ignored that.

Badāyūnī (II, 261) refers to the Hindus killing those in retaliation who kill cows. There is some confusion in the phrasology and order of the different phrases in the text.

Badāyūnī, (III, 118, 119) records that Haji Sultan of Thanesar killed a cow there. The only punishment awarded to him was his transfer from the place. After some time he was made Karori of Thanesar and Karnal.

69 Badāyūnī, II, 321; *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 22. Badāyūnī declares that those who killed animals on these days were killed and their property confiscated. Jahangir mentions the prohibition but does not mention any punishment for those who transgressed it. I see no reason to doubt that Jahangir's silence was not intentional. He said nothing because he had nothing to say. As we have seen in the text even the absolute prohibition of the slaughter of certain animal did not put a stop to their sale and use which are officially recorded in the *Āin*. It is too much to believe on the authority of Badāyūnī alone that people suffered the extreme penalty of the law for killing animals on certain days. The *Akbar Nāma* mentions the prohibition (III, 392) but says nothing about punishments. Abul Fazl had no reason to be reticent in the matter.

70 Badāyūnī, II, 376.

and sheep was used in the royal kitchen when the *Ā'in.* was compiled, its price is also recorded in the *Ā'in.*⁷¹ Thus there is every reason to suppose that these injunctions were not enforced on his subjects by Akbar. There is no warrant for supposing with Smith⁷² that these measures amounted to a great persecution of the large flesh eating Muslim population. As Prof. Mohammad Habib of the Muslim University, Aligarh, pointed out to me a vast majority of Muslims living in the villages eat flesh very rarely. But as I have already shown these were mostly pious expressions of personal opinion which were disregarded even in the royal kitchen. They were not 'measures' in the sense of being laws to be enforced by the force of the state. Unlike Asoka and Aurangzeb, Akbar had no Overseers of Morals and these expressions of personal taste were expected to be respected presumably just as much as, and no more than, Akbar's mode of dress. We are further told that Akbar 'avoided garlic, onion, beef, association with people with beards, and introduced these heretical practices in the assemblies.'⁷³ Thus all that can be definitely alleged against Akbar is that he avoided these things himself and tried to spread a distaste for them to his assemblies in the 'House of Worship' or the Court. There was, therefore, no question of persecution. Indeed some of these things were openly sold in the markets and the price of the preparations containing them is recorded in the *Ā'in.*⁷⁴ Akbar however respected the feelings of the Hindus enough to abstain from the use of some of these articles. He also participated in some of the Hindu

71 *Ā'in.*, I, 58. *Karm Chandra*, p. 32, mentions the prohibition of fishing in Kashmir in 1592. The *Akbar Nāma* however speaks of an earlier order of 1582 prohibiting fishing in general on the suggestion of Khan-i-Khanan (*Akbar Nāma*, III, 380.)

72 Smith's *Akbar*, 220. Aquaviva's letter dated September 27, 1582 complains that the Jesuits were unable to get meat on Sunday. (Maclagan, 57).

73 Badāyūnī, II, 303.

74 *Ā'in.*, I, 63.

festivals. The *Rākḥī* was celebrated in the court when the Brahmins came to tie strings of different types of threads to the imperial wrists. But it was a purely social festival as celebrated in Akbar's court. Even today its religious side is not much in evidence and the festival is celebrated simply as a means of making presents to the Brahmins and one's relatives. However after some time the celebration got so elaborate and ceremonious that Akbar discontinued the practice.⁷⁵ Further he participated in the celebration of the *Dipāvalī* or *Divalī*, the festival of lamps.⁷⁶ Again, his participation was confined to its festive side only. There is nothing to suggest that he participated in the worship of the goddess of wealth that goes along with it. His participation in the celebration of *Śivarātri* bears a religious tinge.⁷⁷ But all that *Badāyūnī*'s account suggests is that he made that night an occasion for assembling Yogis from far and near and listen to their discourses on their beliefs and practices. We cannot but treat all these things as constituting Akbar's attempt at conciliating the Hindus without at the same time implying any disrespect to his own religion. Even today in states under Muslim rulers, Hindu officials attend the social and court ceremonies held in connection with many Muslim festivals and all officials including the Muslims attend similar Hindu festivals in the Hindu States. In the early days of the British acquisition of India, even our Christian administrators participated in the celebration of Hindu and Muslim festivals without thereby ceasing to be Christians.

10. *Social Reforms*

Though Akbar was tolerant, he did not extend his toleration to what he considered an evil practice. He was content to leave every one of his subjects to his mode of worship. But if it was

75 *Badāyūnī*, II, 63, *Tuzuk*, 126.

76 *Āim.*, I, 216.

77 *Badāyūnī*, II, 325.

necessary for the sake of social reform or administrative convenience to take some action in any matter, he would not stop to inquire whether a particular measure had the religious sanction of the Hindus or the Muslims. On humanitarian grounds and for administrative efficiency he was not afraid of taking steps which might be considered by the Hindu or the Muslim orthodoxy as an interference with their religious (or social) practices. To take his war on social evils first. He prohibited, to be more accurate, discouraged child marriages⁷⁸ though they had, then, as now, the sanction of both Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy. He further permitted widow remarriages among the Hindus.⁷⁹ He prohibited the burning of young Hindu wives at the funeral pyre of their husbands if the marriage had not been consummated.⁸⁰ He would not and could not prohibit the evil custom of Sati altogether but declared that no compulsion was to be used to compel an unwilling Hindu widow to burn herself. This did not remain a pious expression of opinion. In one case he travelled hard in order to prevent the burning of an unwilling Rajput widow at the funeral pyre of her husband. Her son and parents were known to be forcing her to the rite but Akbar was in time and proved to his Rajput subjects that he would have his orders obeyed even if they went against their cherished religious or social usages.⁸¹ Further he forbade marriages between cousins and near relations, even though sanctioned by the Muslim law.⁸² Similarly circumcision of children of tender age was also forbidden.⁸³ He recognised the evil of drink, but made a compromise by controlling its use and restraining its evil influences instead of insisting either on total prohibition, as Aurangzeb tried

78 *Āin.*, III, 3998; *Badāyūnī*, II, 306.

79 *Badāyūnī*, II, 356.

80 *Badāyūnī*, II, 356; *Āin.*, II, 375, 376, 380.

81 She was the widow of Jaimal and a daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur. Her son insisted on forcing her to burn herself and on Akbar's arrival was imprisoned for his offence (*Akbar Nāma*, III, 402).

82 *Āin.*, II, 398; *Badāyūnī*, II, 306.

83 *Badāyūnī*, II, 301, 302.

to do without much success, or shut his eyes to the existence of the evil as most of his predecessors had done. The use of wine in moderation was allowed for medical purposes. It was sold only on the buyers giving their names. This must have discouraged some who were not prepared to make their indulgence known to the public. Further he tried to control the evil effects of drink. Drunkenness was to be punished, disorderly conduct had to be paid for. He insisted on these regulations being enforced and every day, according to *Badāyūnī*, many drunkards were punished. But if *Badāyūnī* is to be believed, evil of drink had gone so far that Akbar's measures fell short of *Badāyūnī*'s—and presumably Akbar's—expectations.⁸⁴ We need not be surprised at the partial failure of Akbar in dealing with the drink problem. Most modern states have fared no better. Akbar licensed shop-keepers and fixed the prices. He made similar attempts to control prostitution. A special quarter was set apart for them. An officer was appointed and whosoever wanted to visit them or take them home had to give his name and address. Further Akbar tried to insist on sending over women of ill repute to this quarter when their proceedings became notorious.⁸⁵ Thus in dealing with these evils if Akbar was far ahead of his times, he came perilously near the modern methods of dealing with these questions in British India. His measures remind one of the modern excise policy in British India, the municipal control of prostitution in Indian cities, the Sarda Act and early British measures to confine Sati to willing victims. His policy in dealing with these problems involved as much interference in the religion as it was then understood—of the Hindus and the Muslims as the modern policy of the British Government. An attempt was made by him to

84 *Badāyūnī*, II, 302. Cf. however, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II, 169, 185 where an order of Akbar is mentioned prohibiting manufacture, sale, and use of spirits and proposing exemplary punishment for all offenders.

85 *Ibid.*, II, 302, 380.

deal with the beggar problem in the capital at least by setting apart three colonies for them where arrangements were made to maintain them by royal charity. Khair Pura for the Muslims, Dharm Pura for the Hindus, Jogi Pura for the Hindu Yogis were founded for the purpose of making an organised attempt to lessen the beggar nuisance.⁸⁶ Further the seclusion to which women were generally condemned then was lessened by setting apart a time for ladies in the exhibition of trades and industries in the Mina Bazar held once a month.⁸⁷ This must have shocked many Muslims and Hindus alike. Gambling seems to have been so prevalent in spite of Muslim injunction to the contrary that Akbar not only recognized its existence but tried to bring it under State control.⁸⁸ Akbar introduced the method of settling disputes by trials by ordeal.⁸⁹ Like the use of the Jury on its introduction it could have been used only when both the parties to the quarrel agreed thereto.

(To be continued)

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86 *Ibid.*, II, 324; *Akbar Namā*, III, 262.

87 *Badāyūnī*, II, 339; *Āim.*, I, 276.

88 *Badāyūnī*, II, 338.

89 *Ibid.*, II, 356.

Religious Toleration in the Gupta Period

The age of the Gupta rulers is highly remarkable for religious toleration. This statement finds confirmation in the inscriptional records of the time from which we are able to gather that the following religions were prevalent in India at that time.

1. Vedicism, 2. Vaiṣṇavism, 3. Śaivism, 4. Sun-worship, 5. Śaktism, 6. Buddhism, and 7. Jainism. All these were flourishing side by side without any conflict with one another.

(1) That the Vedic religion was practised by the royal family at the time of Samudragupta is proved by his epithet *Cirotsannāśvamedhābhartuḥ* which means that he performed the Horse-sacrifice which was long in abeyance before him and it was he who again put it into practice.¹ The legend *āsvamedha parākrama* in his gold coins² also conclusively proves that he celebrated the 'Horse-sacrifice'.

(2) Similar was the case with the Bhāraśiva kings like Bhavanāga and others who were performers of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices. These kings worshipped *Śivaliṅga* as well. The vedic sacrifices were offered by Pravarasena I, king of the Vākātaka dynasty who performed the Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Śoḍasin, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava, Sadyaskra and four Aśvamedhas.³

1 (a) Bilsaḍ Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāra Gupta. *CII.*, III, No. 10.

(b) Behar Stone Pillar Inscription. *Ibid.*, No. 12.

(c) *Ibid.*, No. 60.

2 Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, pl. V.

3 (a) *CII.*, III, Nos. 55-56.

(b) *EL.*, XXII, No. 27.

Religious toleration was shown by the Ikḥāku (Ikṣāku) king Siri-Chāntamūla, mentioned in the Nāgārjuni Kuṇḍa inscriptions. He is here spoken of as having performed the Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices, but on the contrary his own sister Mahādevī Bapasirīṅikā was an out and out Buddhist and she owing to her anxiety for the bliss of Nirvāṇa, erected stone pillars and a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister (Chātusala-parigahitam śala-maṅṭavam). *EL.*, XX, I.

Vaiṣṇavism:—Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism also found favour with some of the Gupta kings and common people of the time.⁴ Candra Gupta II, Kumāra Gupta I, and Skānda Gupta, are called *parama bhāgavata*. Skānda Gupta installed an image of Viṣṇu in the village Bhitari in the modern Gazipur district and made a gift of that village to the image.

It is said there—

कर्त्तव्या प्रतिमा काचित् प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः ।
 सुप्रतीतश्चकारेमां यावदाचन्द्रतारकम् ॥
 इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठितशसनः ।
 ग्राममेनं स विदधे पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये ॥—*CII.*, III, 13.

In the Junāgarh inscription of Skānda Gupta in Kathiawar, it is evident that besides the king, there were others who followed the cult of Viṣṇu. This inscription opens with an invocatory verse addressed to Viṣṇu in these words:

श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां
 त्रिदशपतिसुखार्थं यो वलेराजहार ।
 कमलनिलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः
 स जयति विजितात्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्तजिष्णुः ॥—*CII.*, III, 14.

In the same epigraph तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन गोविन्दपादार्षितर्जावितेन (by his son, who is qualified like his own self and who has devoted his life to the feet of Govinda or Viṣṇu), and त्रिष्णोश्च पादकमले ममवाप्य तत्र (securing these both the lotus feet of Viṣṇu) certainly bear out the fact of his devotedness to Viṣṇu.

There again we come across a record that Cakrapālita an “Amātya” or officer of Skānda Gupta built a temple of Viṣṇu under the name Cakrabhṛt, (bearer of discus) in the year 456-57 A.D. (*CII.*, III, 14).

4 Prabhāvati Guptā, daughter of Candragupta II, and chief queen of Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was also a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu, because in her Poona plates of the year 13 we find that she mentions herself as *atyanta-Bhagavad-bhaktā* (immensely devoted to the Divine Viṣṇu). *El.*, XV, 4.

Then again in course of archæological excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rajshahi district of Bengal there have been discovered some images which depict the various exploits of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood and those of his associates (*ASR.*, 1926-27, p. 143, Plates XXXII, XXXIII a). These sculptures have been assigned to the Gupta period or about 6th century A.D. by Mr. Dikshit. Worship of Boar or "Varāha", an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu was also prevalent during the Gupta rule. This is borne out by the fact that grant of land was made for the construction, and repair of the buildings of 'Śvetavarāha Svāmī,' in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription No. 4 of the time of Budha Gupta and No. 5 of the time of Bhānu (?) Gupta (543-44 A.D.) (*El.*, XV., 7.).

(3) The Śaiva faith was also fairly popular as is borne out by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II. At Udayagiri,⁵ the poet of Pāṭaliputra, Kaitśa Śāva, who was called Virasena by his family appellation, built a cave for the god Śambhu or Śiva.

कृतल्लपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः ।

भक्त्या भगवतः शम्भोर्गृहामेकमकारयत् ॥—*CII.*, III, 6.

Śiva in the form of the *liṅga* was also worshipped. Thus in the Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II (G.E. 61 = 380-81 A.D.) we find that the object of the epigraph is that Uditācārya who was the Maheśvara teacher living, established two images called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara in the *Gurvāyatana*. The second part of these two names i.e. Īśvara, shows that they were *liṅgas* that were installed.⁶

Again during the reign of Kumāra Gupta I in the Gupta year 117 (= 436-7 A.D.) an inscription was incised on a stone *liṅga*. It registers a gift, made by Prthivīsenā, the son of Candragupta's Kumārāmiātya Śikhara Śvāmin. The gift was made for the worship

5 *CII.*, III Udayagiri Cave ins. of Candragupta II, No. 6.

6 *El.*, XXI, 1.

of Mahādeva, known as Pṛthiviśvara, i.e. probably the *liṅga* on which the inscription has been incised, with proper offerings.⁷

(4) Solar worship was also prevalent along with other cults. For this, reference may be made to the stone inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhu Varman at Mandasore (ancient Daśapura) in Gwalior State which contains expressions 'let the sun protect you' (पायात् स वो मास्करः) and obeisance to the sun (तस्मै सवित्ने नमः)⁸

(5) In the Bihar stone pillar inscription⁹ of Skanda Gupta Divine mothers (स्कन्दप्रधानंभुवि मातृभिश्च) are mentioned, proving thereby that Śaktism was also prevalent at that time.

The worship of god, Kārtikeya in accordance with the sacred texts, was also in vogue. During the reign of Kumāra Gupta I, one Dhruvaśarman who was respected by the State Council (परिषद्), caused a costly and beautiful gate-way (प्रतोली) to be built and a pillar to be erected along with a dharmasatra¹⁰ in the temple of god Svāmimahāsenā or Kārtikeya.

(6) Buddhism also continued as one of the religions of the time. During the reign of Candragupta II, Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna, an inhabitant of Sukulideśa made a gift of a plot of land known as Īśvaravāsaka and twentyfive dināras for feeding five Bhikṣus and providing a lamp in the Jewel House (रत्नगृह).¹¹

Sorkot inscription (Punjab) of the year 83 of an unspecified era, which Dr. Vogel takes as the Gupta era and if so, of the reign of

7 Kāramandala inscription of the reign of Kumāra Gupta (Gupta year 117-436-7 A.D.) *EL.*, X, 15.

Śiva cult was prevalent among some of the kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Pṛthivīsenā is called *atyantamāheśvara* and Pravarasena II *parama-māheśvara*. The Bhāraśivas, who were related to the Vākāṭakas and are mentioned in latter's inscriptions, were also devoted to the *Śivaliṅga*. *CII.*, III, 55-56; *EL.*, XXII, 27; *CII.*, III, 10; Bilsad Stone pillar Insc. of Kumāra Gupta I (year 96-415-6 A.D.).

8 Mandasore Stone ins. of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvvarman *CII.*, III, 18.

9 *CII.*, III, 12.

10 *CII.*, III, 10; Bilsad Stone pillar inscription of Kumāra Gupta.

11 *CII.*, III, 5.

Candragupta II, mentions that the dedication was made by Vaiyābr̥tyakara Buddhadāsa to the universal congregation of frairs of the Sarvāstivādin sect at Rādhika convent in the Park of Śivipura.¹²

Moreover, the Mankuwar Stone image inscription of Kumāra Gupta I of the year 129 (= 448-49 A.D.), records that a Bhikṣu named Buddhamitra installed an image of Lord Buddha.¹³

Again a few dated inscriptions found on the pedestal of some Buddha images at Sārnāthi confirm that Buddhism had still a hold on the society. It is stated in one of the inscriptions that during the reign of Kumāra Gupta in the year 154 (= 473-4 A.D.) a monk named Abhayamitra made an image of the teacher Buddha for worship.¹⁴ Further, after three years (i.e. in the year 157) during the reign of Budhagupta the same donor caused to be made a charming image of Buddha.¹⁵

(7) The followers of Vardhamāna Mahāvira also played their part and contributed their share to the religious life of the period. In the Kahaum Stone pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta of the year 141 (= 460-61 A.D.) it is stated that a certain Madra became afraid of the constant change of the world and set up for the good of the living beings five stone images of the Ādikartṛs or Tirthankaras in the niches of the huge column which was built and erected for the purpose.¹⁶

The statement is further corroborated by the Pāhārpur Copperplate grant of the year 159 (= 478-79 A.D.), where it is mentioned that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited three dīnāras or gold coins with the city council (*Adbiṣṭhānādhikarāna*) to secure one *kulyavāpa* and four *dronavāpas* of land situated at four different villages all lying in the Dakṣiṇāmśakavithi and Nāgiraṭṭa-maṇḍala for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamp etc. of the

12 *El.*, XVI, 3.

14 *ASR.*, 1914-15, p. 124 Insc. No. XV.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5, Nos. XVI, XVII.

13 *CII.*, III, 2.

16 *CII.*, III, 15.

divine *arbats* at the vihāra of Vata-Gohāli which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor (Śramaṇācārya) Gūhanandin belonging to the Pañca-Stūpa section (nikāya) of Benares.¹⁷ Here Mr. Dikshit rightly observes 'that the donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinas as recorded here is noteworthy, for it bespeaks of the religious toleration of the people of the period.' To this we wish to add that the people were certainly tolerant and this toleration did not meet with any policy of obstruction or interference from the ruling power. On the other hand, it may be precisely supposed that they got encouragement in the regime of the Gupta kings of the period.

Thus it is clear from the inscriptional evidences that there was a good deal of religious toleration during the rule of the Gupta sovereigns, and peace and amity existed among different religious sects, each of which tried to follow its own tenets without any clash with the other; and in fact each religion flourished simultaneously without any detriment to the progress of the other. But if we minutely observe we find that at the root of all these diverse sects there reigned a supreme religion which we may call the Paurāṇic Hinduism.' (P) Because the foreigners,¹⁸ the Buddhists¹⁹ and the Jainas,²⁰ all appear to have been influenced by the Brāhmaṇical religion of the Purāṇas, inasmuch as they show a uniform respect for Viṣṇu, the Brāhmaṇas and the cows separately or collectively.

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17 *El.*, XX, 5.

18 Mahārāja Chagalaka is a peculiar name and seems to be non-Brāhmaṇical; his son is called Viṣṇudāsa which is a Sanskrit name. This proves that the Paurāṇic religion exercised a great influence upon and made converts of the foreign elements also.

19 *Cil.*, III, 3.

Amrakardava, who appears to be a Buddhist utters in the last part of his inscription that he, whoever will discontinue the purpose of his donation, will be guilty of killing Brāhmaṇas and cows. (गोब्रह्महत्या संयुक्तो भवेत्) *Ibid.*, No. 5.

20 Madra, a follower of Jainism professes that he was devoted to the Brāhmaṇas, Gurus and ascetics" (द्विजगुरुयतिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान् यः) *Ibid.*, No. 15.

MISCELLANY

'Pāṇini and the Ṛkprātiśākhyā'

I

In one of the recent issues of this journal,¹ Dr. Batakriṣṇa Ghosh has tried to show that sūtras 1.1.16-19 of Pāṇini are 'to all appearance directly taken from the Ṛkprātiśākhyā,' and that Pāṇini in 8.4.67 'directly copied' sūtra 203 of the same treatise. An actual proof for these views could not but be of the highest interest and importance. It would settle once and for all the thorny problem of the relative chronology of the authors of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the RV. Prātiśākhyā, which is still waiting for a definite solution, general arguments such as relative completeness in detail, age of terminology *etc.* being unsatisfactory and ambiguous, as is sufficiently borne out by the varying and contradictory opinions held by different scholars on the subject.

This actual proof, however, has not been given, and I think that Ghosh's arguments want a serious reconsideration, as being based on suppositions and premises that many will feel unable to accept. Taking it upon myself to point out what I consider to be the fallacies of his conclusions, I do not want to prejudice the final decision of the chronological problem alluded to, but only to demonstrate that there is no valid foundation for the assertion that Pāṇini has 'directly borrowed', or 'directly copied' the above named formulations.

If two grammarians, A and B, of unknown date, though of uncontested antiquity, refer to identical grammatical phenomena of a given text, in our case the Padapāṭha of the RV., making use of an almost identical terminology, which most probably was not invented by either of the two, it is obvious that only a lucky chance

can afford us a clue which more or less clearly suggests that neither are they independent of each other, nor has A borrowed from B, but that B has borrowed from A. A hypothesis based on this clue must be tested by further comparison of details and of the general character of the two works in question in order to be raised to an evidence of scientific value.

Ghosh's hypothesis wants us to believe not only that Pāṇini has borrowed formulations from the RV. Prāṭiśākhyā, but also that he has done so 'without understanding them', that not only has he copied, but that he has 'copied mechanically, perhaps without even understanding what he was copying.' Finally, it only holds good if it be taken for granted that it is 'unlikely that Pāṇini had personal knowledge of the Padapāṭha'.

To start with this last point, I have to confess that even if, for argument's sake, I admit 'his (Pāṇini's) amazing mistakes, both of omission and commission, when dealing with the language of the Veda', I cannot see why Pāṇini should not have had this knowledge. Just an ignorant student of the Veda, like the Pāṇini visualized by Ghosh, will find the Padapāṭha far easier to manage than the Saṃhitāpāṭha and for the matter of that, than the RV. Prāṭiśākhyā, verses of which must sound like double-Dutch to anyone who knows the Padapāṭha only from hearsay (which, I presume, is the negation of 'personal knowledge'). Hence I shall try to explain Pāṇini 1.1.16 ff. with the 'theory' that Pāṇini was conversant with the Padapāṭha of the RV., and finding that this alternative does not necessitate assumptions like those Ghosh has to make, *viz.*, that Pāṇini did not know what he was talking about, because he took his rules from a treatise, which he failed to understand,² I shall

² Ghosh's interpretation of Pāṇini 1. 1. 16-18 'would reflect no glory on the author of these sūtras' (p. 668). The compliment might be returned with a vengeance. For Ghosh translates *apṛkta* in RV. Prāṭiśākhyā 76 by 'not followed by a consonant', while he should know that *apṛkta* is 'unmixed, single', *i.e.*, 'not

cherish the conviction that it deserves, and will be accorded, preference.

As to Pāṇini 1.1.16 [ot 1.1.15] *sambuddhau Śākalyasy etāv anārṣe*, Ghosh is certainly right in understanding *itāv anārṣe* as referring to 'the symbolical *iti*' of the Padapāṭha,³ its precise meaning being 'before an *iti* that does not come from the *ṛṣi*'. But he can hardly be correct when construing *Śākalyasya* as qualification of *itau* ('before an *iti* of Śākalya'). Above all, it would be quite superfluous to characterize *itau* first by *Śākalyasya* and then by *anārṣe*, for an *iti* of Śākalya's is 'anārṣa' as a matter of course. Besides, methodological considerations strongly advocate an interpretation of *Śākalyasya* that is consistent with Pāṇini's usual way of quoting a grammatical authority in the genitive, that is to say as an elliptical expression for 'in the opinion of Śākalya'.

But Ghosh himself does not seem to adhere strictly to his proposal. Immediately after maintaining that *Śākalyasya* means 'when Śākalya's [the author of the Padapāṭha] *iti* follows', he suggests that Pāṇini must have taken the rule 1.1.16 from the RV. Prātiśākhyā, 'for what other work of Śākalya [who is now taken as the author of the RV. Prātiśākhyā, which is an altogether unwarranted presumption]⁴ would mention this symbolical *iti*'—which question has a sense only if *Śākalyasya* is interpreted as 'in the opinion of Śākalya'. Yet further on, he thinks that '*Śākalyasya* has been used there [*i.e.* in 1.1.16] not only to characterize the symbolical *iti* of the Padapāṭha, but also to indicate that the sūtra in question is to be applied to the Vedic language alone (the *iti* in question

contracted with a [preceding] vowel,' *e.g.*, with the particle *ā* into *o*. Nor does *Śākalena* in the same rule mean 'by Śākala (*sic*)', but, *Śākala* being a derivative adjective (cf. Pāṇini 4. 3. 120, 128), we have to supply a noun, most probably *mātena*: 'in the opinion of Śākalya.' [I would supply *vidbānena*, "according to (the rule of) Śākalya"—K.C.].

3 So already Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 1xv, n. 7.

4 The remarks in square brackets are added by me.—K.C.

being possible only in the Padapāṭha of Vedic texts)', which is obviously wrong, if only for the reason that the language of the sacred texts (*chandas*) alone is 'vedic', while the Padapāṭha as a secular work contains 'vedic' forms only by way of imitation.⁵ In any case, if '*Śākalyasyetau*' is to mean 'before the *iti* of Śākalya in the Padapāṭha', an alleged [*Śākalyasya*] *īdūtau* (Pāṇini 1.1.19) cannot mean 'long *ī* and *ū* of the Saṃhitāpāṭha.'

By adopting the simple and natural course of understanding *Śākalyasya* as 'in the opinion of Śākalya [the RV. Padakāra]', we are enabled to drop all these vague and even wrong assumptions like the alleged identity of the authors of the Padapāṭha and the Prāṭisākhyā of the RV., and the oscillating and contradictory ideas supposed to be conveyed by the expression *Śākalyasya*. Pāṇini's rules 1.1.16, 17 and 18 now receive a lucid and unambiguous meaning, the formulation appears consistent with the grammarian's usual way, and the seeming dependence on the RV. Prāṭisākhyā reveals its true character of a natural coincidence due to the identity of the facts described.

Nor ought Pāṇini to be censured for referring to a practice of the Padapāṭha on the ground that 'he is writing a grammar of the actual [spoken] language'. For this means measuring him by standards that are not his, but those of modern scholars, who close their eyes to the fact that Pāṇini gives 'vedic' rules by hundreds, indulging in details that can be of no possible practical value and can be brought in no connexion with the speech habits obtaining at his time.

5 Yāska, *Nirukta* 6-28 mentions but does not follow Śākalya's analysis of *vāyo* in RV. X. 29. 1. Patañjali maintains with reference to the Saṃhitāpāṭha (III, p. 225, I. 3): *dr̥ṣṭānuvidbhīṣca chandasi bhavati*, but about the Padapāṭha he says just the contrary (II, p. 85, I. 4 ff.): *na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyāb—padakārair nāma lakṣaṇam anuvartyam, yathālakṣaṇaṃ padam kartavyam*. The Kāśikā on Pāṇini 1. 1. 13 calls the instances *yuṣme iti, asme iti* etc., which are taken from the Padapāṭha, '*laukikam anukaraṇam*'.

Turning our attention now to Pāṇini 1.1.19 *idūtau ca saptam-yarthe* 'Long *ī* and *ū*, when denoting the sense of the locative case, are also called *pragr̥hya*', we have only to repeat what was suggested above, to wit that *Sākalyasya* (Pāṇini 1.1.16) cannot be kept in force, unless it be made to convey an idea quite different from the one it conveys in the preceding rules. As a matter of fact, no emergency measures need be taken. There is no reason, why we should not accept the interpretation of the Pāṇinīyas, who keep in force neither *Sākalyasya*—since this would imply that not only the Padapāṭha but also the Saṃhitāpāṭha of the RV. is shaped according to Sākalya's opinion—nor *itāv anārṣe*—since this would restrict the *pragr̥hyatva* of these locatives to the Padapāṭha. For there are clear instances for such forms being treated as *pragr̥hya* before a succeeding vowel also in the Saṃhitāpāṭha: RV. 9.12.3 *somo gaurī adhi śritah* and RV. 10.183.2 *svāyām tanū rtuye nādhmānam*.⁶

Ghosh finds himself at a loss, it is true, in face of the fact that 'this [1.1.19] is a rule which has its scope in the Vedic language only'. But how could it be otherwise, when locatives in *ī* and *ū*, which are called *pragr̥hya* by our rule, are foreign to the Bhāṣā, Pāṇini himself teaching their formation by *śluk* in 7.1.39, which rule applies only in the Veda? Nor need we look far for a parallel case. When teaching the name *pragr̥hya* for the suffix *śe* (1.1.13), Pāṇini can refrain from adding 'in the Veda', for no other

6 This second instance I owe to Pt. Kshetresachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya. Relying on a statement of Wackernagel's, Ghosh wrongly asserts that 'in the case of *ū* there is nothing to show that in the Saṃhitā-text it has been actually treated as *pragr̥hya*'. [Subsequently to drawing the attention of Dr. Thieme to RV. S. X. 183.2, I noticed that Wackernagel had already cited the passage in his *Grammatik* (III, § 96 b). Wackernagel believes that the Padapāṭha has no justification for treating the *-ū* in *tanū* as *pragr̥hya*, for he himself takes *tanū* as a locative with the *-i* termination dropped as in the case of stems of the *vr̥ki*-type (III § 16c). Whatever that may be, the fact remains that in the Saṃhitā text *gaurī* and *tanū* are followed by vowels with which they do not join in *sandhi*. Hence Pāṇini could easily take these (and similar) words as *pragr̥hya* in the Saṃhitā text. K.C.]

reason than that *śe* is an exclusively vedic suffix added likewise according to 7.1.39. Why does Ghosh not want to read this rule also under the heading *Śākalyasya*?

Ghosh has adopted the course of a radical emancipation from the old interpreters. In fact, it is obvious that he thinks very little of 'Patañjali *cum suis*.' They are said to have 'distorted the meaning' of Pāṇini 1.1.17, 18, and misunderstood 1.1.19; Patañjali, being 'involved in difficulties on account of his failure to understand the meaning of the word *śākalyasya* in 1.1.16', 'misconstrued all'.

I am not prepared to subscribe unreservedly to any of these verdicts. Certainly it is our duty to question the correctness of 'traditional' interpretations, but before condemning, we should try to understand. 'Patañjali *cum suis*' were great scholars, who have a claim to our testing the strength of their arguments, and deserve to be listened to with careful attention.

From my above remarks it may have become clear that Ghosh's proposal to keep *Śākalyasya* in force in Pāṇini 1.1.19, cannot be correct, and that the traditional paraphrase: 'Long *ī* and *ū* are called *pragr̥hya*, when denoting the sense of a locative case', is quite adequate. And so is the traditional rendering of 1.1.16: 'The *o* in a singular vocative is called *pragr̥hya* before a non-vedic *iti*, in Śākalya's opinion', under the condition that we do not apply the term 'vedic' to the Padapāṭha, which actually has no right to it, since it is a secular (*laukika*) work.

Only now have we reached the point where we may propose to disagree with the tradition. It is quite probable that it has gone too far, when extending the permission to consider an *o* in a vocative ending as a *pragr̥hya* before an *iti* that does not belong to the sacred text pronounced by a *ṛṣi*, from the Padapāṭha to the Bhāṣā in general, and that Pāṇini was thinking only of the non-Vedic *iti* in the Padapāṭha and did not take into consideration the theoretical possibility of a vocative followed by *iti* in ordinary language. The use

of the expression *anārṣa* recommends this interpretation. For '[an expression] formed by the addition of [the negative] *nañ*...to [some word or other] denotes something which is different from and [yet] similar to [what is denoted by the latter].....' (Paribhāṣā 74, in Kielhorn's translation), as it is set forth with good reasons by Patañjali on Pāṇini 3.1.12. *Anārṣa* may mean, accordingly, 'not vedic yet similar to vedic', i.e., 'belonging to the *Padapāṭha*.'⁷ And further we may maintain that Pāṇini, by the expression *Śākalyasya*, wanted to restrict the *pragṛhyatva* of such a vocative to the work of this authority, the *Padapāṭha* of the RV., intimating that it was not justifiable ordinarily. We have, then, a *vaikalpika-sūtra* indeed, only that we do not accept what is taken for granted by the tradition, that Śākalya's opinion may be adopted by anyone anywhere.⁸

Before explaining why we should consider ourselves entitled to reject the usual traditional interpretation of a quotation of a grammatical authority in the genitive as strictly equivalent to expressions like *vā*, *vibhāṣā* or *anyatarasyām*, I have, once more, emphatically to disagree with Ghosh, who in this instance is even more orthodox than the Pope, and maintains that 'in Pāṇini's system reference to older authorities only signifies that the *sūtra* in question is *vaikalpika*'. Everybody knows that there are cases where such signification is impossible: e.g. *Kāśyapasya* in Pāṇini 1.2.25, *Āpiśaleḥ* in 6.1.92, *Gālavasya* in 6.3.61 cannot have been meant to intimate optional validity of the rules in question, since this is already expressed otherwise, viz. by *vā* in 1.2.23, *vā* in 6.1.92, and *anyatarasyām* in 6.3.59 respectively, which has induced the interpreters,

7 [I am personally not in favour of this scholastic explanation of the word *anārṣe*. The *Pada Pāṭha* is a fully *laukika* text as Dr. Thieme has himself said.—K.C.]

8 [This also I am unable to endorse. That Śākalya used non-sandhi in this case in the *Pada Pāṭha* which, according to Patañjali, must follow rules of grammar (*yathālakṣaṇam padam kartavyam*, quoted above) would fully entitle anyone to take that as a correct grammatical usage in secular speech according to Śākalya.—K.C.]

starting with Patañjali on 1.2.25, to explain the reference having been made *pūjārbham* 'for the sake of showing reverence' only.

Now it is apparent that this unavoidable inconsistency is not in favour of the traditional interpretation on the whole. Why should Pāṇini have employed the same device for expressing two different ideas? It looks as if the Pāṇinīyas have attributed, for a certain reason, a meaning to those quotations which they did not originally possess, and which in some instances did not fit in with the context, but had to be replaced by another one, which was, however, too colourless and indifferent to be applied throughout Pāṇini's grammar. If we can show this reason to be a principle of which we may doubt whether it was adopted by Pāṇini, we are surely right in declining to follow even Patañjali.

This condition we can fulfil here. It appears that the interpretation of references like *Śākalyasya*, *Gārgyasya* etc. as mere indications of optional validity without any concrete value of the individual name, is based on the well-known Mīmāṃsaka-axiom of the eternal nature of the words. If one maintains that words have always existed, and will ever exist, unchangeable in the shape and the meaning which they bear at a certain time, one cannot restrict their correct formation to certain persons, since this axiom does not allow of any difference of opinion as far as authoritative speakers are concerned. No subjective teaching can interfere with objective entities. Since what a Śākalya or Gārgya accepts, must be correct, it must be universally valid. That quite a different view would have to be taken, if words were not 'eternal' (*nitya*), but 'products' (*kārya*), can be seen from vārt. 17 on Pāṇini 1.1.44. 'If word is a product' (*kārye...*, vārt. 16), says Kātyāyana, 'then it results also that when teachers [like Śākalya etc.] or districts [like the East] are quoted [in a particular rule], the operation [taught in this rule] is restricted to those teachers or districts' (*ācāryadeśaśilane ca tad- viṣayatā*, vārt. 17).

If we follow the lead herewith given by Kātyāyana himself, we can escape the existing difficulties. Not only is now our above-given interpretation of *Śākalyasya* in 1.1.16 without objection, but we can also account for teachers being mentioned in rules like 6.1.123: we merely have to understand that such rules are optional only in the view of the authorities quoted, but not according to general opinion. We can, furthermore, comprehend, why Pāṇini in 8.4.67 cites three names in support of the same view, or, rather, why he has taken the trouble of quoting other grammarians at all. His intention must have been to draw attention to forms used or taught in the works of various well-known scholars, whose practice or theory he could not help taking into consideration, lest he should be charged with being incomplete, or implying that men like Śākalya were wrong. What under the hands of the traditional interpretation has become a rather circumstantial device for intimating what could have been expressed easier and clearer by the words *vā* or *vibhāṣā*,⁹ thus receives a concrete sense. In order to appraise fully the purport of a quotation, it would, of course, be necessary to know more about the quoted scholars than we do. Only Śākalya is for us more than a name.¹⁰

9 That later grammarians operate with fictitious names, which really indicate nothing but optional validity, is an undeniable fact. It proves, however, nothing for Pāṇini.

10 [I would, however, explain Pāṇini's manner of citing names in another way. He was writing a complete grammar of the *bhāṣā* and the *bbhāṣā* only (*sic*). What form or forms he took to be correct or normal, he gave himself. For differing or specific forms guaranteed by other authorities, he cited their names, without implying whether they might or might not be followed. This he did to complete his picture. We need not believe that in these sūtras citing authorities Pāṇini wanted us to take the rules as *vaiṅkalpika*. That they were taken so later on in most cases is due to some speakers following the lead of those authorities or to the folly of the commentators. Pāṇini's intention was simply to record 'other opinions'. The references to Vedic peculiarities, on the other hand, are not so much for completing the picture as for emphasizing the fact that they are Vedic peculiarities, not to be followed in *bbhāṣā*.—K.C.]

Our next task would be to define our attitude towards the traditional interpretation of Pāṇini 1.1.17, 18, which proposes to split up this rule into two parts, *uñāḥ* and *ūṁ*. For this purpose it is necessary to examine the reasons that are responsible for this interpretative device having been adopted. Ghosh's assertion that 'Patañjali...was constrained to split it [viz. the sūtra *uñā ūṁ*] up into two because he considered it to be a *vaikalpika sūtra* on account of the *anuvṛtti* of "śākalyasya"' cannot help us. Firstly, because not Patañjali, but Kātyāyana has introduced the *yogavibhāga*; secondly, because the sūtra happens to be *vaikalpika* indeed, in so far as padakāras other than Śākalya do not substitute *ūṁ* for the particle *u* in the Padapāṭha—a dispute being only possible as to the question whether Pāṇini wished to imply that anybody might follow Śākalya's practice in ordinary language; thirdly, because the Bhāṣya gives a different reason.

It is Kātyāyana himself who tells us, why he wants to separate *uñāḥ* from *ūṁ*, and in this case his authority cannot be questioned: he may have misunderstood Pāṇini, but he cannot have misunderstood his own motive. He wants to read *uñāḥ* by itself '[in order that] in Śākalya's opinion *ūṁ* [be substituted] optionally' (*ūṁ vā Śākalyasya*, vārt. 2). In other words, he wants to obtain a further option. Śākalya is supposed not only to differ from other authorities, who approve of one form, but also to have used or taught himself two alternative forms.

Patañjali states that the form approved of by others is *v iti*, and that Śākalya's two forms are *ūṁ iti* and *u iti*.

While the forms *ūṁ iti* and *u iti* are without objection, Ghosh's verdict is likely to be correct as far as *v iti* is concerned: it may well be a 'hypothetical word-combination', derived from the formulation of Pāṇini's rule. But the essential point, about which even Kaiyata is mistaken, is that not *v iti*, which is rightly suspect, but

u iti is gained by the *yogavibhāga* as an alternative form of Śākalya's.¹¹

Patañjali does not explain, why Pāṇini's undivided *uṅa ūṃ* should yield *ūṃ iti* and *v iti*, but not *ūṃ iti* and *u iti*. Though the answer to this question is not very obvious, it is not impossible to gauge the logical difficulty, which was removed by Kātyāyana's proposal.

[Śākalyasyetāv anārṣe] *uṅa ūṃ* may mean: '*ūṃ*, which is substituted for *uṅ* before a non-vedic *iti*, is called in Śākalya's opinion, *pragr̥hya*'. In this case, we should have to infer that in other scholars' opinion it is not *pragr̥hya*,¹² which must lead us to substitute optionally *v* for *ūṃ* before *iti* according to Pāṇini 6.1.77, (*iko yaṅ aci*).

Or we have to understand: 'Before a non-vedic *iti*, *ūṃ* is, in Śākalya's opinion, substituted for *uṅ*, and called *pragr̥hya*'. In this case, the *anuvrtti* of *pragr̥hyam* (from Pāṇini 1.1.11)—i.e. the special injunction 'and called *pragr̥hya*'—which is necessary for the next rule, is superfluous here, since the substitute *ūṃ* for the original *u*, which is *pragr̥hya* by Pāṇini 1.1.14, must be *pragr̥hya* already according to the principle that a substitute is treated like the original.¹³ (Pāṇini 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nalvidhan*). If there shall be an object in teaching *uṅa ūṃ* amongst the *pragr̥hya*-rules, it has to be presumed that *uṅ* before a non-vedic *iti* is not *pragr̥hya*, but has to be replaced, in Śākalya's opinion, by *ūṃ* which is

11 Nāgojibhaṭṭa, Laghuśabdenduśekhara on Pāṇini 1. 1. 17:.....*taḍ uktam bhāṣye yogavibhāgam pradarśya 'kimar̥tho yogavibhāgaḥ?' sākalyamate ūṃ vibhāṣā yathā syāt: ūṃ iti, u iti. anyeṣāṃ ācāryāṇāṃ matena 'v iti' iti. anena hi yogavibhāgasya 'u iti' iti rūpasiddhiḥ phalam iti spaṣṭam eva labhyate.*

12 [It is not a *pragr̥hya* in the *Pada-pāṭha* of the Sāmaveda by Gārgya.—K.C.]

13 Nāgojibhaṭṭa, loc. cit.: *ādeśe pragr̥hyatvakāryam tu sthānivadbbhāvena bodhyam.*

pragr̥hya. We again obtain, thus, *ūṁ iti* and *v iti*, the general rule (*utsarga*) 1.1.14 being superseded by the special exception (*apavāda*), implied in the formulation of 1.1.17, 18.

If the separation is effected, *u iti*, which now is obtained as an alternative form by 1.1.17, and not by 1.1.14, cannot be superseded, as there must be an object in teaching two rules instead of one.

We must, then, not look upon Kātyāyana's or Patañjali's interpretation as a simple misunderstanding. Their contrivance is not the outcome of their being unable to see what Pāṇini wanted to teach. It implies, rather, a critical disapproval of his formulation as it stands, and is really nothing but an attempt at mending the logical deficiency, which actually exists, without interfering with the words of the text, the fundamental orientation of their investigations and discourses being that Pāṇini's grammar must and, if necessary, must be made to, teach correct forms in a correct way.

It goes without saying that we do not share such logical scruples as Kātyāyana and Patañjali must have been entertaining, that we shall not accept an interpretation that is avowedly an improvement on Pāṇini, and that we are prepared to take the slight inconsistency of *ūṁ* being taught explicitly as a *pragr̥hya*, though it ought to receive this name already by 1.1.14 according to 1.1.56, for what it is worth. Neither shall we blind ourselves to the general weaknesses of the 'scholastic' interpretation, which we find in the Bhāṣya: its almost unlimited trust in the power of theoretical reasoning, which is not strictly controlled by living observation, and shows a tendency of giving general and abstract meanings to expressions and rules that are concerned with individual and concrete cases. For all that, I should maintain that a thorough study of the Bhāṣya and a patient investigation into the motives that have determined the learned discussions of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and into the way they understood and handled Pāṇini's

rules, will help us more than anything else to comprehend and to appreciate Pāṇini's difficult work.

The explanation offered by the Kāśikā for Pāṇini's using in his last but one rule a compound in *-udaya* instead of one in *-para*, as an intentional departure from the usual in order to employ an auspicious word towards the end of his work, is discarded by Ghosh as 'altogether fantastical'. 'For', he suggests, 'the word in question is evidently taken from the RV. Prāṭisākhyā, in which the word *udaya* is regularly used in the sense of *para*'. Since, however, there is so far no proof, as I believe to have shown, that Pāṇini has borrowed from the RV. Prāṭisākhyā in other instances, this assertion is purely conjectural. Where is the evidence that the expression, if it be copied, is taken from this treatise, and not from some other text, which may be lost to us? That the mere employment of the expression *udāttasvaritodayam* cannot serve as an argument in chronological questions, is clear from the fact that *-udaya* in the sense of *-para* is used also by other Prāṭisākhyās, which are certainly younger than Pāṇini (Cf. AV. Prāṭisākhyā¹⁴ 3.65, V. Pr. 4.140 *udāttasvaritodaya*, and V. Pr. 3.34, 3.81, 4.6, 4.16).

Besides, the problem why Pāṇini has deviated from his customary terminology in his last but one rule, remains the same, whether he has borrowed or invented the expression. Ghosh, of course, is ready to attribute the inconsistency to an inadvertency of Pāṇini's in copying. Apart from it that there are no other instances that could support this assumption, the peculiar nature of the expression itself, which must have struck Pāṇini,¹⁵ as it has struck others,¹⁶ speaks against mere oversight. Ghosh, too, seems to have felt this.

14 ed. Whitney.

15 Who has used *udāttasvaritapara* in 1. 2. 40.

16 AV. Prāṭisākhyā 3. 70 reads *nodāttasvaritaparam*, T Prāṭisākhyā 14. 31, *nodāttasvarita-parah*.

Hence he submits that Pāṇini has copied 'perhaps without even understanding what he was copying.' In this case, not inadvertency, but downright ignorance would have to be held responsible for the wording of Pāṇini 8.4.67. Should we, then, believe that the grammarian, not contented with including in his work a prescript the purport of which he did not care to grasp, had wantonly added a fictitious exception to it, which he disguised as the opinion of three highly renowned authorities: Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava? Whatever Ghosh may think on this latter point, and whether he would find it possible to account for the second part of the rule '*a-Gārgya-Kāśyapa-Gālavānām*' with another 'perhaps', I think he has passed already now the limit, up to which speculations may still keep the semblance of probable theories.

'Fantastic' is an explanation that is based on obviously imaginary assumptions and supposed to prove a proposition of a highly adventurous character. The explanation of the Kāśikā for Pāṇini's *udāttasvaritodayam*, strikes me as altogether sober. The only objection I could think of, is that the expression *-udaya* is not actually the last word of the work. But since it stands at the end of Pāṇini's last injunction—there follows the mention of those teachers that go against it, and the famous finish which contains a technical definition that has a sense only in the very end of the section *pūrvatrāsiddham* (8.2.1-8.4.68)—I cannot take the objection as serious. I should believe in the suggestion of the Kāśikā, even if somebody could show with better arguments than Ghosh's that Pāṇini did take the expression *udāttasvaritodayam* from the RV. *Prātiśākhya*. For I am satisfied that the scholastic method of interpretation, which leaves no stone unturned in order to find a reasonable motive for every striking formation of Pāṇini's, has proved adequate in principle, and is warranted by the admirably consistent and accurate character of Pāṇini's work, which modern readiness to detect mistakes—it may be stated in fairness that the unjustifiable

contempt for India's great grammarian is not peculiar to Dr. Ghosh alone—and modern 'critical' conceit have failed to discredit.

PAUL THIEME

II

The above paper was written by my then colleague Dr. Paul Thieme, at my request, shortly after the publication of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's paper.

Dr. Ghosh has joined in the usual condemnation of the Vedic portion of Pāṇini's grammar (*IHQ.*, vol. X, p. 669). But the researches of Dr. Thieme have shown that Pāṇini did not deserve this condemnation. The following conclusions emerge from his studies:

(1) Pāṇini knew of a large number of Vedic texts and knew them well.

(2) He clearly distinguished between usage in *mantras* in verse, in prose formulas and in Brāhmaṇa passages.

(3) He noticed only such peculiarities in Vedic usage as were not current in classical speech, his purpose being to exhaust all correct forms whether in the classical or in the Vedic language. (*Vide*. Paul Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad 1935).

As regards the question of the relation between Pāṇini and the *Rk-prātiśākhya*, I, too feel that Dr. Ghosh has not been able to prove his case. Dr. Thieme has discussed his views at great length. I shall only add a few remarks.

Tradition does not know the *Rk-prātiśākhya* as a work of Śākalya as Ghosh assumes (p. 666), but ascribes it to Śaunaka (*vide* verse 1 of the *Rk-prātiśākhya*). When Ghosh adds that Śaunaka is responsible for a later recension (the current one) of the text, he gives away his whole case, because any rule that he may

ascribe to Śākalya may be put down to the credit of this later redactor. That the *Rk-prātiśākhya* cannot be ascribed to Śākalya is proved by the distinction made in this text between the teachings of Śākalya and the actual practice of his later followers, *Śākalāḥ* (rules 65, 403, 631 and 637). Similarly rule 76, assumed by Ghosh to be the original of Pāṇini I. 1.17 (p. 667), contains the word *śākalena*, "according to the rule of Śākalya" (*vide* rule 396), and proves that the author is not Śākalya himself.

Ghosh's assumption that Pāṇini did not know the Pada-pāṭha of the *Rgveda-saṃhitā* is simply impossible. These Pada-pāṭhas were compiled for the correct preservation of the text and they were very carefully memorized by the Śrautins. The uniform tradition in this respect found among Śrautins of different parts of India points to a hoary antiquity of the practice of memorizing of Pada texts. Consequently it would be very natural for Pāṇini to know the Pada-pāṭha of the *Rgveda-saṃhitā*.¹⁷ Both the Pada-pāṭha and the Krama-pāṭha of the *Rgveda-saṃhitā* were known to the author of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (III. 1.3) and Śākalya is named there (III. 1.2, Sthavira Śākalya in III. 2.1). Pāṇini IV. 2.61, क्रमादिभ्यो वुन्, clearly shows the author's knowledge of Krama-pāṭhas which are but combinations of forms in the Saṃhitā with those in the Pada. There is no evidence about Śākalya having written any work other than his Pada-pāṭha of the *Rk-saṃhitā*. Consequently when Pāṇini refers to Śākalya he should be taken as meaning Śākalya's Pada-pāṭha and not the *Rk-prātiśākhya* which is arbitrarily ascribed to him by Max Müller and Ghosh. The grammatical peculiarities ascribed by Pāṇini to Śākalya are found in his Pada-pāṭha and we do not require to go to Śaunaka's *Rk-prātiśākhya* for them. That

17 Unlike the *Saṃhitā*, the *Padu* text of the *Rgveda* seems to have been reduced to writing. See *Poona Orientalist*, vol. I, no. 4, pp. 48-52. Pāṇini would, therefore, have no difficulty in utilising it for his grammar.

they are found with one exception in the *Rk-prātiśākhya* also is but natural, for this text was composed specifically for recording, among other things, all the differences between the Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda recognised by Śākalya and its Pada-pāṭha compiled by him. The exception is in the matter of Pāṇini VI. 1.127, इद्वृत्तौ च सप्तम्यर्थे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च for which the *Rk-prātiśākhya* can show nothing corresponding.¹⁸ This positively proves that Pāṇini had access to a source other than Śaunaka's Prātiśākhya for the views of Śākalya.¹⁹

Ghoshī recognizes that Pāṇini I. 1.19 ईद्वृत्तौ च सप्तम्यर्थे, shows Pāṇini's knowledge of Śākalya's Pada-pāṭha, but he gratuitously adds, "or with the *Rk-prātiśākhya* which deals with the euphonic laws of the Pada-pāṭha" (p. 669). But we cannot assent to this addition. The *Rk-prātiśākhya* does not deal with the euphonic laws of the Pada-pāṭha as such: it deals in *paṭalas* i-ix with the euphonic and other laws required for the restoration of the *Saṃhitā text* from the Pada, treatment of strictly Pada-pāṭha matter being only casual and mostly in late interpolations. If Pāṇini knew and had to draw on a number of Vedic texts for the morphology of Vedic words, why need he have turned to the *Rk-prātiśākhya* for only a few rules of sandhi?

Ghosh believes that Pāṇini I. 1.16 is based on the *Rk-prātiśākhya* (pp. 666 f.). But how? Pāṇini's rule is सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनापौ "o of the vocative singular (is *pragrbya*) according to Śākalya, when non-Vedic (i.e. non-original) *iti* follows (in the Pada-pāṭha)," which includes the case under the *saṃjñā* of *pragrbya*.

18 H. Sköld, *Indian Antiquary*, 1926, p. 182. This was already admitted by Max Müller.

19 Unfortunately, however, we cannot trace the phenomenon envisaged in Pāṇini VI. 1. 127 in Śākalya's Pada-pāṭha as current now either. But we find it in Gārgya's Pada-pāṭha of the Sāmaveda: ऋष्णु in II. 6.3.12.2 is given there as ऋष्णु इति (edition by Satyavrata Sama-sramin in the *Uṣā*, p. 185, whereas in the corresponding Pada-pāṭha of the Ṛgveda (I. 6.2) we find it as ऋष्णु इति without shortening of the long vowel.

Pāṇini VI. 1.125, सुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम्, "long drawn out and *pragr̥bhya* vowels always remain (unmodified) when a vowel follows," gives the rule for non-sandhi. But the *saṃjñā* sūtra in the *Rk-prātiśākhya*, ओकार आमन्त्रितजः प्रगृह्यः 69, "o of the vocative is *pragr̥bhya*," makes no mention of the *anārṣa iti*; it is the rule for non-sandhi, पकृत्येतिकरणादौ प्रगृह्याः 155, "*pragr̥bhyas* remain unmodified before *iti-karana*," common for all the cases and not confined to the vocative in *o*, which does. There is thus a real formal difference between Pāṇini's treatment and that in the *Rk-prātiśākhya*, showing that Pāṇini is here independent of that treatise.

Ghosh has made a mistake in taking the Pada-pāṭha and its usage as Vedic (pp. 666-7). A Pada-pāṭha is a *pauroṣeya* text of human authorship and Pāṇini could never have taken it as *chandas*. That he still refers to its peculiarities is because a Pada-pāṭha being a laukika text its ways would be followed by others if Pāṇini did not specify that those ways were peculiar to that text. And that is what he has actually done in I. 1.6. This rule means that the Pada-pāṭha of the *Rk-saṃhitā* keeps the *o* of the vocative singular unmodified before the *iti* of *pragr̥bhya*. Thieme has shown that Ghosh is wrong in connecting *śākalyasya* with *itau* and translating them as "in Śākalya's *iti*": *śākalyasya* must mean here as elsewhere *śākalyasya matena*. There is no superfluity in either of the expressions *śākalyasya* or *itāvanārṣe*, because Pāṇini seems to have had in mind some Pada-pāṭha which did not follow the usage of Śākalya. Whereas in the Pada-pāṭha of the *Rk-saṃhitā* the final-*o* of a vocative (whether joined in sandhi with a following vowel or not in the *Samhitā* text) is always given as a *pragr̥bhya* (e.g. वसो इति in VIII. 60.9), in the Pada-pāṭha of the *Sāma-saṃhitā*, on the contrary, it is never given so (simply वसो in I. 1.1.4.2, p. 4) and in the Pada-pāṭha of the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* it is treated as a *pragr̥bhya* only under certain circumstances (detailed in *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* I. 4.6-7), thus विष्णो इति in I. 1-3 (Śāradāvilāsa edition, vol. I, p. 3), पितो इति

in V. 7.2.4 (vol. II, p. 456), इन्दो इति in VI. 5.8.83 (vol. II, p. 551), but simply वायो in II. 2.12.8 (vol. I, p. 143).²⁰ It should be remembered that in Śākalya's Pada-pāṭha there are many cases of *pragraba* (or *parigraba*) with *sandhi*, e.g. अन्तरिति in VIII. 48.2 or खरिति खः in V. 83.4. Similarly in the Pada-pāṭha of the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* we have एति (from आ इति) in I. 1.2.1 (vol. I, p. 2) and प्रजावतीरिति प्रजावतीः in I. 1.1 (*ibid.*).

Passing on to Pāṇini I. 1.17 (17-18), उञ् ऊँ, it is certainly not to be split up into two sūtras as proposed by Kātyāyana and others. Ghosh says that "the juxtaposition of *u* and *iti* is hardly possible in the actual language" (p. 668). But why? It is quite possible to have a sentence like स उ इत्याह (=स एव इत्याह).²¹ Ghosh's translation of the rule, "the particle *u* is lengthened and nasalised when Śākalya's non-Vedic *iti* follows" (p. 667) is absolutely wrong. We have here a *saṃjñā sūtra* and not a *vidhāyaka sūtra*. The sūtra should be translated as a *saṃjñā sūtra* in the manner Thieme has rendered above or as "the particle *u* when lengthened and nasalised (in the Pada-pāṭha with an *anārṣa iti* following) is also a *pragr̥bhya* (according to Śākalya)."

Coming lastly to Pāṇini VIII. 4.67, I agree with Thieme that Ghosh's attempt at tracing it to *R̥k-prātiśākhya* 203, based on the mere agreement of the term *udaya* in the two rules, is extremely inconclusive. It is true that Pāṇini has nowhere else used the term

20 *Pragraba* and *prakṛtibhāva* take place in this Pada-pāṭha apparently where the -o is followed in the Saṃhitā text by a consonant or by a vowel with which it does not coalesce in Sandhi. In II. 2. 12. 8 we have वायुविष्टये in the Saṃhitā with Sandhi. Hence there is no *pragraba* in the Pada. The Pada-pāṭha of the *Vājasaneyya-saṃhitā* uses *pragraba* (or *parigraba* in the case of compounds) with *prakṛtibhāva* of the final -o of vocatives in all cases; see *Vājasaneyya-prātiśākhya* I. 94 and the Pada-pāṭha of the V.S. published by Tukaram Tatya.

21 Ghosh's statement that "the symbolical *iti*" is "the sign of *pragr̥bhya*" (p. 668) is perhaps a slip, because it is well-known that the Pada-pāṭha of Śākalya also adds an *iti* under certain circumstances after a *riphita visarjanīya*. In other Pada-pāṭhas this *pragraba* is made under other conditions also.

udaya in the sense of "what follows" and it is clearly a technical term of a Pūrvācārya. But there is nothing to show that that Pūrvācārya is the author of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*. As Śaunaka has not defined the term in his *Prātiśākhya* he too may have taken it from his own predecessors. That makes the assumption of Pāṇini's obligation to Śaunaka for the term *udaya* absolutely unwarranted. Then, of the technical terms of Pūrvācāryas which Pāṇini has used in his great grammar without defining them, one is *pratyaya* ("suffix", "inflection"), which is used in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* in a different sense ("what comes next"—*in a separate word*). This shows that the authors of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* were independent of each other.²² Lastly the specification अगाम्यर्थाशयवगालवानाम्, "except in the view of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava," in Pāṇini VIII. 4.67, also proves that Pāṇini did not copy the word *udaya* from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*. Pāṇini clearly shows that he possessed precise information as to the views of the different teachers on this point and he did not take his material from only one text.²³

22 It is interesting to note that Pāṇini has defined the term *apṛkta*, whereas Śaunaka has not, though he has used it in the same sense. One may conclude from this with greater justification than Dr. Ghosh that Śaunaka was here dependent on Pāṇini.

23 It is unfortunate that we are unable to verify in the *Pada-pāṭha* of the *Sāma-Saṃhitā* the peculiarity in accentuation ascribed by Pāṇini to Gārgya in VIII. 4. 67. The southern manuscripts of this *Pada-pāṭha* mark only the *udatta* accent. Though the manuscripts of northern India mark the other two accents also, the value of the peculiar marking of the *anudatta* following an *udatta* and followed by another

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udatta is not clear. Satyavrata Sāmaśramin gives it as ३२ (c.g., पुनरिति on p. 33 l. 3), a symbol whose value is difficult to determine, because we do not find it elsewhere. In any case it is not an ordinary *anudatta* or even a *sannatara*, for which the symbol used in the *Samhitā* is ३ only. The problem requires investigation and for this not only northern manuscripts have to be examined but living codices, the *śrautins* both of the north and the south, who know the *Pada-pāṭha* of the *Sāmaveda* by heart, will have to be examined.

All this shows that Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's contention is not tenable. I am not opposed to the theory of Pāṇini's posteriority to the *Rk-prātiśākhya* or, at least, to some portions of it,²⁴ but I feel that no sufficient case has been made out so far for making this theory definitely acceptable. One argument of Goldstücker for proving the posteriority of the Prātiśākhya, viz., mention in it of Vyādi who was either a younger contemporary of Pāṇini or lived after him²⁵ does not seriously affect my opinion, because I take all the passages in the *Rk-prātiśākhya* containing Vyādi's name as coming from a very late stratum of the text, as they treat of matter that is foreign to the true purpose of the Prātiśākhya. The *Rk-prātiśākhya* is by no means a homogenous work. There is a good deal of interpolation in even the first half of the work.²⁶ There are thus old and late portions in the *Rk-prātiśākhya*. It is possible that Pāṇini is later than the older portion of the Prātiśākhya and older than the later parts of the work. But so long as no positive evidence is forthcoming, this way or that way, we should not dogmatise about the relationship between Pāṇini and the *Rk-prātiśākhya*.

K. CHATTOPADHYAYA

24 The technical term *pragrāhya* itself used by Pāṇini must hail from the schools of Padakāras and Pārsadakāras, because its basis, *pra-√grab*, refers to the phenomenon of giving a word in the Pada-pāṭha with an *iti* after it (*pragrāha*).

25 *Pāṇini* (Reprint), pp. 160ff., followed by H. Sköld in *Indian Antiquary*, 1926, pp. 184-5.

26 The grounds for this statement cannot be given in brief. A detailed analysis of the *Rk-prātiśākhya* is necessary for showing the mutual relations of different parts of the text.

Mānasāra on Nāgarādiviheda

The shape of the three styles of architecture, *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* has been a subject of more than passing interest to students of Indian architecture. The texts on this subject have been variously understood and loosely applied with the result that no two authorities generally agree. With the publication of the text and translation of the *Mānasāra* by Prof. P. K. Acharya of the Allahabad University, this subject has once again attracted attention, and the latest work on the subject was the *Three Main Styles of Temple Architecture* by Dr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran. These authors were evidently not satisfied with the interpretation of the learned professor and so have offered their own interpretation. As a student of Indian architecture, we have had occasion to consult these renderings and we are forced to confess that we found both the renderings unintelligible. Hence an attempt is again made here to study the text with a view to see if an intelligent rendering is possible.

The shapes of the three styles of *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* are laid down in lines 93 ff. of Chapter XVIII of the *Mānasāra*. Line 93 describes the *Nāgara style* and it runs as follows:

caturaśrākṛtim yattu nāgaram tat prakīrtitam!

The interpretation of this line is very clear, and the two renderings agree so far as this line is concerned, though Dr. Gravely and his collaborator do not accept the identification of this type as the *Northern* which Prof. Acharya suggests by adding northern in brackets after the rendering. It may be pointed out here that there is no term in the text which is thus suggestive, and this explanation in bracket should strictly not have found a place in the translation.

The next three lines give the nature of the *Vesara* style of structures and they run as follows :

मूलाग्रम् वृत्तमाकारं तद्वृत्तायतमेव वा ।
 ग्रीवादिस्तूपिपर्यन्तं युक्ताथोऽतद्युगाश्रकम् ।
 वृत्तस्याग्रे द्वयश्रकं तद्वेसरिनामकं भवेत् ।

This text is rendered by Prof. Acharya as follows :

That (type is named *Vesari* (eastern) the upper portion of whose basement is of the circular or elliptical form, from the neck (of the dome) to the apex, it is fittingly quadrangular, and from above the circular part, it is oval. (*Mānasāra*, vol. IV, p. 203).

This rendering we are forced to state is very unsatisfactory. The basement is here first mentioned, but the shape of the lower part of it is not mentioned, thereby suggesting that it may be of any shape. Its upper part, it is said, must be circular or elliptical. This means that there should be a circular or elliptical form for the surface of the plinth which itself, as suggested, may have any shape. This is certainly a very curious combination of shapes and is nowhere met with except in *Balipīṭhas*. The part of the sentence following may be taken as referring to the basement, in which case it is meaningless. If, however, it is taken as referring to the top-part of the structure itself, the idea will be that the part of the structure from the neck to the apex is fittingly quadrangular, that is to say, a vertical section of the same will be four-sided or square. And as to the question what the shape is of the structure between the neck and the basement, this must be presumed to be laid down in the rest of the sentence 'and from above the circular part, it is oval', for the circular part is mentioned only at the top of the basement. If we now put together these ideas, we get for the *Vesara* type of edifice a plinth of any shape, ending, however, in a circular or elliptical shape, a cella of oval shape and a neck and dome of quadrangular shape. This is a curious combination of shapes, and, so far as we know, there can be cited no instance of such a type of structure available and such a description is not in accord with the description given by any

writer of *Silpa-śāstras*. This rendering ignores all structural possibilities and runs counter to the description given by other writers. Probably moved by this consideration and also by a study of other texts on the subject, Dr. Gravelly and his collaborator gave another interpretation which runs as follows :

That in which the extremity of the bottom has a circular shape, or is an elongated circle,—[? by studying it intelligently] it is from the neck onwards to *Stūpi* two-cornered, [namely] in front of the circle two-cornered—is called *Vesari*.

The layman will certainly be put to much difficulty to understand from this description the nature of the *Vesara* structure; for the rendering, as it stands, conveys no sense. We find it difficult to analyse it. Further, it perpetrates the mistake of understanding *Yugāśra* in the sense of two-cornered—a term which evidently means four-sided or four-angled or four-cornered. This is the sense in which all *Silpaśāstrakāras* use this *San̄khyāvācaka*, so far as we have been able to ascertain. The presence of a circular band at the top or at the bottom of the plinth—for the extremity of the bottom may mean either top or bottom—constitutes, according to these authors, the peculiar feature of *Vesara* structures. Evidently, then, this rendering is as unsatisfactory as that of Prof. Acharya. We do not know how they successfully applied this term to available structures. Either their application is wrong, or if that be right, the structures to which they applied this terminology are not based on *Silpa-Śāstras*. *Prima facie* their application is wrong, because, according to their interpretation, this terminology cannot include in it the type of structures which are circular from the plinth to the *Stūpi*—a type of buildings very common in Kerala, unless they are presumed to hold the view that Kerala structures do not come under the orthodox variety.

The text on *Drāviḍa* runs as follows :

मूलाग्रं स्तूपिपर्यन्तमष्टाश्रं वा षडश्रकम् ।
तदग्रं चाग्रं वापि त्रीवस्याधोयुगाश्रकम् ।
पुर्ववच्चोर्धदेशं स्याद् बिडं परिकीर्तितम् ।

Here also equally unsatisfactory are both the renderings. Prof. Acharya renders it thus :

The *Drāviḍa* (Deccan or southern type) is stated to be octagonal or hexagonal from the basement up to the apex (of the dome); as an alternative its forepart may be rectangular and the part below neck quadrangular and its top part should be as before.

One cannot make out the distinction that the writer seems to imply between the terms rectangular and quadrangular in this context. So far as we know, both the terms here mean the same thing—four-sided with right angles at the corners. And it is in this sense that the author uses these terms elsewhere. Hence the first part of the sentence which lays down the shape of the fore-part and of the part below neck mean only this much : they are rectangular in shape, or four cornered in the terminology of Dr. Gravely and his collaborator. If the idea of the author is as we have interpreted him, then this could have been clearly written like that. The top part here evidently refers to the part above the neck. In any case the sentence is certainly ambiguous. Dr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran renders this passage in a different way :

That which from the extremity of the bottom to the *Stūpi* is octagonal or hexagonal, or even has its extremity elongated its base below the neck two cornered and the upper part as narrated before, is what is called *Drāviḍa*.

We must confess to a sense of inability to understand this piece of prose. It appears that the writers assume—we put forth this idea very tentatively—that the *Drāviḍa* structure will have the base octagonal or hexagonal, the cella apsidal, and the top-part hexagonal or octagonal. This rendering certainly includes in it the idea that the *Drāviḍa* structure will have in some part of it an apsidal form. This view is not justified by any text we have studied. We might also with certainty point out here that the sentence following in their translation has nothing particular to do with *Drāviḍa* structures; for this refers to *Stūpi* which we have set forth elsewhere. (See *Indian Culture*, vol. III, no. ii, pp. 353-359).

Enough has been said to show that both the renderings—that advanced by Prof. Acharya and that advanced by Dr. Gravelly and Mr. Ramachandran—are unsatisfactory and do not tend to elucidate the shapes of the three styles of *Nāgara*, *Drāvīda* and *Vesara*. On a careful study of many texts on the subject of 'styles', it appears that the text, presented in Prof. Acharya's edition of the *Mānasāra*, is defective. Take for instance the expression *mūlāgram*. As it stands, it can mean only *mūlasyāgram*, the extremity of the base, as it has been rendered. The basement cannot have one shape and its extremity another shape: the whole must necessarily be of one shape. At the same time the presence of *mūla* side by side with *agra* suggests the idea 'from the base to the top.' Hence we have to recast the phrase into *āmūlāgram* or *mūlādīvā*; and we prefer the second of the readings, as it suits the metre and reduces the correction to a minimum. The expression *yuktātho* is accepted to be wrong and we propose to substitute instead the phrase *grīvasyādho*, removing the *tad* also following. The phrase *vr̥ttasyāgre* is wrong in this context, for no *Śilpa-sāstra* speaks of an apsidal head and neck in combination with a circular forepart. This, therefore, we change into *āmūlāgram* and consistently with that change *tad* into *vā*. With these changes we get a sensible idea of the shape of the *Vesara* type of building. A slight emendation is also necessary so far as the next line is concerned: we read *mūlādīvā* instead of *mūlāgram* and *tadeva* for *tadagram*. With the changes mentioned here we re-write the section as follows:

चतुरश्राकृतिं यत्तु नागरं तत् प्रकीर्तितम् ६३
 मूलाद्वा वृत्तमाकारं तद्वृत्तायतमेव वा ६४
 ग्रीवादिस्तूपिपर्यन्तं ग्रीवस्याधोयुगाश्रकम् ६५
 अमूलाग्रं द्वयश्रकं वा वेसरीनामकं भवेत् ६६
 मूलाद्वा स्तूपिपर्यन्तमश्रां वा षडश्रकम् ६७
 तदेव चायतं वापि ग्रीवस्याधोयुगाश्रकम् ६८
 पुर्वच्चोर्धदेशम् स्याद् विडम् परिकीर्तितम् ६९

When the text is thus re-cast, it yields a very sensible idea; and it may be set forth as follows :

	Liṅges
That which has a square shape is well-known as <i>Nāgara</i> 93
What is circular or ellipsoidal from the base (upwards)	... 94
or from above the neck to the finial, the part below being square;	... 95
or what is apsidal from the base to the top may be termed <i>Vesara</i> 96
From the base upwards to the finial what is hexagonal or octagonal,	... 97
or the same elongated; or what has the part below neck square,	... 98
that above being as laid down before, is termed <i>Drāviḍa</i>	... 99

The text and rendering given above are in accord with what we find in other texts on the subject. There is also no practical difficulty in applying these terms to existing structures. An emendation, more or less on these lines, has to be accepted, if the text of the *Mānasāra* has to be brought into line with other texts on the subject.

It may be argued that the terminology of *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara*, as understood by us, presents difficulties in the matter of practical application. Even if we assume that there is some difficulty, our answer is that all architectural treatises are not written with reference to all existing structures. These grew up at different times and it is but natural that some of the texts were written after, and others before, the putting up of certain structures.

The idea of the text, as we have rendered it, may be tabulated as follows :

Styles	Pure	Mixed		Remarks
		Below neck	Neck and above	
Nāgara	Square			In Nāgara type there is no mixture.
Vesara	Circular, Ellipsoidal, Apsidal	Square	Circular, Ellipsoidal,	In Vesara the mixture with the ellipsoidal is not accepted by other authorities.
Drāviḍa	Hexagonal, Octagonal, both elongated	Square	Hexagonal, Octagonal, both elongated	In the Drāviḍa type the elongated hexagon and octagon are not accepted in mixture by other writers.

In conclusion we may say that both *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* structures, but not *Nāgara* ones, may be pure or mixed in shape. When it is the latter, the part of the structure below neck is always square both in *Drāviḍa*, and *Vesara*: only the shape above the neck will vary in either. In *Vesara* structures the shape of this part will be *circular* and in *Drāviḍa*, *octagonal* or *hexagonal*. Hence we may legitimately say that the main basis of distinction between the styles is the shape of the neck and the head. This would show that there is no imperfectness so far as the statements of the *Suprabhedāgama* and of Ram Raz are concerned. Only they are incomplete, and this, be it noted, is but natural; for all writers cannot naturally be expected to be familiar with all available structures. Further, according to Kumāra, the author of the *Śilparatna*, this simple basis of differentiation can be applied with exactitude only with reference to such structures, as are void of *Kūtas* and *Koṣṭhas*. When these are present, the basis of differentiation is something else, as is laid down in the same chapter. This aspect does not seem to have attracted the attention of writers on Indian architecture. Two extracts, ascribed to this author, are given by Dr. Gravelly and his collaborator, and after a study of these the authors have come to the conclusion that the *Śilparatna* account is confused. Our study of the same does not show that there is any confusion. For the sake of clearness we tabulate the ideas of the author as set forth in the two extracts:

Styles	Extract I	Extract II
Nāgara	Completely square	Completely square
Drāviḍa	or " " Hexagonal or " " Octagonal	Octagonal neck and head
Vesara	or " " Circular, or circular from neck above	Circular from above neck.

It needs also to be pointed out that the first of these extracts is from the *Tantrasamuccaya* and the second from the *Kāśyapa-śilpa*.

When it is also remembered that in the section immediately preceding, the author has quoted in full from the latter work the basis of differentiating structures having *Kūtas* and *Koṣṭhas*, we may here see only a passing reference to the old mode of classification. Hence it is our feeling that this stricture on Kumāra is unwarranted.

These authors have further identified as *Vesara* the northern type of buildings crowned with *Āmalaka*. This identification assumes that *Āmalaka* and *Śikhara* are *one and the same*. *Kāmikāgama* in describing the parts of a temple says that when a structure has an *Āmalaka*, *Gala* is placed on *Śikhara* and on *Gala* stands *Āmalaka*. Here then is at least one text which definitely states that *Āmalaka* and *Śikhara* are distinct and different (chapter 49 verse 5). We have tried an identification of these in our papers on *Āmalaka* (*Calcutta Oriental Journal*, vol. I, pp. 189-196) and *Śikhara* (the *Annamalai University Journal*, vol. V, pp. 200-215). Equally unsatisfactory is their identification of the *Nāgara* type of structure. We have in the second of the papers mentioned shown that the northern type of temples is *Nāgara*, only they are crowned by *Āmalaka*. To us it appears that the whole argumentation advanced in the work has been vitiated by the authors' identification of *Āmalaka* with *Śikhara* and by their interpretation of *Yugāśra* as *two-cornered*, which are both untenable.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI

Relation between the Pālas and Senas

The chronology of the Pālas and Senas is far from being definitely settled but according to the almost accepted chronology¹ Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty appears to be a younger contemporary of Rāmapāla and it has been suggested that the *sāmanta* king Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī who helped Rāmapāla to recover his paternal throne from the Kaivartas is to be identified with Vijayasena.² It seems that the 19th verse of the Deopārā inscription in a veiled but intelligent manner refers to the part played by Vijayasena in helping Rāmapāla to recover Varendra and this established his future claim for the kingship of Bengal when there arose a dispute regarding it. The 19th verse is translated thus: "By him (Vijayasena) who gave away land in heaven to his rival princes and accepted (from them) the earth in return, the sword-blade marked the writing in the blood of heroes was made to serve the purpose of document, as it were, in anticipation, otherwise how could earth come to be enjoyed by him when there arose disputes regarding her and presenting his drawn sword the host of his opponents would admit defeat".³ It is to be noted that Vijayasena gave land to his rival princes and in this connection "*divyabhūva*" has been used, recalling "*divyaviṣaya*" of the *Rāmacarita*.⁴ Vijayasena gave land to the *pratipakṣa* king which probably refers to a Pāla king. If it be true that Vijayasena really helped Rāmapāla in the Kaivarta rebellion, there was no question of rivalry with the Pālas at that time but at the later period when Vijayasena was aspiring after the Gauḍa kingdom, the Pālas were certainly rivals.

There is no doubt that there arose a dispute among rival claimants for the Gauḍa kingdom during the weak rule of the successors

1 Roy, *Dynastic History*, I, pp. 281-82, 353-54.

2 *IA.*, 1920, p. 175.

3 We follow N. G. Majumdar's Transl. of the verse, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 53. Verses xvii & xviii also deserve attention in this connection.

4 Attention was first drawn to this by N. N. Vasu, *Vañger Jātiya Itihāsa, Rājanya Kānda*, pp. 302-3.

of Rāmapāla, and Vijayasena was ultimately successful in the struggle that followed. The next verse of the Deopārā inscription gives the names of the rival kings and chiefs whom Vijayasena had to fight with. It is said that he impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa who has been generally identified with Madanapāla, the last known Pāla king of northern Bengal. It is not known what was the result of the attack but the evidence of the Deopārā inscription goes to show that southern Varendra at least passed into the hands of Vijayasena. It is important to notice that Vijayasena and his son Vallālasena did not assume the proud title of Gaudeśvara in their own records, though it has been ascribed to them in the grants of their successors. That the Gauḍa king (most probably a Pāla king) was ruling up to the time of Vallālasena is clear from the Mādḥānagar grant, where it is stated that when a crown prince, Lakṣmaṇasena seized suddenly the sovereignty of the lord of Gauḍa.

Two kings whose names end in Pāla and who assumed the title of *Gaudeśvara* are known from the epigraphic records, though their relation with the Pālas of Bengal is not known. The Gayā stone inscription⁵ is dated at 1232 V.E. = 1175 A.D. that year being the "gatarājya caturdaśa samvatsara"⁶ of Govindapāla. The affix *Pāla*, the Buddhist title *paramasaugata* and the title *Gaudeśvara* raise a strong presumption that he belonged to the Pāla dynasty. It is clear that he ruled in Gayā and in its vicinities about the middle of the 12th century. R. D. Banerjee⁷ assumes with a tolerable degree of certainty that Govindapāla ruled over a portion, probably of eastern one, of Magadha. The Jayanagara image inscription of Palapāla⁸ also goes to show that some portion of Magadha was under

5 *The Pālas of Bengal*, pl. xxviii.

6 For interpretation of the date, *JASB.*, 1921, p. 13; *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 579 ff.

7 *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 109.

8 *JBORS.*, 1928, p. 489 ff; *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 579 ff.

the rule of this king. The known period of his reign is 35 years and he should be placed either before Govindapāla or more probably after him. If he belonged to the Pāla dynasty, his title *Gaudeśvara* indicates that he did not give up his claim on the throne of Gauda for which the fight was going on. This is an agreement with the evidence of the Mādhānagar plate. The struggle between the Pālas and Senas during the reign of Vallālasena is confirmed incidentally from another source. In the *Vallālacarita* of Ānandabhaṭṭa (a book of doubtful historical value, composed in the 16th century) the following account is to be found. "Once upon a time Rājā Vallāla (Vallālasena) borrowed a crore of rupees from Vallabhānanda, the richest banker of the time for conquering the king of Uddantapura (Uddandapura), but repeatedly defeated in battles in the neighbourhood of Manipur, he determined to make a grand effort and sent a messenger to Vallabha for borrowing money. This was refused except on certain conditions which enraged Vallālasena against Vallabhānanda and his caste men, the *Suvarnavaniks*."⁹ Again, in another connection one officer of Vallālasena is addressing the king thus, "the inordinately ambitious Vallabha assumes a hostile attitude to thee (Vallālasena), siding with the Pālas. He is greatly honoured among his caste because the king of Magadha is his son-in-law."¹⁰ With such historical background and in view of the political tension reflected in this passages it will not be unreasonable to conclude that the account of the degradation of the *Suvarnavaniks* in the social strata by Vallālasena was more due to political reasons rather than to the flimsy stories given in the *Vallālacarita*, if there be any truth underlying them.¹¹

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

9 *Vallālacarita*, Eng. Trans. by Mm. H. P. Sāstri, p. 15.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

11. For detailed discussion of this point, see my forthcoming monograph on *Kulinism in Bengal*.

Sāsīgupta and Candragupta

There is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the origin of Candragupta and the Maurya dynasty founded by him. Dr. Spooner in his article "Zoroastrian period of Indian History" (*JRAS.*, 1915) drew the attention to the striking resemblance between the palaces of Candragupta and those of the Persian emperors, which made him arrive at a far fetched conclusion that Candragupta was a Persian. But if the history of the period is more carefully interpreted it will appear more than likely that Candragupta, if not to Persia, did originally belong to the north-western India. I have discussed in detail this question of the north-western origin of Candragupta in a separate paper.¹

The testimony of Appian a historian of 123 A.D. has been lightly treated by modern scholars. He wrote the history of Syria. His references to Candragupta are worthy of greatest considerations, because of the very intimate relations between Seleucus, the founder of Syrian empire, and Candragupta the founder of the Indian empire. Appian clearly calls Candragupta as the "king of Indians who dwelt about Indus".² If Candragupta belonged to the north-west may he not be the same person as Sāsīgupta, who was a remarkable personality west of the Indus, and who had played an important part even during Alexander's campaign in India. It may be noted that Candragupta and Sāsīgupta are synonyms.

Sāsīgupta (or Sisikottos, as the Greeks called him) was the ruler of some state east of Hindukush. He went with his forces to Bactria to help the Iranians against Alexander. After the Persians were defeated in their last stand he went over to Alexander's side. In the region lying between Hindukush and the Indus, Alexander received strong resistance from the Aśvakas. They made a last

¹ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. VIII, part II, 1937.

² Mc'Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 7, 8.

stand at Aornos, an exceptionally strong rock citadel which commanded the passage to India from the north-west. Alexander after he subdued Aornos left it in the charge of Śaśigupta, and then crossed the Indus." Arrian calls him as the Satrap of Assakenois.³

If Candragupta is identical with Śaśigupta, then Candragupta was left by Alexander in a very advantageous position west of the Indus, and soon after Alexander's retirement from India Candragupta put himself at the head of his neighbours i.e. the rulers of the Punjab, Sindh, and perhaps his previous allies the Persians, and started on a career of further conquest of India. The drama *Mudrā-rāksasa* perhaps represents a correct historical tradition in so far as it brings about the conquest of Magadha by Candragupta with the help of the north-western people. I have tried to identify afresh the people mentioned in the drama as well as the Aśokan inscriptions in a place "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire," to be published shortly in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. In a paper sent to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London I have identified Parvataka of the drama with Porus of the Greek historians.

H. C. SETH

3 For Śaśigupta refer to *Cam. Anc. His.*, vol. VI, Macedon, p. 402; *Cam. His. of India*, vol. I, pp. 350, 356; V. Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 59, 76, 112, 200.

4 Mc'Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 112.

REVIEWS

EVOLUTION OF THE KHALSA, VOL. I—THE FOUNDATION OF THE SIKH PANTH by Indubhusan Banerjee, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar and Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, published by the University of Calcutta, 1936, Demy Octavo, 312 pages.

It is under the above caption that Mr. Indubhusan Banerjee publishes just the first volume of his long-awaited account of Sikhism. In presenting his account he broadly divides the history of Sikhism into two periods, the first or earlier period extending from the advent of Guru Nanak to the compilation of the *Granth Sāhib* in 1604, and the second or later period from 1605 to 1699. To put it in the author's own words: "From the days of Guru Nanak down to the year 1604 when the compilation of the *Granth Sāhib* was completed, the movement ran on peaceful lines. Sikhism gradually detached itself from Hinduism, developed ideals and institutions of its own, and the Sikh Panth came to acquire a more or less definite meaning. And Sikhism had no quarrel either with Islam or the established State but at the very outset of the second period, which may be said to have extended from 1605 to 1699, when the Khalsa was brought into existence," we have the execution of Guru Arjan, etc., (pp. 3-4).

I quote these words not only because they clearly distinguish between the two periods of the History of Sikhism, each of them needing a handy volume for its orientation but also because they serve to put in a nutshell the subject-matter of the work as a whole.

And its subject-matter, namely, the evolution of the Khalsa, is introduced as a great problem, in finding out a satisfactory solution for which one has to consider and carefully weigh all available

evidences and dispassionately watch the process of development and the onward progress of the movement till it culminated in the inauguration of a full-fledged Sikh military organization. Mr. Banerjee applies throughout a cathartic to expose the futility of all attempts to account for the later developments in Sikh history of all manner and kind by the received teachings of the earlier Gurus, especially of Nanak. As he conceives and portrays the course of the Sikh history, when Sikhism was started by Guru Nanak, it emerged as one of the similar other contemporary and earlier movements, purely spiritual in its aim and deeply devotional in its method, planting its faith in the Name of the Lord, reposing its absolute trust in the *Sadguru*,—pre-eminently a religion for the householders. In spite of all theoretical demunitions of caste, its rigidity and inherent social injustice, the caste rule as to inter-dining and inter-marriage were as much observed in practice by the Sikhs of the earlier days as by other sections of the Hindu community. Had Sikhism been left to pursue its own course and proceed on its own lines, its history would not have been fundamentally different from that of Vaisnavism or Saivism, of Buddhism or Jainism. But as Mr. Banerjee seeks to show, Sikhism differed from other parallel movements in that “whereas the other schools developed, more or less, on traditional lines, and after short periods of fruitful activity, quieted down into narrow, hide-bound or at best mystical sects, Sikhism went off at a tangent and ultimately evolved what has been called a church-nation.” In short, he calls our attention to the set of circumstances, (in so far as the present volume is concerned), under the pressure of which Sikhism took or had to take a different line of development, as though by way of a digression from its original path, and was ultimately transformed into a complete military theocracy. The picture, even of the earlier phase of Sikhism, of the foundation of the Sikh Panth, is characterised by a wonderful sense of fairness and clarity of vision, and the stages are clearly marked out.

The exhaustive bibliography appended at the end of the volume exhibits his wide rendering, including that of the original sources of information, as well as his critical power of judgment.

Mr. Banerjee's work is a remarkable addition to modern historical literature; it is thought-provoking without unnecessarily offending any, and edifying without being unnecessarily discursive and circumvent. Such a work should find its place in every home or institution that cares for a piece of good literature.

B. M. BARUA

CERA KINGS OF THE SANGAM PERIOD by K. G. Sesha Aiyar, pp. vii + 183, Luzac & Co., London 1937.

In this well-written monograph the author, who is an ex-judge of the Travancore High Court, attempts what he claims to be the first connected history of the Ancient Cera kingdom. The author is fully alive to the difficulties of his subject arising mainly from the nature of his sources. These consist of the literature of the Sangam period and especially of its three component works, viz., the *Purānānūru*, the *Patirruppattu* and the *Śilappadhikāram*, of which the second is concerned exclusively with the Cera kings and the last was not only written by a Cera prince, but has the Cera king *Senkuttuvan* for its hero. All these works the author regards as contemporary documents and even the *Patigams* (epilogues) which are admittedly later additions, are taken by him to give fixity to the ancient Tamil traditions. (pp. 2-3). In assessing the historical value of these documents, the author observes (p. 3), "Tradition is really human testimony regarding the long past; and though like all human testimony it is liable to error, it should not on that account be discarded as wholly unworthy of attention.....in the absence of trustworthy first-hand evidence, tradition may and ought to be accepted as the ground-work for history.....". While the truth

of this dictum may readily be admitted, it is significant of the vagaries of the ancient Tamil (as indeed of all) tradition that another South Indian scholar, Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, working on the same basis, has drawn up a genealogy of Cera kings (*The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Table III), materially differing from that of our present author. In fact, as Mr. Sesha Aiyar admits, his reconstruction of the dynastic list (especially in its latter part) is hypothetical and tentative. In the result he suggests two distinct branches of the Early Ceras, the main branch ruling at Vanci and the junior branch consisting of Cera viceroys with palatine powers, who ruled the North Cera country with head-quarters at Tonḍi (p. 35).

With the dynastic history of the Early Ceras tentatively fixed, the author proceeds to solve the difficult problem of Cera chronology. He is on firm ground in rejecting the views severally assigning the Śāṅgam epoch to the 9th or 10th, the 8th and the 5th centuries. His own date, (viz. the 2nd cent. A.C.) for the Śilappadhikāram and its hero rests not only on the well-known Śen-Kuttuvan-Gajabāhu synchronism (which he stoutly defends against the onslaught of Mr. Sivaraja Pillai), but also on astronomical grounds and on certain doubtful identifications, including Bālakumāra of the Tamil epic with Ptolemy's Baleokouros. From this is derived his series of two chronological tables of the Early Ceras, extending from c. 8 B.C. to c. 305 A.C. (for the main line) and from c. 90 to c. 306 A.C. (for the branch line).

The concluding chapter which describes the political, social, and religious conditions of the Early Cera kingdom, has, as might be expected from the evidence, a substantial value. The author has done well in questioning the story of Maurya invasion of Southern India and in disproving the alleged reference in the Śāṅgam works to representative assemblies. Incidentally it may be pointed out that 'Tārānātha' (Read Tārānātha) does not mention Bindudara's conquests in the Deccan and South India, while the argument from the

alleged similarity of architecture of the Malabar Coast with that of Mongolian lands about the existence of early Chinese trade-settlements and colonies in South India ignores the well-attested fact that the *Meru* style of architecture was an Indian importation into China in the 6th or 7th century. A word may be added about the bibliography. It may be questioned whether in a work dealing with the Early Ceras there is any just ground for mentioning the *Abhidhāna-Cintāmani*, the *Atharva Jyotiṣa*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and so forth among the original works, and Banerji's *Junior History of India*, the *Cambridge Short History of India*, the *Encyclopædica Britannica* and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* among the modern authorities, while it is doubtful whether much help is afforded by reference to the standard periodicals without the relevant numbers.

The work makes a distinct contribution to the growing literature about the ancient history of South India and will be welcomed by all earnest students of the subject.

U. N. GHOSHĀL

PRAVACANASĀRA OF ŚRĪ KUNDAKUNDĀCĀRYA, critically edited by A. N. Upadhye, M.A., Professor of Ardhamāgadhī, Rajaram College, Kolhapur; published by the Parama-Śruta-Prabhāvakā-maṇḍala, Bombay 1935; pages xxxvi + 376 + 61.

The *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda is one of the most famous works of the Digambaras. The Digambaras, according to a well-known tradition, disowned the canon fixed in the Council of Pataliputra presided over by Sthulabhadra. In order to provide the church with works of almost canonical importance, some of the leaders of the Digambara church composed works which have been rightly called by Prof. Upadhye *Pre-canonical* texts. The *Pravacanasāra* is one of them.

The *Pravacanasāra* consists of Gāthās written in Jaina Saurāsenī. These gāthās are about 275 in number. They preach the fundamental tenets of Jainism. The present work contains a critical edition of these gāthās with three commentaries, two in Sanskrit, compiled by Amṛtacandra (10th century) and Jayasena (13th century) and the third in Hindi by Hemaṛāja (17th century). The commentary of Amṛtacandra is by itself considered to be a work of great importance. The editor has given an English translation of the Prakrit Gāthās.

The introduction contains the most substantial portion of Prof. Upadhye's work. He tackles in an admirable way the main problems concerning the work—viz., the author's dates, his other works, the philosophical aspect of the work, the commentaries and finally the Prakrit dialect in which the gāthās are written.

Kundakūnda belonged to the Drāvida Saṅgha. His name is probably an adaptation of the Dravidian form Koṇḍakūnda. There is a great uncertainty about his age. Most of the traditions would place him either in the 1st cent. B.C. or the 1st cent. A.D. (Vikram. Saṃvat—49, 149). His commentators, Amṛtacandra and Jayasena, tell us that he was contemporaneous with a king called Śivakumāra Mahārāja. Pathak identified this king with Śivamṛgeśvara of the Kadamba dynasty who flourished in the beginning of the 6th century. In two inscriptions of Śaka 719 and 724 (797 and 802 A.D.) there is also reference to Kundakundānvaya. On these grounds Dr. Pathak placed Kundakūnda in the 6th century. Prof. Upadhye has however rightly shown that no importance can be attached to the occurrence of "Kundakundānvaya" in those inscriptions as it is found also in an earlier inscription—viz. the Merkara plate of 388 Śaka (= 466 A.D.). Prof. Upadhye leans towards the traditional date and places Kundakūnda in the 1st cent. A.D. But the reference to his contemporaneity with Śivakumāra Mahārāja still remains to be explained. Besides we should not forget that the oldest commentator of Kundakūnda is Amṛtacandra who is placed

by Prof. Upadhye in the 10th century A.D. There are difficulties which still stand in the way of establishing a very early date for Kundakunda.

Prof. Upadhye has made a thorough study of the language of the *Pravacanasāra* and he has shown that it is Jaina Śauraseni with a strong Ardhamāgadhī substratum. There is no influence either of Sanskrit or of Deśī on it. It is thus in his opinion more ancient than the language used in the Prakrit verses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. If the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is placed in the 2nd cent. A.D., the *Pravacanasāra* would be an earlier work. But the evidence of this kind, as Prof. Upadhye has himself admitted, cannot be of an absolute character.

On the whole the work of Prof. Upadhye is an excellent performance. His method of treatment of various problems is irreproachable and the edition is critical. The work is an important contribution to the Jaina studies.

P. C. BAGCHI

THE VIRĀṬA-PARVAN, being the Fourth Book of the Mahābhārata, critically edited by Raghu Vira. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1936.

The first volume of the Institute Edition of the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, in seven fasciculuses (1,215 pages, quarto) was completed in 1933; we have now the second volume, complete in one fasciculus (362 pages, quarto), containing the Virāṭa-parvan. The Virāṭa is a much smaller book; but we understand that the first fasciculus of the Udyoga, containing nearly half of the Parvan, is already passing through the Press and will be published in the course of the current year. In the next two years we are assured that the Udyoga will be completely published, and possibly we shall have in our hands a part of the fairly extensive text of the Aranya by that time. Considering the magnitude, difficulty and complexity of the work, we congratulate the General Editor and his Associates on this

comparatively rapid rate of progress achieved without sacrificing efficiency and thoroughness. The progress also demonstrates the wisdom of the policy of distributing the work of different Parvans to individual editors under the supervision of the General Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, who is responsible for co-ordinating and maintaining the same standard of workmanship, and than whom no other scholar of such long and intensive experience in this peculiar type of work can be easily found.

We had the pleasure of reviewing in this Journal the Ādi-parvan, and what we said there about the textual problems of Epic and the scope and method of the present critical reconstruction applies, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the present volume. We are glad to find that the same high standard of careful and accurate scholarship has been maintained unimpaired. Professor Raghu Vira of Lahore, to whom the editing of the Virāṭa was entrusted, is already well known for his scholarly editions of some rare and important Vedic texts; and his training in Europe and experience in text-criticism have been here fully justified. The learned Professor remarks in his Introduction that the method and technique of reconstruction, evolved by the Institute, after long and fruitful years of experience, for tackling the complicated text-problem of the *Mahābhārata*, has been perfected to such a degree that the personality of the editor has almost been eliminated; and this is certainly one of the triumphs of its great labours. But in saying this, the modest Professor is perhaps underestimating his own share of the credit; and one must say that, however perfect a system may be, it can never, in a critical work like this, altogether dispense with the skill and judgment of the mind that guides it. It is true that the materials now made available by the Institute have amply demonstrated that the text-problem of the *Mahābhārata* can never be properly solved by purely subjective theories or *a priori* methods and principles, but that the outlook should be enlarged by a careful and

comparative study of the text-evolution as revealed by the manuscripts of the diverse versions and recensions themselves. Reliance on purely documentary evidence, however, would lead to a rigid and mechanical system; and the peculiar condition of the growth of the Epic and the consequent absence of absolutely unquestionable objective criteria make it imperative for the editor of such a text to ascertain and evaluate the tradition of each type or group of manuscripts, take into account the weak and strong points of their too often conflicting testimony, balance intrinsic and other probabilities, and judge each variant in the light of such study. This involves a great amount of patience, accuracy and mastery of details, as well as proper philological training and sobriety of true scholarship. The present edition of the *Virāṭa*, in spite of its editor's unassuming disclaimer, fully bears testimony to his skill, vigilance and judgment. Credit in no small measure is also due, for the final shape in which it is published, to the unwearied care, scholarship and alertness of the General Editor and his Staff. One who is aware cannot refrain from admiring the amount of organised team-work which goes into the making of the edition of each *Parvan*, and which lightens the arduous and exacting task of the individual editor.

Each book of the *Mahābhārata* has textual problems peculiar to itself, and to this the *Virāṭa* has not proved an exception. Although a comparatively small book (of 67 *Adhyāyas* and 1834 verses, as here constituted), its problems are of no less difficult and bewildering character; and this is chiefly on account of the rather exceptional vagaries of the Northern and Southern traditions. As the *Mahābhārata* reciters commence with the *Virāṭa*, and not with the *Ādi*, the *Virāṭa* has been, as the editor happily puts it, the *Maṅgala* of the *Mahābhārata* recitation, and has consequently passed through an intensive life from the textual point of view. Throughout its total length the extraordinary divergences of the Northern and Southern recensions in the form of additions and alterations of vary-

ing shapes and sizes have become so great that a view of the common source is almost obliterated. In the Vulgate the Northern has 67 chapters with 2050 verses, but the Southern Grantha edition (Tanjore 1895) has 76 chapters with the addition of nearly 500 verses. The alterations, however, are of a peculiar character. They are not mere interpolations and emendations easily recognised and separated, nor are they such variations as one normally expects in different manuscripts, versions or recensions. In the case of the *Virāta* the versions and recensions often run parallel without much convergence, thus splitting up the text, as it does into strangely differentiated and isolated units. The reconstruction, therefore, has of necessity been partial; and, throughout, whole pages and even chapters bear the wavy line indicative of the disconcerting parallelism and uncertainty. It is no wonder that the editor, conscientiously baffled, has to confess that out of the total of 1834 verses, to which the text is reduced, he is sure for only about 300 stanzas! But one who studies his text in the light of the elaborate critical apparatus must agree with him that, with the existing manuscript material, it is impossible, if one proceeds on critical principles, to achieve better results.

Enough has been said by the editor about the unscientific and unreliable character of the so-called Southern Recension published by P. P. S. Sastri; it is not only a type of the usual "misch-codice", but also, like its prototype the Kumbhakonam edition, it may be also called a "misch-edition." These editions reflect the time-honoured mentality of the *Mahābhārata* diakeust, who wants to produce, according to his own limited light, a smooth and inclusive text by indiscriminate incorporation, athetisation, obliteration of differences and other activities so well known to the text-critic of the Epic. Relying chiefly upon one manuscript or one group of manuscripts, which does not always represent the best traditions of the particular recension, these editions are sublimely unconscious of the conflict and confusion of diverse versions and recensions, and recons-

tract, to their own satisfaction, a curious text patched up indiscriminately from varied sources, to which they apply the complacent misnomer of this or that recension. Professor Sastri wants to make out that the Southern Recension, though much bulkier and conflated, is more genuine and authoritative, inasmuch as, in his opinion, it is accepted by the Javanese version! One of the notable features of Professor Raghu Vira's researches is the detailed study he has made of the Javanese version; and his examination, as well as his critical text and concordance, would throw considerable doubt on Professor Sastri's unauthenticated contention.

In spite of the apparently poor results regarding text-reconstruction of the *Virāṭa* referred to above, any critical reader who compares the present text with the tentative one prepared by Utgikar will at once see that it is a distinctly improved and scientifically constituted text. Although we must allow him the credit of a conscientious pioneer, Utgikar placed too much reliance on a particular group of manuscripts, accepted the Kumbhakonam edition as the reliable Southern text and pinned his faith, like Professor Sastri, on the *Parva-saṃgraha* figures. A prolonged and intensive study, however, on ampler materials furnished by the manuscripts of various versions and recensions of the *Ādi*, *Virāṭa* and other *Parvans* has now dispelled these prepossessions, and has allowed us to see the problem in its variety and complexity. But this very variety and complexity have, in the case of the *Virāṭa*, unfortunately baffled all conscientious efforts, by the impossible vagaries of its peculiar text-tradition, from achieving a more satisfactory text.

But some solid results have also been attained. We have now, as the basis of future investigation, a systematic and reliable text of 67 *Adhyāyas* and 1834 verses, after purging the *Vulgate*, not on subjective grounds but on strict manuscript evidence, of 62 long (including one of 110 lines!) and 1178 short passages. The constituted text also puts into clear relief the extraordinary divergences

of the Northern and Southern versions; while the rich and systematically digested critical notes of variants, which form one of the permanent and important features of the Poona edition, give us a rapid conspectus of the Kashmiri, Bengali, Devanagari, Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam versions. Of additional testimonia we have important variants noted from the commentaries of Arjuna Miśra, Sarvajña-nārāyaṇa, Caturbhujā, Rāmakṛṣṇa and Nilakaṇṭha; and the editor's study and detailed concordance of the Javanese version are indeed painstaking and admirable.

The constituted text is based upon thirty-two selected manuscripts of the various Northern and Southern versions. The editor informs us that eleven other manuscripts were also examined and collated, but were finally rejected as being fragmentary or of independent value; hence their variants are not included in the critical apparatus. At the same time, he tells us that he himself had the advantage of a total of forty-one manuscripts over his reader, to whom the benefits of only thirty-two are vouchsafed! But this procedure appears to us to be rather strange and misleading. If a manuscript is rejected, the editor in taking private advantage of it should not deprive his reader of the testimony of one of the sources he thus utilises, at least on those particular points in which it has been of assistance to him. Of his various groups of manuscripts it is unfortunate that his fragmentary Śāradā Codex is not of much better value than his Devanagari K manuscripts. In other words, his Ś and K really form one group. He informs us, however, that his K version "has a slightly different value than in the case of most other Parvans," and he believes that they are direct copies of the Śāradā. But in the absence of a good Śāradā manuscript, where is the criterion to determine its value, except in doubtful comparison with his central Devanagari version? No commentary of Devabodha on this Parvan appears to have been available. The editor, however, appears to have been more fortunate in his Malayalam

group, which undeniably preserves the Southern tradition in a much better form than the mixed Telugu and Grantha groups; but a somewhat more detailed account of the manuscripts of this group would have been more illuminating. Although perhaps no new principles could have been laid down, it would have helped the reader to a much greater extent through the tangled complexities of the critical apparatus if the editor had made his section on the character and mutual relations of the manuscripts of the different versions fuller and more illustrated.

Of the omissions, the most interesting is the Durgā-stava of the Vulgate in the fifth Adhyāya, long suspected to be an interpolation, which is now found totally missing in the Kashmiri and Bengali versions of the North and all versions of the South. It is curious that even in the central Devanagari group of manuscripts it is found in more than half a dozen different forms, of which the Vulgate is by no means the most elaborate! Most of the other insertions, however, are Southern, or given by one version or one group of manuscripts, and are therefore rightly excluded from the constituted text.

The text in some cases requires elucidation. The editor might have added some hermeneutic notes.

We are aware of the rather general character of our present review; but it is neither possible nor desirable in a short review to be too technical or enter into the complicated text-problem. The editor warns his critic not to judge too hastily and makes him beware of the hidden pitfalls and traps which await the uninitiated at every step. He has taken three strenuous years to accomplish his task; and the critic, to be thorough, should at least take as much time to familiarise himself with the minutiae of his text. We, therefore, take his advice and refrain from entering into details; but we congratulate him on the measure of success he has attained in a work which the present reviewer knows from his own experience to be one of the most difficult, laborious and exacting tasks.

S. K. DE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XV, pars. iv.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey: Buddhacarita, XV to XXVIII*. The last fourteen cantos of Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* are not available in their original Sanskrit. The portion has therefore been rendered into English on the basis of its Tibetan and Chinese versions. This issue of the Journal contains the concluding portion of the Translation (cantos XXV to XXVIII) as also the indices of proper names and Tibetan-Sanskrit equivalents.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XVIII,
part III (April, 1937).

HARILAL RANGILDAŚ MANKAD.—*Saptadvīpā Pṛthivī*. The Meru mentioned in the Purānic descriptions of the Earth is Mount Kailāśa and is not situated at North Pole. With this new conception to start with, the writer identifies the *dvīpas* and *udadbhis* in the following manner: Jambū = Asia, Kṣāroda = Indian Ocean; Plakṣa = Asia Minor, Ikṣurosoda = Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Aegian Sea, Black Sea, Caspian Sea; Śālmali = Africa, Suroda = Mediterranean; Kuśa = Europe, Ghṛtoda = Arctic; Krauñca = N. America, Dadhimandoda = Atlantic; Śāka = S. America, Kṣiroda = Pacific; Puṣkara = Australia and Islands; Śuddhoda = Antarctic. Beyond this lies the Suvarṇabhūmi = Antarctica with Mt. Lokāloka in its midst.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*The Date of the Viṣṇu Purāna*. Evidences adduced here tend to show that the *Viṣṇu Purāna* was written in the last quarter of the third and the first quarter of the fourth century A.C.

V. V. GOKHALE.—*The Pañcaskandhaka by Vasubandhu and its Commentary by Sthiramati*. This is an account of the Buddhist work *Pañcaskandhaka*.

Archiv Orientalni, vol. IX, no. 1-2 (April-June, 1937)

- S. M. KATRE.—*Sanskrit Śrīphala and 'Divine Fruit.'* Śrīphala may mean both *bilva* and *nārikela* (cocoanut). As the latter fruit is very much associated with Hindu religious rites, there is nothing wrong if it is rendered into English as 'divine fruit.'

Bengal Past and Present, vol. LIII, pt. i. (January-March, 1937)

- N. CHATTERJEE.—*Shamsuddaula's Intrigues against the English.*

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. I, part 2

- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*R̥gveda-vyākhyā.* Mādhava's commentary on the *R̥gveda* is being edited.
- S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI AND T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR.—*The Yoga-Upaniṣads.* Short Upaniṣads dealing with Yoga are translated into English. The *Tejobindūpaniṣad* is the subject of this instalment.
- A. N. KRISHNA AYYANGAR.—*Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra with Devāsvāmi-bhāṣya.* The sūtras together with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Gārgya Nārāyaṇa are being rendered freely into English.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra and Nāgārjuna's Bhavasamkrāntiśāstra with the Commentary of Maitreyanātha.* Sanskrit texts have been restored from their Tibetan and Chinese versions and edited along with the Tibetan versions.
- .—*Notes on Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dinnāga.*

Buddhist, May, 1937

- B. C. LAW.—*Buddhist Cave Temples.*

Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, vol. V.

part I (January, 1937)

- M. WINTERNITZ.—*Bhāsa and the Mahābhārata and Kṛṣṇa Plays.* Of the thirteen dramas attributed to Bhāsa only seven, which are based on the *Mahābhārata* and Kṛṣṇa legend, are compared to show how much they differ from other plays in the group, and even among themselves in diction, style and character.

M. MUKUNDA RAJA.—*Kathakali: A Unique Dramatic Art.* *Kathakali* prevalent in Kerala is a pantomime in which the actors do not speak or sing, but interpret their ideas and emotions through appropriate gestures and vivid facial expressions.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. IX, part 1

LIONEL GILES.—*Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection.* More than fifty Mss. in Chinese selected from the Stein Collection have been described. Several of these Mss. are Buddhist sūtras translated into Chinese.

R. L. TURNER.—*Indo-arica I.* This is a philological discussion on the Sanskrit words *puspa-* and *pusya-*.

L. RENOUE.—*Adverbes Sanskrits en -sāt et base radicale *sā.*

KASTEN RÖNNOW.—*Ved. barhanā.* The uses and meaning of the Vedic word *barhanā* have been discussed.

Calcutta Review, May, 1937

PHANIBHUSAN RAY.—*Buddhist Nirvāna.*

Gids, May, 1937.

HERMANN GOETZ.—*Oostersche Elementen in de Nederlandsche Schilderkunst (Eastern Element in Dutch Painting).* The article deals with the influence of the colonial expansion of Holland in the 17th century on Dutch painting. The topics include the many sided Eastern associations of the art of Rembrandt, the Indian innovations of Pieter Lastman, A. Cuyp's portrait of a merchant from India, Rembrandt and his Indian collections and earlier Eastern elements in Dutch art and their origin.

Indian Art and Letters, vol. XI, no. 1 (1937)

G. YAZDANI.—*The Rock-hewn Temples of Aurangabad: Their Sculpture and Architecture.*

Indian Culture, vol. III, no. 4 (April, 1937)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*The Vedic Doctrine of 'Silence'*.
References to 'silence' found in Vedic literature in connection with rites and myths have been discussed and their significance suggested.

RATILAL MEHTA.—*Asceticism in Pre-Buddhist Days*. The paper gathers information from the Jātakas about the practice of asceticism and its abuses and refers to the spirit against renunciation noticed in the stories.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE.—*Early History of the Gubhilots*.

GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR.—*Domestic Rites and Rituals*. The *Grhya* ceremonies of the Hindus together with their significance have been dealt with.

JEAN PRZYLUSKI.—*Asses, Horses and Gandharvas*. The writer shows that *gardabha*, *gandharva* and *ghotaka* (or its primitive forms) were originally of a kin.

B. BANERJEE.—*Traces of Ugrian Occupation of India*. De Hevesy's theory that Finno-Ugrian and Mundā languages belong to the same family and that similarities exist between the beliefs and customs of the Mundā and the FU people is supported in this paper.

S. K. DE.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*. The discourse continuing discussions on Jīva Gosvāmin's well-known *Sandarbhās* deals in its fifth instalment with the contents of the *Bhaktisandarbhā*, the object of which is the characterisation and glorification of the sentiment of devotion that should be directed towards the Bhagavat.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*Towards a History of the Khandha-doctrine*. The development of the Buddhist doctrine of five Skandhas is traced in this paper with the help of references in the Pitaka texts.

- C. L. FABRI.—*A Sumero-Babylonian Inscription discovered at Mohenjo-daro.* A jar discovered among the objects found at Mohenjo-daro contains on it an inscribed text in Sumero-Babylonian which translated into English means a certain quantity of barley. The shape of the characters on the vessel makes it likely that the date of the inscription cannot go beyond 2800 B.C., from which fact, it is conjectured that the objects so far excavated in the Indus valley sites are not older than 2700 B.C.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Use and Abuse of Alaṅkāra in Sanskrit Literature.*
- H. HERAS.—*Mohenjo Daro: The People and the Land.* An account of the inhabitants of the ancient Indus Valley sites has been prepared exclusively with the help of the inscriptions found at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, which the writer of the paper claims to have deciphered.
- A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*The Aśvins and the Great Goddess.* In opposition to the views of Przyluski, the paper asserts that there is no Vedic evidence to suppose that the Great Goddess and her attendants are prototypes of the Vedic Aditi and the Aśvins.
- SUSHIL K. BOSE.—*A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri Kushan Coins.*
- B. C. LAW.—*Ancient Indian Tribes.* Information has been collected regarding the Prāgjyotiṣas, Pāriyātras and Lāṭas of ancient India.
- H. C. RAYCHOWDHURI.—*A Note on the Lineage of Puṣyamitra.* Dealing with the question whether Puṣyamitra was a Śuṅga or a Maurya or a Baimbika, the writer expresses the opinion that if the account of the *Harivaṃśa* is to be believed, then Puṣyamitra belonged to Kāśyapa gotra, a fact pointing to his being a Baimbika.
- DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Janamejaya and Janaka.* The contention of Dr. S. N. Pradhan that Janaka, Yājñavalkya and Janamejaya Pāriṣita were contemporaries has been opposed.

Indian State Railway Magazine, vol. X, no. 6 (March, 1937)

E. ROSENTHAL.—*Pandua and Gaur: Wonder Cities of Old Bengal.*

Ibid., vol. X, no. 8, (May, 1937).

THEOPHILUS.—*Detective Archæology.* A stūpa near Peshwar has been described to have belonged to Kanīṣka's time.

Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. 57, no. 1 (March, 1937)

E. MACKAY.—*Bead Making in Ancient Sind.*

F. EDGERTON.—*The Aorist in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.* Materials for discussion in this paper on the aorist have been taken mostly from the verse portions of two works *Saddharmapundarika* and *Lalitavistara.*

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. VI, nos. 2 & 3

(January and May, 1937—2 issues)

S. S. BHĀRATI.—*The Age of Tolkappiam.* The writer of this paper maintains his position that *Tolkappiam*, the classic grammar of the Tamil language is of great antiquity, not later than the 5th century B.C. He meets the objections of those who are in favour of assigning the work to one thousand years later.

R. RAMANUJĀCHARI AND K. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Siddhitraya.* The *Ātmasiddhi* of Yāmunācārya is being edited with English translation and Notes.

—.—*Nyāyakulīśa.* The editing of Rāmānujācārya's *Nyāyakulīśa* is continuing.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. I, no. 1

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.—*The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda.* According to the writer of this paper, the *Gauḍapādakārikā* on the *Maṇḍūkyaopaniṣad* contains in its last

chapter (*alātaśānti-prakarana*) an exposition of the Buddhist views which have hitherto wrongly received a Vedantic interpretation. The commentary on the *Kārikās* passing for a work of the Great Śaṅkarācārya must have been, in the opinion of Professor Bhattacharya, written by some other author of the same name.

- K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Agastya or the Rise and Spread of Hindu Culture*. Evidences have been collected from Sanskrit, Tamil and the Far Eastern sources to show the significance of the Agastya legend in the Aryanisation of South India.
- S. K. BELVALKAR.—*State of Hinduism and Buddhism in Sūdraka's Mrcchakatika*.
- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*The Concept of Līlā in Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy*. Bādarāyaṇa's *sūtra lokavat tu līlākaivalyam* is interpreted as meaning that 'in this world the purpose of the Divine is exclusively for the play of the redemptive grace of God.' *Līlā* signifies in this context 'the act of freedom-giving by the Lord and not mere play.'
- A. S. ALTEKAR.—*History of Benares*. What is known about the holy place of Benares either through tradition or historical evidences has been put together.
- S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.—*Vijayanagara Polity*.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXIII,

pt. 1 (March, 1937)

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet*. This is an account of the writer's journey to Tibet and search for Sanskrit Mss. there in the monasteries resulting in the find of 156 works, descriptions of which are supplied here. A number of important Buddhist texts written by well-known ancient scholars like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga

and Dharmakīrti have been brought to India either copied or photographed.

C. C. SINHA.—*Hindu Conception of Moral Science.*

S. M. KATRE.—*Sanskrit kṣ in Pāli.*

K. K. BAŚU.—*An Account of Firoz Shāh Tughluq.* It is a continuation of the English rendering of a portion of the *Sirāt-i-Firozshāhī*, a contemporary Persian record of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughluq Sultan of Delhi.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*Notes on the Cult of the Godling Nāga in South Bihar and on a Rain-compelling Rite connected therewith.*

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Branding Seals of the Second Century A.D.* Two iron seals have been found at Nālandā, one with the word *jaya* in Brāhmī letters of 200 A.D. The seals are inferred to have been used for branding animals, and *Jaya* is regarded to be the king of the same name mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

VASUDEVA S. AGARWALA.—*Identification of Nāgadvīpa.* That Nāgadvīpa, one of the nine divisions of land described in the Purāṇas, is Nicobar is confirmed by an evidence from the *Valabassa Jātaka*.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVI, pt. 1 (April, 1937)

H. HERAS.—*Mohenjo Daro: The most Important Archæological Site in India.* The result of the writer's labour for the decipherment of the various inscriptions found at the Indus Valley sites is published in the paper.

AMALANANDA GHOSH & R. S. AVASTHY.—*References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Northern India (A.C. 730—1320).*

H. K. SHERWANI.—*Deccani Diplomacy and Diplomatic Usage in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century.* Diplomatic letters written by Bahmani minister Maḥmūd Gāwān and other correspond-

ence entered into by him on behalf of the State as well as the replies of some prominent persons of the fifteenth century are discussed.

W. H. MORELAND.—*Joban van Twists' Description of India*. This is an account of India written in the first half of the seventeenth century by a Dutchman.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XI, pt. 1 (January-March, 1937)

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Sanskrit Learning in the Cola Empire*.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Linguistic "Preservations" in Malayalam*.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Number of Rasas*. In continuation of the discussion of the position assigned to the *Sānta Rasa* in the works of poetics, a long textual extract on the subject is quoted from the *Abhinavabhāratī*, the well-known commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

V. NARAYANA AIYAR.—*A Curious Literary Coincidence*. An astonishing similarity in thought and language of the *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is pointed out by quotations from those works.

N. AIYASWAMI ŚASTRI.—*Sarvāstivāda in Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya*. The views of the Realistic School of Buddhism as understood and treated of by Śaṅkara in his *Vedānta-bhāṣya* are presented in the paper.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Recent Progress in the Archaeology of Sumatra, Hindu-Buddhist Period*.

O. P. RANGASWAMI.—*Bharṭṛhari and the Bhāgavṛtti*. Arguments are put forward to prove that the *Bhāgavṛtti* is not a work of Bharṭṛhari. The author cannot be brought down later than 650 A.C., while the work must not be placed before the middle of the 8th century.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMIA.—*A New Grant of the Gāṅga Sāmanta-*

varman. This grant of Mahārāja Sāmantavarman of Eastern Gāṅga dynasty was issued from the city of Ścetaka.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1937

B. C. LAW.—*Formulation of Pratīyasamutpāda*.

E. H. C. WEIGHT.—*Punch-marked Silver Coins: Their Standard of Weight, Age and Minting*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. V, part VI (May, 1937)

S. K. BELVALKAR.—*Miscarriage of attempted Stratification of the Bhagavadgītā*. The writer opposes Rudolf Otto's contention that three distinct strata can be found in the *Bhagavadgītā*, one in the original poem consisting of only 133 verses, another in the doctrinal tracts, and a third in the additions and glosses that came to be inserted later on. The conclusion reached in the paper is that the *Gītā* in its present form, though not a unitary poem, has been transformed into a philosophical synthesis and does not therefore admit of any stratification now.

M. R. MAJUMDAR.—*Antiquities from Gujarat*. (1) Two illustrated Manuscripts of the *Ratirabasya* from the Gujarat School of Painting. (2) A Rare Image of Soma from Gujarat. (3) A Trilingual Inscription on Step-well in Petlād. This inscription of the 17th century is in Sanskrit, Persian, and Gujarati.

Maanblad voor Beeldenden Kunsten (Monthly for Fine Arts), April, 1937

HERMANN GOETZ.—*Rembrandt en het Oosten (Rembrandt and the East)*. The great Dutch painter Rembrandt was one of the foremost Western artists to make use of Eastern themes. His 21 copies from Indian miniatures have been a difficult problem for art historians. Probably they were a gift of Dara Shukoh to the Dutch representative Fr. Timmers, 1636 A.C., and were given to Rembrandt by A. Wilmerdonks, one of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company in 1642. The master had to sell them in 1656 when in financial difficulties; then they were included in the collections of the mayor of

Amsterdam, N. Witsen, and finally found their way into the collections of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa. At present a part is in the National Library in Vienna; another has been used for the decoration of the Feketin Room in Schoenbrunn Castle near Vienna. The Indian motives in Rembrandt's paintings, however, must have been taken over from another collection of Indian paintings (Jahangir School) sold in 1628. The prevalent Eastern themes are, however, Turkish and Persian. The Eastern tradition in Dutch art was continued by the pupils of Rembrandt,—Koninck, Lievens, Maes, de Wet, Fabritius, de Poorter, Victors; Eeckhout, de Gelder, etc.

Mahabodhi, May, 1937

NARADA.—*What is Karma.*—The Buddhist conception of *Karma* is explained.

B. C. LAW.—*Prince Siddhārtha's Wanderings in Quest of Truth.*

Man in India, vol. XVII, nos. 1 & 2 (March and June, 1937)

BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA.—*Vedic Funeral Customs and Indus Valley Culture.*

Modern Review, March, 1937

P. BANERJI.—*Economic Activity in Ancient India.*

Muslim Review, vol. V, no. 2.

M. SMITH.—*The Path of the Soul in Sufism.*

New Review, March, 1937.

H. HERAS.—*Sumerian Epigraphy.* While referring to the relation between Mohenjo Daro and Sumer, the writer observes that the proto-history of India cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the history of Sumer.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 6 Heft, 1936

O. C. GANGOLY.—*Mughal and Rajput Miniatures.*

Parnassus, vol. IX, no. 1 (January, 1937)

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Indian Bronzes.*

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XII, no. iv (January, 1937)

- S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI.—*Maṇḍana and Bhāvādvaita*. The *bhāvādvaita* doctrine regards non-existence (abhāva) as a reality but does not admit that this position interferes in any way with non-dualism. The belief that Maṇḍana Mīśra was an exponent of the *bhāvādvaita* doctrine is shown in this paper to be groundless.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXVII, nos. 3 & 4
(January-April, 1937)

- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Sandhi*.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Some more Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses*. Of the three learned women dealt with in the paper, Āyicāmbā was a poetess who assisted her husband Svayambhūdeva in the composition of the Apabhraṃśa poem *Paūmacarīa*; Bīnabāyī wrote a religious treatise on the worship of Kṛṣṇa, and Padmāvati was a Sanskrit poetess, whose verses have found place in works of anthology.
- S. SRIKANTAYA.—*Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and Vidyāranya's Part therein*.
- SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*A Curious Musalman Sect*. This is an account of a sect of Musalman *Fakirs* residing in the village Baliadighi in the district of Dinajpur in Bengal. The religious beliefs and practices of these Musalmans are a sort of compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism.

Sahitya Parisat Patrika, vol. XLIII, no. 2

- YOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—পবনদূত-বর্ণিত বাঙ্গালা দেশ (*Bengal as described in the Pavanadūta*). Identification of some of the places mentioned in the *Pavanadūta*.
- SUKUMAR SEN.—বিপ্রদাসের মনসামঙ্গল (*Manasāmaṅgala of Vipradāsa*). Account of a comparatively early Bengali work composed in 1417 S.E., pertaining to the cult of the serpent deity Manasā,

which is supposed to be the earliest work to refer to Calcutta. PRABHAT MUKHERJI.—উড়িষ্কার বৈষ্ণব সাহিত্যে চৈতন্যদেবের কথা (*References to Caitanya in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Orissa*). References to what is found in Oriya literature about the line of preceptors of Caitanya, the theory that he is the incarnation of Buddha and the death of the great reformer.

Ibid., vol. XLIII, no. 3

MUHAMMAD ENAMUL HAQUE.—কবি শেখ চাঁদ (*Poet Sekh Cānd*). Account of the *Rasul Vijaya*, a Bengali poem on the life of Muhammad written by the Muhammadan poet Sekh Cānd about the beginning of the 16th century.

SARADAKANTA GANGULY.—স্থানীয় মান অনুসারে সংখ্যা লিখনের প্রচলিত সঙ্কেতটির উদ্ভাবন কাল (*The date of origin of the prevailing system of writing numerals according to local value*). The system is supposed to have been introduced by Āryabhata the Senior, between 496 and 499 A.C.

SUDHIR KUMAR MUKHERJI.—বিষ্ণু রামকুমারের ভাগবত (*Bhāgavata of Dviṣa Rāmakumāra*). Account of a poetical adaptation of the *Bhāgavatapurāna*, made into Bengali by Rāmakumāra in the beginning of the 19th century. C.C.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde,

Deel LXXVII, Afdeling, 2, 1937

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Śrījīva, Candrabhānu and Vira Pāṇḍya*.

Visvabharati Quarterly, vol. II, pt. iv (Feb.-Apr., 1937)

M. WINTERNITZ.—*India and the West*. This is an English version of a popular lecture in German delivered by Dr. Winternitz, showing what relations India has had with the West from the time of the Indus Valley civilisation to the present day, and describing how Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture was introduced in the West.

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The Origin of the Proto-Indian and the Brāhmī Scripts

The beginnings of script lie in so ancient a time that it is difficult to study them and even to state with sufficient certainty, what were its primitive forms. On the contrary, the borrowing of script, with or without modifications, occurred often in much less remote periods and takes place even in modern times. It can in consequence be observed very closely. The search for the origin of script must therefore begin with the study of this phenomenon, because we are able to acquire about it precise knowledge without calling to help our fancy, as is mostly the case in memoirs about the beginnings of script.

From the mass of examples I shall choose two which will prove, I hope, especially instructive. A negro overseer working at the Uganda railway was to register some tools. As he could only write figures, he simply drew the tools adding the respective numbers.¹ The text looks very primitive but is without the slightest doubt the result of European influence, for from the European the negro learnt the existence of script and its use. Even the form is only partly his own but this has very little importance the main thing being that without the example of his writing superiors, the overseer would never have thought of writing himself.

¹ Danzel, *Die Anfänge der Schrift*, p. 210.

More interesting as this strictly individual writing is the script elaborated about 1900 A.D. by King Njoya of the Bamun in Camerun. Njoya could neither write, nor read, but he knew how our script works and that group of letters serve as mnemonic signs for words. This knowledge enabled him to choose about 350 hieroglyphic signs² each corresponding to a word of the Bamun language. As the use of this script presented some difficulties Njoya replaced afterwards the word signs by syllable signs and at last by letters.³ He changed also hieroglyphic writing into a cursive. This description tallies with the theoretical representation of the spontaneous development of script given very often by orientalists, e.g., Father Deimel. That this latter is false, follows from what was said above. Before beginning to work out his script Njoya knew the principle of writing, knew that signs made on paper could be associated with a word, even with a phrase, and last not least knew how and to what purpose to use them. In a word at the beginning of such a script lies a thorough knowledge of writing, which can only be acquired by the study of a perfect model, in the cases described above—of our alphabet.

Another script due to European influence is the one of the Cherokee. Its author, Sikwaya, borrowed from our alphabet not only the principle of writing, but also the sign forms using them however not for letters, but for syllables. If we tried to decipher this script giving its signs their European values the result would be absolute nonsense.

We have still to consider here the Ogham. The Irish taking over one of the South European alphabets as a whole changed

² Under hieroglyphs I understand written signs corresponding to words, syllables, letters, determinatives and having the form of images. They are often called pictographs, a term, which in my opinion should be reserved for pictures representing events, or at least corresponding to whole phrases.

³ Danzel, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

thoroughly the form of the letters, which do not bear the slightest resemblance to their model. Nevertheless there is no doubt about the provenance of the Ogham, as stated above.

The presence of some Aramean letters in the Glagolitza does not alter the fact that it is an adaptation of the Greek alphabet to a Slav language. It is but from one language that we learn the principle of writing, for once learnt, it cannot be learnt again, but we can take our signs from a multitude of scripts even from such, as we are unable to read.

We have learnt from those examples some particulars about the borrowing of script, which till now seem to be strangely disregarded.

1. The borrowing of script is no proof for racial or even linguistic affinities between two peoples, as Dr. Hunter seems to think.⁴

2. The same signs may in two scripts have different values. There was, to say the truth, no need to take here as example the Cherokee script. A comparison between the so-called 'Greek and Latin or the actual Russian and general European alphabets would show us, in some measure, the same phenomenon. It is therefore inadmissible to try to decipher an unknown text giving simply to its signs the values they have in other scripts.

3. Scripts may be borrowed without their signs. The differences between sign forms are therefore no proof of an independent origin of two scripts. The statement that the Brāhmī is not borrowed from some Semitic alphabet because Bühler's equalisations of the signs of both scripts are not sufficiently convincing, cannot be accepted in the light of our experience. We shall speak about this question later on.

4 G. R. Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro*, p. 47.

4. As it is said above, the Glagolitza contains some Aramean letters, so does the Gothic script elaborated by Ulfilas, and we find in the Coptic some demotic signs. In all those cases the borrowers probably knew the other scripts from which they took their signs, but principally this is not absolutely necessary. We can easily imagine some adaptator of a script choosing his signs from a writing he is incapable of reading. This was in some measure the case of Sikwaya, the Cherokee, who did not read English, but had the bearing and use of writing explained to him. We must never forget that it is exceedingly easy to invent or choose signs for a script and that therefore the fancy of the borrower has here large scope, and fancy is incalculable.

5. A script composed of signs each corresponding to a word is not primitive, even if these signs have the form of barbaric hieroglyphs, just because it is a script enabling us to express more or less accurately all the values of a language. We must never forget that, as far as we know, the beginnings of script lie in pictures commemorating some event of great importance, e.g., the migration of the Aztecs in the Mexican chronicles. From these it is a long way to conventional signs corresponding to a word. I have represented this development elsewhere⁵ and shall not repeat it here. I will only remark that the indispensable proof of a spontaneous development are compositions with hieroglyphs as integral parts.

We shall pass now from our times to the less known regions of pre-historic Hither Asia. We find there scripts: in Uruk in Jemdet Nasr, in Susa II, in Kish, in Fara II which can be already regarded as Sumerian and in the Indus valley. All of them bear an unmistakable likeness either to the script of the negro overseer from Uganda, or to some stage of the Bamun writing, there can therefore be no

⁵ Am. Hertz, "Les débuts de l'écriture," *Rev. Arch.*, Oct.-Dec. 1934, pp. 115 ff.

doubt that as in those two cases a perfect script had served them as model. This accounts for the similarity of their signs and not a common provenance from some primitive source. As the script borrowers in Hither Asia have unlike Njōya taken a number of signs from the writing they were imitating, we will try to use this circumstance in order to find out the place of provenance of their scripts.

First of all I shall repeat a remark of Dr. Hunter that the resemblance of the Proto-Indian script is closer to the Proto-Elamite than to the Sumerian or even to the primitive forms of Jemdet Nasr.⁶ This gives the Proto-Elamite a central position and points to Elam as the place from which the script was derived.

We shall now examine the Proto-Elamite sign in the form of a human head. It is represented in a pointed bonnet with two bits of ribbon or two feathers at the top, a headgear worn exclusively at Susa I whereas at Susa II the flat tiara and wigs of different forms were in use. The image of the human head as Proto-Elamite hieroglyph must therefore have been chosen from a sign-repertory elaborated at Susa I. In a word we have some reason to search at this stratum for the perfect script which served as model for all the others in Hither Asia. Further proofs supporting this opinion are:

1. The highly conventionalised art in Susa I resembling in this respect the art of Mexico and Egypt at the beginning of the script development.

2. Representations in which signs known later as hieroglyphs form an integral part, e.g., a branch in a circle inserted between the horns of the ibex.

3. The fact that a number of hieroglyphs of the later scripts of Hither Asia can be found as ceramic ornaments on the vases from oldest Elam: Susa I and Moussian I.

6 R. G. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

However till now we have no very ancient texts from Elam, with the exception of an inscription on a stone found by Mr. de Mecquenem in Chow above a "Susā I" stratum. Scholars generally will not accept the high age of this text. Mr. Dussaud ascribes it to a low Aramean period, and really a part of the inscription reminds us of the Aramean and the Arabic cursive. But there is another part of it which shows unmistakable resemblances with the Proto-Indian, the Egyptian and the Easter Island scripts. Some of the anthropomorphous signs remind us in their general style of analogical Egyptian and Proto-Indian hieroglyphs without being with them identical. Not only these signs but also the svastikas found in the text are incompatible with a low Aramean period (about 600 to 700 A.D.) in Persia. In a word it is difficult to fix the date of the inscription if we do not admit its very high age. We must not forget that the Proto-Indian shows in its sign forms, affinities to the Egyptian and Easter Island hieroglyphs as also to the letters of some Semitic alphabets. It is not improbable that the source of these affinities might have been the scripts from which all these later systems of writing derived. An inscription like that found by Mr. de Mecquenem serving as a model would certainly explain all those resemblances. But for the moment we will leave this question open awaiting further developments.

But even if the said inscription is not a specimen of Susā I writing, there can be little doubt that a finished script existed in this stratum from which all the later ones, including the Proto-Indian hieroglyphs, are directly or indirectly derived.⁷ Some originality is shown only by the Egyptian hieroglyphs, because in them the last

⁷ Already in 1917 I stated that the Sumerian script could not be original, *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie*, 1917, pp. 388-89; in 1928 I pointed to Susā I as its probable source, *Rev. Arch.*, 1928, 90ff., in 1929 I declared that all scripts of Hither Asia including the Proto-Indian have a common origin, *Rev. Arch.*, 1929, pp. 217 ff.

and probably most difficult step, the division of the phrase into words before finding for them mnemonic signs, was done spontaneously.⁸ But the stimulus to fix in some way historical events and acquired knowledge and who knows, perhaps also the writing of proper names and their division into letters, came from the Hither Asia source. From there also were, at least partly, chosen the hieroglyphic signs.

If we sum up what we have said above we come to the conclusion, that in a very far past there existed surely in Hither Asia, very probably in Susa I, a script whose direct or indirect influence was as universal as that exercised much later by the Semitic alphabets. Its traces are found everywhere. This script, as all those elaborated spontaneously, could not be applied to another language, without a thorough alteration. This explains us the differences in the sign forms of different scripts. The Egyptians knew the oldest script only imperfectly, so that they were compelled to work it partly out by themselves. They needed for it more than a millennium.⁹ It is not quite improbable that the oldest script contained among others also signs for consonants and that the Semitic alphabet appears not as an alteration of the Egyptian, but of the Susa I script. At any rate the resemblance between some Proto-Indian signs and Sabeian or Phoenician letters is better accounted for by an origin from a common source than by later mutual influence. But this explanation is not quite sure, and even if it were, the said signs could easily have different values in the different scripts. If I speak at all about this hypothesis, it is only to show, that in consideration of the very slight knowledge we have of this question we should study every possibility. For this cause the text from Chow

8 I cannot repeat here the arguments given by me in other papers. I refer the reader to my "Débuts de l'écriture" already cited.

9 The script begins in Egypt at the end of the prehistoric times, in concordance with the shortest chronology proposed by Scharff about 3000 B.C., it reaches its full development in the Middle Kingdom about 2000 B.C., *Erman 'Aegyptische Grammatik*, 4th ed., § 20.

mentioned above must not be discarded as useless, but treated with caution till new material brings more light about it.

We shall now study the question of the provenance of the Brāhmī. I shall begin with a few words about the Proto-Indian language. There is no cause to regard the Proto-Indian and Proto-Elamite languages as allied on account of the close connection between their scripts,¹⁰ we see to what different languages the Cuneiform was or our alphabet is applied. I think it also very improbable that the Proto-Indian should survive in one of the languages spoken actually in India, Drāviḍa or Muṇḍā. Even if the Proto-Indian states and their civilisation did not disappear definitely in the middle of the IIIrd millennium, they could not have existed very much longer without leaving traces either in India, or in the adjacent states. Their end must have therefore taken place not many centuries later, that is about the time of the fall of the last Sumerian dynasty in Mesopotamia. And the Sumerian language has completely disappeared and is now, after millenia of neglect, only an object of scientific research. The Egyptian empire was conquered in 525 B.C. by the Persians, its civilisation survived this catastrophe by more than 500 years, but its language is about 300 years dead and is used only in the Coptic church. Even Latin, if we do not take into consideration its importance in church and school, is at present spoken only in highly modified forms known to us as Romanic languages. I could prolong the list of languages, dead now, which flourished at a time, when the Proto-Indian civilisation was already long lost and forgotten, but what I have said suffices, I hope, to show how slight is the possibility that the Proto-Indian language survives till now in one form or other. But if we will search for it, we must take into consideration, as the relations between Rome and the later European states teach us, the language of the foremost heirs of the Proto-Indian civilisation,

¹⁰ Sayce, *Antiquity*, June 1927, p. 206.

viz. Sanskrit. In a word, either the Proto-Indians spoke the Indo-European,¹¹ or another language which deformed the Indo-European of the invaders who entered India about 1200 B.C. The latter statement seems to me more probable, but both assumptions should be treated rather with caution.

The Indians collected much of the Proto-Indian civilisation, but did they also take over its script? This is very doubtful, as not only no trace of a written text was found before Aśoka, but there is some proof that there was a long time when such texts did not exist. The necessity to repeat strictly the words of holy scriptures discourages generally their recitation and compels them to be read. The Egyptian priest when officiating was accompanied by another, who from a papyrus roll read to him the ceremonies he was to perform and the text he should speak; till now the Catholic priests are not allowed to say Mass, they must read it, etc. If the Brāhmaṇas still recite from memory whole religious works, without looking at or reading the texts, I can only explain this by the strong influence of a tradition originated in times, in which script did not exist. We have some right to assume that they did not write in India long before the Aśokan period and that therefore the knowledge of the Proto-Indian script was already lost, when the Brāhmī was elaborated. The idea of writing must have come from elsewhere probably through a Semitic alphabet, but for some reason or another the script borrowers chose their signs from the old texts, they possessed, but did not understand them. Thus we should have to explain the affinities between the two scripts and not by an influence of the Proto-Indian on the Brāhmī. One cannot learn how to write from a text, nobody is capable of reading it, it is a pattern without meaning.

In spite of all said here there is still a slight possibility that the

¹¹ That should not exclude the possibility that the invaders of 1200 B.C. were also Indo-Europeans, as was the case of the German conquerors of the Empire.

Brāhmī was elaborated directly after the invasion of India by the Aryans or at a later time, when the Proto-Indian script was still in use. There is however not the slightest proof for this hypothesis. The Brāhmī signs correspond to open syllables, composed each of a consonant and the long ā. Joint to another vowel or a diacritic stroke these syllable signs become consonants. The authors of the Brāhmī had therefore a notion of consonants. As long as we have not proved that in the Indus script there existed also consonants or, better still, syllable signs composed of consonants and the long ā, which in conjunction with other vowels or diacritic strokes became consonants, so long we shall regard the Brāhmī as derived from one of the Semitic alphabets, for that were the only scripts composed exclusively of letters. All Semitic alphabets I shall consider as the result of an influence of the Egyptian script as only there signs for consonants existed. I have said above that I do not regard it as impossible the oldest script should already contain letters, we may still find them in the Proto-Indian, but for the moment they are not found yet and in consequence we have no right to assume that the Brāhmī or the Sabeian is derived from the Proto-Indian.

We must always bear in mind that the greatest difficulty in the invention of a script was the elaboration of the principle of writing, because the idea to associate words, which are heard, with signs, which are seen, is exceedingly far fetched and complicated. It could not have been simply guessed at, the moment the necessity of writing arose, but must have been the result of a long development, the last stages of which are shown to us by the Mexican and protodynastic Egyptian texts. Where the script appears suddenly in a form which suffices to express in writing every text or at least a group of texts—the principle of writing must have been borrowed from elsewhere, whereby most certainly the borrower knew how to use this model or at least how to use it. A completely incomprehensible would be in the circumstances absolutely worthless.

The division of words into syllables is much more natural and far easier than their division into letters. It is impossible that a script composed of word and syllable signs should give the borrower the idea of letters. In whatever form they appear in a borrowed script, their presence shows that they existed in the model. Affinities of form between older syllable or word signs and younger letters should be otherwise accounted for than by an imitation of the former by the latter. In the case of the Proto-Indian and the Brāhmī it can be explained through the choosing of signs from an incomprehensible text for a script elaborated under the influence of a Semitic alphabet, in the case of the Proto-Indian and the Semitic alphabets the resembling signs were probably taken over from the oldest common source. They had not necessarily the same values in the 3 scripts.

I add what I have already said for years: too much importance is accorded to the study of the sign forms in different scripts. It is very easy to perform, but it leads to nowhere. The most essential differences between sign forms give no evidence of independent origin, as the Bamun script and the Ogham teach us, and far-going resemblances prove certainly connections between two civilisations but not necessarily the influence of one script upon another.

AMELJA HERTZ

Central Asiatic Provinces of the Maurya Empire

It is evident from the inscription of Aśoka that the Mauryan and the Syrian empires were conterminous. In the second rock-edict the Yona king Antiyaka is referred to as Aśoka's borderer in the north, just as the Coḍas, the Pāṇdyas, the Satiyaputa, the Ketala-puta are referred to as his borderers in the south.¹ The empire under the first Maurya emperor Candragupta extended much beyond the Indus. Strabo informs us "the Indus formed the boundary between India and Arianê, which lay immediately to the west, and was subject to the Persians; for in later times the Indians occupied a great part of the Arianê which they received from the Macedonians."² How this area was acquired by the Indians is thus described by Strabo: "The order in which the nations of Arianê are placed is as follows: Along the Indus are the Paropamisadai at the base of the Paropamisos range; then towards the south are the Arachôtoi; to the south of whom succeed Gedrosenoi with the other nations who occupy the coast. The Indus runs in a parallel course along the breadth of these regions. The Indians possess some of the countries lying along the Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians. Alexander took them away from the Arianoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleukos Nikator gave them to Sandrakottos in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants."³

1 सर्वत विजितमिह देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आतंब-
पंगी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
राजानो सर्वत देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो द्वे चिकीळ कता

Rock Edict II, Girnar Version, *CII.*, vol. I, p. 2.

2 McCrindle, *Ancient India* (1901 ed.); p. 15.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Pliny also says that "most writers do not fix the Indus as the western boundary (of India), but add to it the four satrapies of the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, and Paropamisadae."⁴ Vincent Smith acutely remarks "the observation of Pliny that numerous authors include in India the four satrapies of Gedrosia, Arachosia, Aria, and the Paropamisadae must have been based on the fact that at some period previous to A.D. 77, when his book was published, those four provinces were actually reckoned as part of India. At what time other than the period of the Maurya dynasty is it possible that those provinces should have formed part of India? Pliny's information about the country was mainly drawn from the writings of Megasthenes and the other contemporaries of Alexander, Candragupta and Seleukos; and the natural interpretation of his observation requires us to believe that the four satrapies in question were 'the large part of Ariana ceded by Seleukos'. . . Kabul and Kandahar frequently have been held by the sovereigns of India, and form part of the natural frontier of the country. Herat (Aria) is undoubtedly more remote, but can be held with ease by the power in possession of Kabul and Kandahar."⁵ Vincent Smith's surmise that Herat formed part of the Mauryan empire seems to be borne out by the persistence of such names as Kila Maur, (Fort of the Maurya ?), on Kush river, commanding one of the old and most direct roads from Herat to Merve. As Holdich remarks, "In the Kush river more than one ancient site was observed, Kila Maur being obviously one of the most important."⁶

Thus the dividing line between Aria (modern Herat) of the Mauryan empire and Parthia (modern Khorasan) of the Seleucid empire might have been the Hari Rud as it flows beyond Herat northwards. Further north-eastwards the Seleucid empire was

4 *Hist. Nat.*, VI. 23.

5 *Early History of India*, p. 151.

6 *Gates of India*, p. 237.

perhaps separated from the Mauryan empire by the great barrier of mountains, the highlands of Afghan Turkestan and the Hindukush. These highlands, and even the mountainous regions further east beyond Pamir, were controlled by the Mauryan empire, as they seem to have been inhabited by people, who, as discussed below, according to the inscriptions of Aśoka, were within his dominions, and with whose help according to the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* Candragupta overthrew the Magadhan empire.

In the fifth rock-edict Aśoka calls Yonas, Kambojas, and Gandhāras as some of his western borderers. The thirteenth rock-edict puts beyond doubt that they were within his dominions. Thus, Hultzsch translates it "here in the king's territory, among the..... Yonas and Kambojas, among the Nābhakas and Nābhapañktis..."

Gandhāras:—Of the people mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions the Gandhāras are well-known to Sanskrit literature. The boundary of Gandhāra fluctuated from time to time. It always included regions immediately towards the north-west beyond the Indus. But at times adjoining regions towards the east of the Indus were also included in it.

Kambojas:—Kambojas have not been so far correctly identified. There is no doubt that they were a very ancient people. Dr. Bimala Charan Law remarks, 'The Kambojas appear to have been one of the early Vedic tribes. The earliest mention occurs in a list of ancient Vedic teachers given in the *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda*'.....The next important mention of the Kambojas is in a passage of Yāska's *Nirukta* which shows that they spoke a dialect of the Vedic tongue differing in some respects from the standard language.....The next mention of Kambojas is that made by Pāṇini."⁷ Kambojas are included by Kauṭilya amongst the

7 *CII.*, I, p. 48.

8 *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 230 sqq.

great Kṣatriya śreṇis of his time.⁹ Kambojas play an important part in the *Mahābhārata* as the allies of Duryodhana.

The etymology of the word Kamboja (kam + bhuj) suggests that it refers to a people who were the masters (enjoyers) of the country known as Kum. This line of thought suggests a possible identification of the country of Kambojas with the mountainous regions between the Oxus and the Jaxertes (i.e., the old Sogdian satrapy) and beyond the Jaxertes. The mountainous regions, from which Jaxertes and many other rivers which meet this great river arise, are called by Ptolemy as "the Highlands of Komédai."¹⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus also calls these Sogdian mountains Komedus.¹¹ The words Komédai and Komedus suggest Kom-deśa or the land of Kome. We also learn from Ptolemy that a tribe variously called by him as Komaroi, Komédai, Khomaroi, and Komoi, was widespread in the highlands of Bactriana, Sogdiana and Sakai. He remarks, "The parts of Bactriana in the north and towards the river Oxus are inhabited by Salaterai and the Zariaspai, and to the south of these up towards Salaterai the Khomaroi, and below these Komoi."¹² Again "The tribes of the Sakai, along the Jaxertes are the Karatai and the Komaroi, and the people who have all the mountain regions are the Komédai."¹³ The words Komaroi and Komedai like Kamboja may suggest the meaning 'master' (= Rāi & Dev) of Kom or Komedesh. It is difficult to say how far the vast tracts of land on either side of Oxus called as Kyzyl Kum and Kara Kum may yet bear the traces of the name of this once powerful and great people.

9 *Arthśāstra*, II, ch. I.

10 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, trans. and edited by Majumdar, 1927, p. 275.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 325.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 268. Salaterai of Ptolemy may have some connection with Salatura associated with the name of the great grammarian Pāṇini.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 284. "Cunningham has identified Komedai of Ptolemy with the Kimitho (Kumidha) of Hiuen Tsang. Their mountain district is that called Muz-tāgh." (*Ibid.*, p. 278).

The traditions even in the ancient Indian literature point to the Kambojas inhabiting the Oxus region. Kālidāsa in the *Raghu-vamśa* puts them near the Pārasikas, Yavanas, and Huṇas, on the banks of Vanku (Oxus).¹⁴ The *Rājatarāṅginī*, the testimony of which on this point, is of great value, also puts them north of Kashmir.¹⁵ In the *Mahābhārata* too they are often, as we shall presently see, mentioned along with Vāhlikas, Pārasikas and other people to the north-west of India.¹⁶ In the Buddhist literature Kambojas are put in the extreme north-west of India with Dvārakā as its capital.¹⁷

- 14 पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
 इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूँस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥६०॥
 यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
 बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदयः ॥६१॥
 ततः प्रतस्थे कौवेरीं भाखानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
 शरैरुसैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ॥६६॥
 विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वङ्कु-तीरविचेष्टनैः ।
 दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुङ्कमकेसरान् ॥६७॥
 तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्त्विकमम् ।
 कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥६८॥
 काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।
 गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षौटैः सार्धमानताः ॥६९॥

15 Verses 163-165. *Taraṅga*, IV.

16 Cf. कृतवर्मा तु सहितः काम्बोजवरवाल्हिकैः ।

शिरस्यासीन्नरश्रेष्ठः श्रेष्ठः सर्वधनुष्मताम् ॥१७॥ भीष्मपर्व ७५

As H. H. Wilson long back noted "The Vāhlikas or Bāhlikas are always associated with the people of the north-west and ultra-Indian provinces and are usually considered to represent the Bactrians, or people of Balkh." (*Viṣṇu Purāna*, p. 191, ed. Oriental Translation Fund Committee, 1840). According to him "The Kambojas were a people of North-West of India.....There is apparent trace of their name in the Caumogees of the Kaferistan, who may have retreated before the advance of the Turk Tribes." (*Ibid.*, p. 374.)

17 *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

If it be right that the Kambojas were on the Oxus, then its capital Dvārakā may be identified with Darwaz (Persian equivalent of Dvārakā) in Badakshari on the Oxus. Darwaz are the mountains which fringe here the river to the south. The name may

Nābhaka and Nābhapañktis:—These have not been so far identified. Since they are mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions along with the Kambojas and Yonas they also might have belonged to the trans-Himalayan region not far from Kambojas. Bühler's suggestion that the Nābhaka of Aśokan inscription may be Nābhikapura placed by *Brāhma-Pūraṇa* in Uttarakuru in the trans-Himalayan region has been lightly treated by Dr. Bhandarkar, who remarks, "Senart seems to be right in supposing that the outlying provinces have been enumerated in Rock Edict XIII, in a definite order. The Nābhapañtis of Nābhaka must therefore be looked for somewhere between the North-West Frontier Province and the Western Coast of India. This weakens Bühler's suggestion..... And no other scholar has yet come forward with a new identification."¹⁸

It is a mistake to think that these people referred to, in the above Edict, are placed in a position extending north to south. Aśoka only mentions for illustration some of the important people within his own dominions. The Edict does not militate against Nābhakas and Nābhapañtis being in the north along with the Kambojas and the Yonas.

If we go into the etymology of the terms Nābhaka and Nābhapañktis, they seem to indicate people living in higher mountainous regions skywards (*Nabha = sky*). If this surmise is correct Nābhaka of Aśokan inscription may be associated with the Nawak pass in the Hindu Kush (35.46 N. 70.3 E.) through which, there is reason to believe, lay an old important route up towards Pamir leading on to Chinese Turkestan. Describing the important mediæval routes between the east and the west Holdich remarks "From Andarab the

be due to the river being fordable at this place. As Holdich remarks, "East of Hazrat Imam were the traces of a gigantic canal system with its head about Sherwan, from which point to the foot-hills of Darwaz the river is (or was) fordable in almost any part." (*Gates of India*, p. 433).

¹⁸ *Aśoka*, p. 33.

route strikes east at first, but after crossing the Nawak pass over a spur of the Hindu Kush, it turns and passes down the valley of Anjuman to Jirm and Faizabad.....It is important to note that Anjuman route from the pass at the head of the Panjshir valley was a recognised route in the middle ages.¹⁹

The antiquity of this route may be noted from the fact that Alexander returned that way after his campaigns in Bactria and Sogdiana. Hiuen Tsang went that way from Kapisa (which Cunningham places in the Panjshir and Ghorband valley) to Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan in the Chinese Turkestan. Cunningham remarks "From Kapisa he passed up the Panjshir valley and over the Khawak Pass to Anderab.....towards the end of the year he passed through Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan."²⁰

The extension of the Mauryan empire beyond Nawak to the Pamir and the Sarikol regions also is suggested by the persistence of the traditions of Aśoka having built stūpas there. At Tāshkurghan "the chief place of the mountain tract known as Sarikol, and undoubtedly of considerable antiquity," Sir Aurel Stein has traced the probable "remains of the ancient Stūpa, which local tradition ascribed to King Aśoka."²¹ The Pamir region may be identical with

19 *Gates of India*, pp. 274-275. Also compare the following remark of his: "Andarab (the ancient site) being fixed at the junction of the Kasan stream with the Andarab river, the only possible route eastwards would be to the head of the Andarab at Khawak, and thence over the Nawak Pass into the Anjuman valley. Nor can the Nawak (which is as well known a pass as the Khawak) have any *raison d'être* unless it connects with that valley." (p. 428.)

20 *Ancient Geography of India*, p. lxx.

21 *Archaeological Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 11 (Preliminary Report 1901).

As regards the historical importance of Tāshkurghan he further observes, "I believe that Tāshkurghan as an historical site has claim to greater antiquity even than that implied by the notices of Sung-yun and Hiuen-Tsang. Nature itself has plainly marked it not only as the administrative centre for the valleys forming the Sarikol region, but also as the most convenient place for trade exchange on an ancient and once important route connecting great portions of Central Asia with the far East and West," p. 12.

Nābhapañktis of Aśokan inscription. The etymology of the term Nābhapañktis also bears out this view.

Yonas:—All attempts so far have been directed to put the *Yonas* of Aśokan inscription somewhere in the north-west of India between the Indus and the southern slopes of the Hindukush. Vincent Smith refers to them as the “Greek or Hellenized people on the north-western frontier.”²² Lassen identifies them “with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka’s grandfather Candragupta.”²³ Hultzsch following Lassen suggests “that these seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier.”²⁴ Dr. Jayaswal has identified them with “the city state of Nysa, where Alexander and his army felt themselves at home for its Hellenic ways”²⁵ Dr. Bhandarkar identified them with a “Greek colony of the pre-Alexandrian period on the north-west confines of India” and writes that it was between the rivers Kopphen and the Indus.²⁶

It is doubtful if there was any Greek settlement at Nysa or any other place this side of the Hindukush. Arrian does not give much credit to the Greek origin of the people of Nysa. He remarks about the stories regarding Dionysos having founded Nysa that “these stories about Dionysos are of course but fictions of the poets.”²⁷

Dr. Bhandarkar rightly argues that the *Yavanas* referred to in the Aśokan inscription belonged to the Greek colonies of the pre-Alexandrian period. “If the Greeks had for the first time been known to the Indians in the time of Alexander the Great, they would have been known by another name, but certainly not by ‘Yavana’ (Ionian), because the Greeks who accompanied Alexander were not Ionians.”²⁸ There is no doubt that the contact between

22 *Aśoka*, p. 170, note.

24 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xxxix.

25 Radhakumud Mukerjee, *Aśoka*, p. 168, fn.

27 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 184.

23 *CII.*, I, p. xxxix.

26 *Aśoka*, p. 30.

28 *Aśoka*, p. 31.

the Greeks and the Indians was pre-Alexandrian, as Pāṇini was familiar with their language and calls it Yavananai (IV. i, 49).

The Yonas referred to in Aśokan inscriptions were perhaps the descendants of Greek captives whose colonies were established in the highlands of Bactriana and Sogdiana by Darius Hystaspes and later on by Xerxes. As Holdich remarks, "the captive Greeks who were transported in the sixth century B.C. by Darius Hystaspes from the Lybian Barké to Bactrian territory were still occupying a village called Barké in the time of Herodotus. A century later again during the Macedonian campaign, Kyrenes, or Kyreneans, existed in that region according to Arrian, and it is difficult to account for them in that part of Asia unless they were the descendants of those same exiles from Barké, a colony of Kyrene whom Darius originally transported to Bactria. They were in possession of the Kaoshan Pass too. Another body of Greek colonists are recorded to have been settled in this same part of Bactria by Xerxes after his flight from Greece, namely, the Brankhidai, whose original settlement appears to have been in Andarab."²⁹ Writing about Andarab Holdich mentions "We have seen that from the very earliest, prior to the Greek invasion of India, this was probably the region of western settlements in Bactria. It is about here that we find the greatest number of indications (if place names are to be trusted) of Greek colonisation."³⁰ These Greek colonies seem to have been quite extensive. It was amongst these that Alexander massacred 'a harmless community of exiles from Branchidae for their ancestors' supposed treachery towards Apollo.' The true cause of the massacre might have been that they refused help to Alexander.

The above mentioned Greek colonies will be close to Nābhakas and Kambojas whom we have already located in the highlands near the Oxus. It is not only in the Aśokan inscriptions that the Yonas

²⁹ *Gates of India*, p. 91.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

and Kambojas are put together, but in old Sanskrit texts also they are mentioned together. We have already quoted the passage from Kālidāsa where he puts them together near the Oxus. In *Manusmṛti* also they are mentioned together.³¹ In the *Mahābhārata* the Yavanas are mentioned along with the Kamboja and Gandhāras in the same order in which they occur in the fifth Rock edict of Aśoka.³² In many places in the great epic Kambojas and Yavanas are closely associated.³³ In the Buddhist literature the Yavanas and Kambojas are very closely associated. "It is stated in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* that in the two hundred and thirty-fifth year of the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, Mahārakkhita went to the Yonaka province and established the Buddha's Sāsana in Kamboja and other places."³⁴

Turning to the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* we learn that Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kambojas, Pārasikas and Vāhlikas are some of the people with whose help Candragupta overthrew king Nanda

- 31 शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
 वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्रह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥
 पौरुडूकाश्चौड-द्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
 पारदा पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ chap. 10, vv. 43-44.
- 32 उत्तरापथजन्मानः कीर्तयिष्यामि तानपि ।
 यौन काम्बोज-गान्धाराः किराता बर्बरैः सह ॥४३॥
 (शान्तिपर्व ch. 207. Kinjwadekar ed.)
- 33 शका यवन-काम्बोजास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
 वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥२१॥ (अनुशासनपर्व ch. 33)
 उत्तराश्वपरम्लेच्छाः क्रूरा भरतसत्तम ।
 यवनाश्चीनकाम्बोजा दारुणा म्लेच्छजातयः ॥६५॥ (भीष्मपर्व ch. 9)
 तेषां प्रपन्नाः काम्बोजाः सुदक्षिण-पुरःसरा ।
 ययुरश्वैर्महावेगैः शकाश्च यवनैः सह ॥१४॥ (द्रोणपर्व chap. 7.)

34 B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 249.

"Sāsane pana Pañcatimsādhike divassasate sampatte Mahārakkhiṭathero Yonakaraṭṭham gantā Kamboja..... ādisu anekādisu raṭṭhesu sāsanaṃ paṭiṭṭhāpesi." *Sāsanavaṃsa* (P.T.S.), p. 49.

of Magadha.³⁵ Of the people mentioned above we have already identified the Yavanas and the Kambojas. There can be little doubt that they are the same people as mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions.

Pārasikas are the Persians who were perhaps the inhabitants of the Persian satrapies, which were conquered by Candragupta.³⁶ Vāhlikas may be the Bactrians of the highlands, which as we have surmised above, formed part of the Mauryan empire. In a paper 'Inscriptional Evidence of Candragupta Maurya's Achievements' (being published in the *Journal of Indian History*) I have shown that the emperor Candra in the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription is Candragupta Maurya, and the reference in the inscription to the Vāhlikas, whom he conquered after having crossed the seven sources of the Indus, is to these Bactrian highlanders.

As regards the Śakas and Kirātas they may be identified with the Sakai and one of their tribes Karatai put by Ptolemy on Jaxertes. We have already quoted the passage in which he remarks that "the tribes of the Sakai, along the Jaxertes are the Karatai and the

35 अस्ति तावत् शक-यवन-किरात-काम्बोज-पारसीक-वाह्लीक-प्रभृतिभिः चाणक्य-
मति-परिगृहीतैः चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेश्वरवलैः उदधिभिरिव प्रलञ्चोच्चलितसलिलैः समन्तात् उपरुद्धं
कुसुमपुरम् । Act II.

36 Or the Pārasikas may be identified with the Parsioi mentioned by Ptolemy as inhabiting parts of Paropamisadai which was "bounded on the west by Areiaon the north by the part of Bactrianê, on the east by a part of India along the meridian line prolonged from the sources of the river Oxus..... and on the south by Arakhosia." Ptolemy mentions the following people as inhabiting Paropamisadai: "The northern parts are possessed by the Bolitai, and the western by Aristophyloi, and below them the Parsioi, and the southern parts by Parsyêtai, and the eastern by the Ambautai." Ptolemy also mentions Parsiana and Parsia amongst the towns of Paropanisadai. (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 310-312, Translations.)

Parsva is a war-like tribe referred to by Pāṇini (5. 3. 117). References to it are also to be found in the Vedic literature. It is difficult to say in what relation these Parsioi of Ptolemy stood in relation to the great people who were the founders of the kingdom of Pars, which gave the name to the big empire founded by Cyrus the Great. One wonders if the Parsioi of Ptolemy were a colony of these western Persians, or was it their original home.

Komaroi, and the people who have all the mountain regions are the Komêdai." In the passages quoted above from the Sanskrit texts we also find Śakas and Kirātas generally mentioned along with the Yavanas, Kambojas and Pārasikas.³⁷ If, as we have already surmised in case of the Kambojas and Nābhakas there is a persistence in these regions of old names then the present Karategin (40 N. 70 E. *Times' Atlas*, plate No. 50) and Kara-Tau (44 N. 70 E. plate No. 67) near the Syr Darya (or Jaxertes) may be associated with the Kirātas of the Sanskrit texts and Karatai of Ptolemy.

In a paper "Did Candragupta Maurya belong to north-western India?"³⁸ I have expressed the view that Candragupta was not related to Nandas, he belonged to Gandhāra region and was identical with Śaśigupta. If these views are correct we can safely suggest that the influence and the power of Candragupta was first consolidated nearer his own home provinces beyond the Indus, where we have put Kambojas, Yavanas, Nābhakas, Vāhlikas, Pārasikas, Śakas and Kirātas. It was the combined strength of these north-western and Central Asiatic people which overthrew the mighty Nanda empire of Magadha. If Candragupta is identical with Śaśigupta, we have then very strong reasons to believe that Candragupta was responsible for driving Alexander out of India with tremendous losses amounting to a complete discomfiture. (See my paper "Was Alexander routed in India," *Indian Review*, June, 1937). It was perhaps this signal achievement of Candragupta at a remarkably young age which made him a great hero with all these

37 Also compare the following from the *Mahābhārata*

यवनाः किराता गान्धाराश्चीनाः शबर-बर्बराः ।

शकास्तुषारा कङ्काश्च पल्हवाश्चान्द्रमद्रकाः ॥१३॥ (शान्तिपर्व chap. 65).

Kālidāsa also in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (ch. IV-V. 76) puts Kirātas near the Yavanas, Kambojas and Huṇas.

38 Published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, January, 1937. See also my paper 'Śaśigupta and Candragupta' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XIII, No. 2, June 1937.

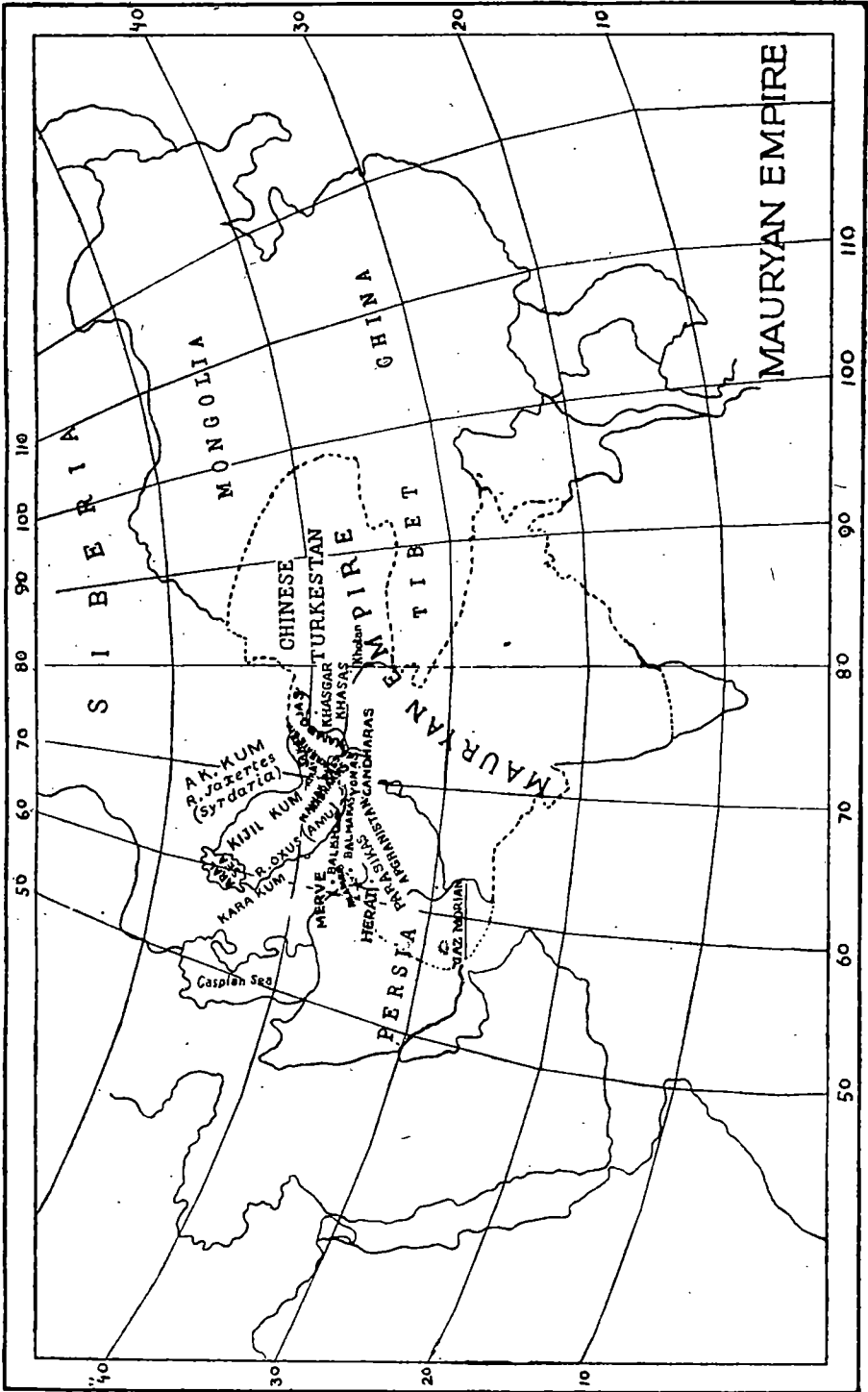
people of north-western India and Central Asia as well as his Persian neighbours, and which could explain the strong hold not only he but even his successors for several generations had over all these people, and no foreign power could dream of invading India so long as Mauryas were strong.

It is therefore very likely that the Mauryan empire extended to the highlands of Balkh, Badakshan and Pamir is correct, we may safely believe in the correctness of the Tibetan traditions that even the adjoining region now known as Chinese Turkestan was also within the Mauryan empire.

"The legends of Tibet, recorded in more forms than one, assert that the city and kingdom of Khotan to the north of the Himalayan ranges, were founded during the reign of Aśoka by the co-operation of Indians and Chinese who divided the country between them;It is also alleged that Aśoka, the king of Āryāvarta, visited Khotan in the year 250 after the death of Buddha."³⁹

Saint-Martin gives the following very strong arguments for locating the Khaśa in Chinese Turkestan, and associating the modern Kashgar with their name. "Ptolemy indicates the situation of the country of Kasia towards the bending of the Imaös to the east above the source of the Oxus,.....The name of Khaśa has been from time immemorial one of the appellations the most spread through all the Himalayan range. To keep to the western parts of the chain, where the indication of Ptolemy places us, we there find Khaśa mentioned from the heroic ages of

39 V. Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 81. Also compare "At the head of the Khotan dynasty the Tibetan texts place Kustana or Salana who is said to have been born to the queen of emperor Aśoka," (Khotan Studies, by Sten Konow, *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 344. As suggested in the *Cambridge History of India* (vol. I, p. 500) Kustana may be identical with Aśoka's son Kuṇāla, who at one time was the Viceroy of Taxila. The existence also of the Arhat Yaśas, the minister associated with the Khotan legend of Kustana, seems deserving of credence as he is mentioned in the *Sūtrālamkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa." (*Cam. History of India*, vol. I p. 507.)



I.H.Q., September, 1937.

India, not only in the Itihāsa or legendary stories of the *Mabā-bhārata*, but also in the law book of Manu,⁴⁰ where their name is read by the side of that of the Darada, another people well-known, which borders in fact on the Khaśa of the north. We find the Khasas mentioned in more than 40 places of the Kāśmīr Chronicle among the chief mountain tribes that border on Kāśmīr. Babar knows also that a people of the name of Khas is indigenous to the high valleys in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Hindu-Koh; and with every reason, we attach to this indigenous people the origin of the name of Kashgar, which is twice reproduced in the geography of these high regions. Khaśagiri in Sanskrit, or according to a form more approaching the Zend, Khaśaghairi, signifies properly the mountains the Khaśa.⁴¹

Thus if the Khaśas of the Ceylonese chronicles are correctly identified above, this further corroborates the Tibetan traditions about Chinese Turkestan being under the political authority of the Mauryan emperors.

The extension to Chinese Turkestan of the empire of the Mauryas, who, as we have discussed in the paper referred to above, originally came from Gandhāra, may account for the discovery in this region of records written in Kharoṣṭhī script and in Indian Prākṛit prevalent in north-western India. As the Aśokan inscriptions unmistakably prove Kharoṣṭhī was the script used in Gandhāra

40 See footnote 31.

41 Saint-Martin (*Étude P.*, pp. 411 ff.). McCrindle's *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, pp. 303-304.

Khaśas are also mentioned in *Mudrārākṣasa* amongst the people whom Rākṣasa and Malayaketu brought to oust Candragupta from Pāṭaliputra (Act. V.). Since they are mentioned along with Gandhāras, Yavanas, Śakas, and Huṇas, they are perhaps identical with Khasas of Chinese Turkestan not far from the Oxus region. In the *Mabābhārata* also Khaśas are put in the north along with Kāmbojas and Śakas. उदीच्यकाम्बोज-शकैः खशैश्च (उद्योगपर्व ch. 160, v. 103). We do not think that Telang is right in suggesting that the Khaśas mentioned in *Murārākṣasa* are "identical with the tribes still dwelling in the Khasia and Garo Hills in the north-eastern part of Bengal." (*Mudrārākṣasa*, Introduction, p. 30.)

in those early centuries and it seems most likely that under the Mauryan emperors it was also introduced for official purposes even in these far off regions. Sir Aurel Stein discussing the historical importance of these Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered in Chinese Turkestan observes "the use of an Indian language in the vast majority of the documents discovered, when considered together with the secular character of most of them, must be considered a striking confirmation of the old local tradition that the territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised at an early period by immigrants from the North-Western Punjab.....It must certainly lead us to believe in some historical fact underlying this tradition if in an outlying settlement of ancient Khotan territory we find documents of a secular nature written in a language closely resembling that which appears in the Punjab inscriptions and coins of the centuries immediately succeeding the period of Aśoka. It is also certain that the Kharoṣṭhī script was peculiar to the very region of which Taxila was the historical centre. Neither language nor scripts can satisfactorily be accounted for by the spread of Buddhism alone, seeing that the latter, as far as our available evidence goes, brought to Central Asia only the use of Sanskrit as the ecclesiastical language and the writing in Brāhmī characters."⁴² The Kharoṣṭhī script and the Indian Prākṛit were extensively used for administrative and business purposes throughout the Chinese Turkestan. Documents similar to those discovered in Khotan area have also been discovered far towards the east in the Lop region.⁴³

42 Sir M. A. Stein, *Archæological Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, (Preliminary Report), p. 51.

43 As Sir Aurel Stein remarks "when describing the excavations which at numerous ruins of the Lou-lan site brought to light Kharoṣṭhī documents.....I have already had occasion to allude to the special historical interest attaching to their discovery. The frequency of these finds and the observations I was able to make on the spot as to their outward appearance and apparent character seemed to justify my drawing at the time the important conclusion that the same Indian language

The very forms of epithets like 'priyadarśanaṣa priyadevaṃ' (N. iv. 13 and others. See *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart, pt. i, pp. 31 ff.) used in several of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan cannot but remind us of the Aśokan formula "Devānāmpriyena Priyadarsinā" (First Rock-Edict Mansehra). This unmistakably points to the Mauryan influence in this region. Prof. Hiralal Jain seems to be right in his opinion that the Indian Prākṛit used in these inscriptions is a variety of Paiśācī.

Holdich draws attention to the affinity of certain sections of the present population of Chinese Turkestan to the Indian Aryans. "Strange as it may seem the ancient people of this desert waste—the people who now occupy the cultivated strip of land at the foot of the Kuen Lun mountain which shut them off from Tibet—are an Indian race, or rather a race of Indian extraction, far more allied to the Indo-European than to any Mongol, Chinese, Tibetan, or Turk race with which they may have been recently admixed. Did they spread northward from India through the rugged passes of northern Kashmir, taking with them the faith of their ancestors? We do not know; but there can be little doubt that Chanto of the Lop basin and of Turfan is the lineal successor of the people who welcomed the Chinese pilgrims in their search after truth. Buddhist then and Mahomedan now, they seem to have lost little of their genial spirit of hospitality to strangers."⁴⁴

Geographically also it is more than probable that the Chinese Turkestan in those earlier centuries was politically controlled by the same power as controlled the Highlands of the Hindukush and the

found in the records of the Niya site had also been regularly used, at that early period, in the Lop region for indigenous administration and business.

"Considering how far removed Lop Nor is from Khotan, this assumed uniform extension of an Indian script and language to the extreme east of the Tārim Basin was bound to raise fresh problems." *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 413.

44 *Gates of India*, p. 172.

Pamirs. In the south it is cut off from Tibet by the snow covered Kuen Lun range. Towards the east is Nan Shan and the desert of Gobi. Towards the north it is bounded by equally inaccessible Tien Shan. It was more easily accessible from the west. The route from Badakshan through Wakhān Valley and the Wakhjīr Pass to Chinese Turkestan was a very ancient and important one. As Sir Aurel Stein observes Wakhān Valley 'from the earliest times must have been a main route linking Western Asia, and through it the classical world, with innermost Central Asia and thus the Far East. Nature itself, as it were, seems to have intended Wakhān to serve as the most direct thoroughfare from the fertile regions of Badakshan to the line of oases along the southern rim of the Tarim Basin.'⁴⁵ He makes the following similar observation regarding the Wakhjīr Pass. "The Wakhjīr Pass connects the Tāghdumbāsh Pamir and the Sarīkol Valleys with the head waters of the Oxus. Over it, there must have passed since ancient times an important line of communication between Chinese Turkestan and the Iranian territories on the Oxus.....Notwithstanding its great elevation, the Wakhjīr Pass and its approaches both from west and east are comparatively easy. Comparing the topographical facts with Hiuen Tsang's account in the Si-yu-ki, I am led to conclude that the route followed by the great Chinese pilgrim, when travelling about A.D. 649 from Badakshan towards Khotan, through "the valley of Pomilo (Pamir)" into Sarīkol, actually traversed this Pass. "⁴⁶ There were also other important routes from the west to Chinese Turkestan.

It is very likely that Chinese Turkestan was the primeval seat of the Indo-Aryans, and even during the Mauryan times they were the dominating people in this region. As Sylvain Lévi remarks, "who could have suspected that Kucha in the heart of Chinese Turkestan, on the very border of Chinese and Turkish

⁴⁵ *Serindia* vol. I, p. 60.

⁴⁶ *Archaeological Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, pp. 10, 11.

dominions was an Aryan city as far as race is indicated by language. At an early time, not yet precisely determined, Kucha had received Buddhism from India, and according to the evidence of the literature the whole of the local civilisation was Buddhist."¹⁷ Chinese and then Tibetan occupation of this land belongs to subsequent centuries.

It may not be amiss here to raise briefly the question of the extension of the Mauryan empire towards the satrapies of Arachosia and Gedrosia parts of which, as we have already noted, were ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta. The discovery of the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary on Koh-i-Khwaja in Sistan suggests that this province also was perhaps included in the Mauryan empire, and the Buddhist influence reached there in the time of Aśoka himself.¹⁸ Further south, if the persistence of old names of places can be taken as a safe guide, then we may suggest that Jaz Morian Lake (27.20 N. 58.50 E.) might have marked this side the western boundary of the Mauryan empire. As the name suggests, this place commemorates some signal victory or achievement of the Mauryan emperors. It may be the construction of the lake itself like the big Sudarśana lake by Candragupta further east in Kathiawad and also it may be the place where some big battle was won by Candragupta, perhaps against Alexander himself.¹⁹

Annexed hereto is a Map to show the extent of the Mauryan Empire based on the above conclusions.

H. C. SETH

47 *IRAS.*, 1914, pp. 959-960.

48 Compare the following remarks of Sir Aurel Stein regarding the remains at Koh-i-Khwaja "That Buddhism had during Sassanian times and probably before them possessed a footing in Eastern Iran is not subject to any doubt. How far westward exactly its influence extended is a question which only future archaeological exploration on the ground are likely to elucidate. The hurried examination I was able to carry out of the ruined site has sufficed to show that its remains look back on a long history." *Innermost Asia*, vol. II, p. 919.

49 See my paper "Was Alexander routed in India?" *Indian Review*, June 1937.

Maurya Candragupta and Mayurbhanj Rulers

The origin of the glorious imperial Maurya dynasty remained shrouded in obscurity for centuries. According to the version recorded in the Sanskrit dram *Mudārākṣasa*, Candragupta the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was the son of Murā, a Śudra woman. This Murā origin of Maurya Candragupta was called in question when the old Pāli works were discovered. It was disclosed by the *Mahāvamsa* that Candragupta descended from the Kṣatriya Moriya clan of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Solar race. This tradition is believed by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri,² Mm. Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha³ and other scholars. The object of the present paper is to show that the tradition of the *Mahāvamsa* relating to the origin of Candragupta finds corroboration in the Bhañja epigraphic records of Mayurbhanj.

Although three Bhañja copper-plate grants of Mayurbhanj have already been published, the tradition relating to the founder of the Bhañja family as recorded in them has hitherto remained unintelligible to the scholars, and on that account the origin of the Maurya dynasty referred to in the said tradition has escaped the notice of the scholars. Two new Bhañja copper-plate grants which are edited in the following pages have recently been discovered in the vicinity of Khiching, the capital of the ancient Bhañja territory, and one of them furnishes two new data. With the help of these data the origin of the Maurya dynasty can be compared with the aforesaid tradition; and also the circumstances in which Candragupta was installed on the throne of Magadha can be ascertained.

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 470.

² *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 181.

³ *History of Rajputana*, vol. I, p. 87.

In this paper these important points will be taken up just after the accounts of the two new grants.

Altogether five copper-plate inscriptions including the present two of the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj have so far been discovered (henceforth referred to as A, B, C, D, & E as shown below).

A. Bamanghati copper-plate of Raṇabhañjadeva edited by Pratapachandra Ghosh, in *JASB.*, No. iii, 1871, pp. 161-67.

B. Bamanghati copper-plate grant of Rājabhañjadeva edited by Pratapachandra Ghosh, in *JASB.*, No. iii, 1871, pp. 168-69.

C. Khandadeuli Inscription of Raṇabhañjadeva edited by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, in *JBORS.*, vol. IV, pp. 172-77.

D. Ukhunda copper-plate grant of Pṛthvibhañjadeva edited in this paper.

E. Keshari copper-plate grant of Śatrubhañjadeva edited in this paper.

Grant D was discovered in 1933 by a person engaged in preparing mud in a silted up tank for the construction of a wall in the village Ukhunda in Keonjhar State about 15 miles southwest of Khiching. The plate was presented by a Police Head Constable to the Dewan of the Keonjhar State who gave it to Mr. Bhavagrahi Mahanti, from whom it came into my hands.

This plate measures 7·5" long and 4·5" broad and contains at the top a copper-medallion with a wavy rim. On the medallion are a crescent, a bull, a trident and the legend *Śrī Pṛthvibhañjadevasya*, all moulded in relief. The plate contains 37 lines of inscription, 22 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse.

After an invocation to Śiva, the inscription narrates that Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra came out by breaking open a pea-hen's egg and was brought up by the sage Vaśiṣṭha. In the family of Ādibhañja was born Koṭṭabhañja. Then in the Koṭṭabhañja's family was born Raṇabhañja whose son Pṛthvibhañja granted the

village Gaṇḍa included in Piḡaṇḍa of Khijingabhoga to Bhaṭṭaputra Ananta, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Govinda on the Daśaharā day. The donee is said to have belonged to the Vatsa Gotra with the pravaras of five sages. The deed was executed on the 10th day of the bright fort-night of the month of Jyaiṣṭha.

Grant E was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri while levelling a plot of land at Keshari 10 miles north-west of Khiching. On receiving this information the Curator of the Museum at Khiching approached Arjun Giri who presented it to the then Dewan Dr. P. K. Sen. Then the plate was brought to Calcutta by T. Gangooly for decipherment. After being examined by some prominent scholars of Calcutta, it was sent back to Baripada where it is now deposited in the Museum.

This plate measures 8" × 6". On its seal are a crescent, a bull, a trident and the legend *Śrī Śatrubbhñjadevasya*, all moulded in relief. It contains altogether 24 lines, 19 on the obverse and 5 on the reverse.

After an invocation to Śiva, the inscription discloses that a person called Gaṇḍaṇḍa Virabhadra was born to one who sprang out of a pea-hen's egg in the good abode of great penance which abounded in millions of hermitages. Virabhadra was followed (lit. engaged) by 88,000 sages in his early age (*purā* lit. in old times). At the request of these sages he consented to be served by Rāma-deva. Then he became the lord of 88,000 villages. He became also king Ādibhañja nurtured by the sage Vaśiṣṭha. Afterwards Durjayabhañja was born to Koṭṭabhañja. His (Durjayabhañja's) son was Raṇabhañja. Then Raṇabhañja's son Śatrubhañja granted the village Lāmāyi included in the Urtta viṣaya to Bhaṭṭaputra Daṇḍapāṇi, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Cakrapāṇi and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Nārāyaṇa. The donee who immigrated from Madhyadeśa belonged to the Kauśika Gotra with the pravaras of three sages. There was probably another donee belonging to the Vaśiṣṭha Gotra

with the *pravara* of Vaśiṣṭha; but his name has not been mentioned. When the gift was made Śrī Anakadevī the queen, Śrī Narendrabhañja the Yuvarāja, Śrī Prajāpati the minister for war and peace, Śrī Bhīma the custodian of royal seal, Śrī Manoratha the door-keeper, and Śrī Viṣṇudatta the chamberlain were present. The donor assumed the imperial titles of Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvata.

It should be borne in mind that the present Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj belongs to the Vaśiṣṭha Gotra and claims descent from the Solar dynasty. According to the Purāṇas the Kṣatriya Ikṣvāku family emanated from the Solar dynasty and the priestly function of that family was carried on by the sage Vaśiṣṭha.⁴ It appears now that Vaśiṣṭha, the Gotra-name of the Bhañja family, indicates descent from the Solar dynasty. So the nourishment of Virabhadra by Vaśiṣṭha mentioned in the inscriptions can be taken as an allusion to the Gotra of the Bhañja family.

Although the present Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj claims descent from the Solar dynasty, it uses Mayūra (peacock) as the family insignia. Again Mayurbhanj (the English form of Sanskrit Mayūra-bhañja), the name of the State, can be supposed as signifying the Bhañja line of the Mayūra family. It is not curious therefore that the Mayūra origin of the Bhañja family has been recorded in the inscriptions. But the statement that the founder of the Bhañja family emanated from a pea-hen's egg is imaginary, and shows its totemic character. The word *Mayūra* was probably connected with the dynasty from which the founder emanated; and that connection led the author of the above statement to a totemic conception. Now it can be asked: what was the origin of this Mayūra family?

4 R. P. Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 15.

It is narrated in the Pāli Jātakas that the Śākya family to which Buddha belonged was a branch of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Solar race.⁵ Certain members of the Śākya family retreated to the forest of the Himalayas and founded there a town named Moriya. The town was so-called as it resounded with the notes of flocks of Mayūras (peacocks). The Śākyan lords and their descendants of the Moriya town were called also Moriya from the circumstances under which their capital was called into existence.⁶ Evidently Moriya, the name of a branch of the Śākya family of the Solar race, is the Prākṛt form of *Mayūra*. Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha, is said to have belonged to the Mayūra family of the said Mayūra town.⁷ He is represented in the Jain tradition recorded in the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* (p. 56) as a son of the daughter of the chief of the village of Mayūrapoṣaka. It appears therefore that *Maurya*, the appellation of Candragupta's family, was derived from the word *Mayūra* and not from *Murā* as in the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Evidently the Maurya dynasty sprang from the Solar race. The Solar origin of the Maurya dynasty recorded in the Ceylonese chronicle finds also corroboration in the stone inscription at Baghli in Khandesh of Govindarāja of 1069 A.D.⁸ There are grounds therefore to connect the Mayūra origin of the Solar Bhañja family with the imperial Maurya dynasty and not with the pea-hen's egg. Moreover the legend relating to the birth of the ancestor of the Maurya family is found to be the very same as that of the Bhañja family and the coincidence of two legendary accounts lends support to the fact that the Bhañja family was in direct line of the Maurya family. We find the mythological story in the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* that the founder of the Solar dynasty, from which the Maurya family emanated, was born of an egg which was hatched in the sun's ray. Some

5 See Turnour, *Mahāwanso*, introduction, xxi.

6 *Ibid.*, xxxix.

7 *Ibid.*, xl.

8 *El.*, vol. II, p. 222.

Bhañja copper-plates of Orissa mention that the family was—*andajavamśaprabhava*, i.e., descended from the dynasty of the egg-born. The traditional account of Bhañja family of Gumsur narrates that the egg, from which the progenitor of the family came out, was hatched in the sun's ray. The egg of the pea-hen therefore seems to have found place in the tradition on account of its association of the word *Mayūra* with the family."

In grant E occurs the statement that Virabhadra was followed by 88,000 (*aṣṭāṣīti-sahasraih*) sages, served by Rāmadeva and became lord of 88,000 villages (ll.3-5). As this tradition has been preserved up till now in a slightly altered form by the present Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj, it seems to have contained some historical truth. In the sanads¹⁰ granted by the Bhañja family in the pre-British period we find *atbhāiśa-sahasra-Khichingēśvara* (lord of 28,000 Khichingas) and *Rāmacandra-tika-sārana* (vested with the royal insignia by Rāmacandra) as the *virudas* of the grantors. There can be no doubt that the words *aṣṭāṣīti* and *Rāmadeva* of the old epigraphic record have been transformed in course of time to *atbhāiśa* and *Rāmacandra* respectively. However, the continuance of the old tradition points to the fact that the present Bhañja family is descended from that mentioned in the epigraphic records.

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri points out from the Pali *Mahāvagga* that the dominion of Bimbisāra "embraced 80,000 townships."¹¹ It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Candragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhadra over 88,000 villages has some similarity with that of Candragupta.

Ganadanda, the epithet of Virabhadra, means republican chief. Dr. Bhandarkar says that *Gaṇa* means the combination of indivi-

9 For the explanation of the peacock descent of the ancient glorious Maurya dynasty see Hewitt, *History and Chronology of the Myth-Making Age*, pp. 280-281.

10 The facsimile-prints of two sanads are appended hereto.

11 *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 138.

duals for a definite object. (*Carmichael Lectures*, pt. i, p. 42). The word *danda* undoubtedly means army. Hence the word *Ganadanda* signifies one whose army consisted of individuals combined for a definite object. If taken in this sense, *Virabhadra* may be supposed to have raised an army as Candragupta did to overthrow the Nanda dynasty. Again the Mayūra family to which Candragupta belonged has been proved as belonging to an ancient republican Kṣatriya clan.¹² Evidently Virabhadra's epithet *ganadanda* places his identification with Candragupta on a surer ground.

There are other grounds for the identification of Candragupta and Kauṭilya with Virabhadra and Rāmadeva respectively of grant E. Virabhadra was served by Rāmadeva as Candragupta by Kauṭilya, the minister. Virabhadra was nourished by the sage Vaśiṣṭha as Candragupta by a herdsman. It is probable that when the name of the herdsman fell into oblivion, but the support rendered by him was preserved in the tradition, the author of the text of the Bhañja grant substituted Vaśiṣṭha, the Gotra-name, for the herdsman.

In the Pāli literature the seat of the Mayūra family from which Candragupta descended is represented as Pippalavana.¹² It is probably referred to as Tapovana (forest of penance) in the Bhañja grants and described as the ancestral home of Virabhadra. Therefore the coincidence of the account of Candragupta with that of Virabhadra helps our identification of the former with the latter. The only argument that can be advanced against this identification is that Candragupta is nowhere mentioned as Virabhadra; nor is Kauṭilya as Rāmadeva. Although the most of ancient *rājās* of India are found as having two names—one familiar and another official, it is difficult to determine with the present state

¹² Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas* (*SBE.*, vol. XI), p. 134.

of our knowledge whether the Bhañja tradition preserves intact the private names of Candragupta and Kauṭilya or substitutes the fictitious ones. It seems probable that Kauṭilya's familiar name is not yet known, for, it is certain that the same person calls himself Kauṭilya when he deals with diplomatic politics, Vātsyāyana when he deals with erotics; Viṣṇugupta when he compiles a lexicography; and Cāṇakya when he frames the disciplinary rules of life. It is probable, therefore, that his another name was Rāmadeva.

It can be put now whether a scion of the Maurya dynasty came to Mayurbhanj from Magadha or from elsewhere. One line of the Maurya dynasty was ruling in the Kotah State in Rajputana in 738 A.D.¹³ The immigration of a Mayūra family from Rajputana to Orissa is disclosed by the copper-plate grant of Udayavarāha discovered in the Bonai State lying in the proximity of the Mayurbhanj State.¹⁴ It is stated in this grant that the ancestor of the donor hailed from Citrakūṭa (Chitor in Rajputana), the abode of the sage Vaśiṣṭha. The grant contains the representation of a Mayūra (peacock) on its seal and also the family of the donor has been specified as Mayūra. *Varāha* was the surname of the donor and also of his ancestors. As Barabhum (*Varāhabhum*), a *pergana* in Manbhum, seems to have owed its name to the rulers having *varāha* as surname, the Mayūra family just referred to may have ruled there. Moreover the grantor is said in the plate to be the lord of Baṇāi-*maṇḍala* which has been misread by the editor as Talāi-*maṇḍala*. Baṇāi is distinctly identical with the Bonai State lying in the neighbourhood of Khiching. The ruling family of this State claims descent from the Kadamba dynasty of the Mayūra origin.

13 *El.*, vol. XII, p. 11; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, ii, p. 284.

14 *JBORS.*, vol. VI, pp. 241-45.

Varāhabhum lies in the proximity of the north-west limit of the Mayurbhanj State and according to Stirling,¹⁵ it formed a part of Mayurbhanj in 1592 A.D. It is probable therefore that the Mayūra family of the Varāha rulers and that of the Bhañja rulers emanated from a common Maurya stock and emigrated from a common place. In that case, Rajputana where a line of the Maurya dynasty was ruling in 738 A.D. can be traced as the place from which these two families emigrated; because Udayavarāha's ancestor is said in the inscription to have hailed from there. It is needless to say that Kadamba family of Bonai seems to be the remnant of Udayavarāha's family.

Raṇabhañja, the donor of grant A, was the son of Digbhañja and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja. Rājabhañja, the donor of grant B, is said to be the son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja. In grant C, Pṛthvibhañja is said as the son of Raṇabhañja, grandson of Digbhañja and great-grandson of Koṭṭabhañja. Again Narendrabhañja is mentioned in it to be the son of Pṛthvibhañja. After reconciling the above genealogies it can be concluded that Raṇabhañja had two sons—Rājabhañja and Pṛthvibhañja; and Digbhañja, the father of Raṇabhañja, has been omitted in grant B through the carelessness of the scribe.

Although Digbhañja is omitted in grant D, Raṇabhañja is not represented in it as the son of Koṭṭabhañja as in grant B. Evidently Raṇabhañja's father was Digbhañja and not Koṭṭabhañja as mentioned in grant B.

In grant E Śatrubhañja is placed between Raṇabhañja and Narendrabhañja; again Durjayabhañja intervenes between Koṭṭabhañja and Raṇabhañja. It is difficult to determine whether Durjayabhañja and Śatrubhañja of this grant are identical with

15. *An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack* by A. Stirling, reprint, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904, p. 47.

- L. 3. भवानीशः । विविधसमाधिविधि(ध)ज्ञः[ः]सर्वज्ञो वः शि-
 L. 4. वायास्तु ॥ आसीन्मायूराण्डं भित्त्वा गणदण्डवीरभद्रा-
 L. 5. ह्येः प्रतिपत्तनिधनदत्तो वसिष्ठमुनिपालितो
 L. 6. नृपतिः ॥ तस्यादिभञ्जवंशे (वन्से) रिपुवनदावानलः ख्या-
 L. 7. तः । शूरः शुचिर्विनीतो जातः श्रीकोटभञ्जाख्यः ॥
 L. 8. तस्यान्वये व(व)भूव श्रे(स्त्रे)ष्ठः श्रीमानसंह्य(शक्य)सामन्तः(।) वृ-
 L. 9. पतिशतार्चितचरणः श्रीरणभञ्जो जगत्प्र(त्स)थितः[ः] ॥
 L. 10. तस्यात्मजः स्मरसमो व(व)लवान्चरिष्ठः श्रे(श्र)ष्ठः समुत्त-
 L. 11. तयशाः(सैः) प्रविजित्य शतून् । राजा युधिष्ठिर इवाव-
 L. 12. निपालने च नित्यं रतः कुशलकर्मविधौ प्रसक्तः
 L. 13. खिजिङ्गकोटवासी हरचरणाराधनक्षयितपा-
 L. 14. पः । श्रीमान्पृथ्वीभञ्जः सानुनयः[ः]ग्राह भूपालान् ॥
 L. 15. खिजिङ्गमण्डलभोगपिण्डप्रतिव(व)द्गण्डो प्रा-
 L. 16. मः । भट्टपुत्रगोविन्दपुत्राय वत्स(च्छ)गोलाय प-
 L. 17. श्वार्ष(श्वाश्रुषि)प्रवराय यजुर्वेदचरणाय भट्टपुत्राय(त्तः)अ-
 L. 18. नन्ताय दशहरे सलिलधारापूर्वकेण मातापित्तो-
 L. 19. रात्मनश्च पुण्यशो(स)भिवृद्ध(ध)ये तांश्रासनीकृत्य प्र-
 L. 20. दत्तोऽस्माभिः ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे ॥ व(व)हुभिः
 L. 21. वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य
 L. 22. यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्

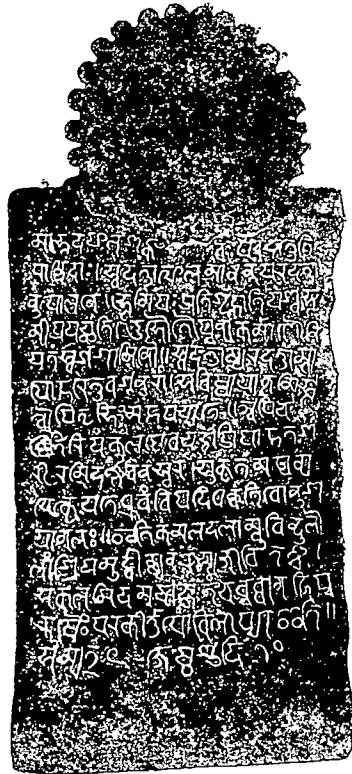
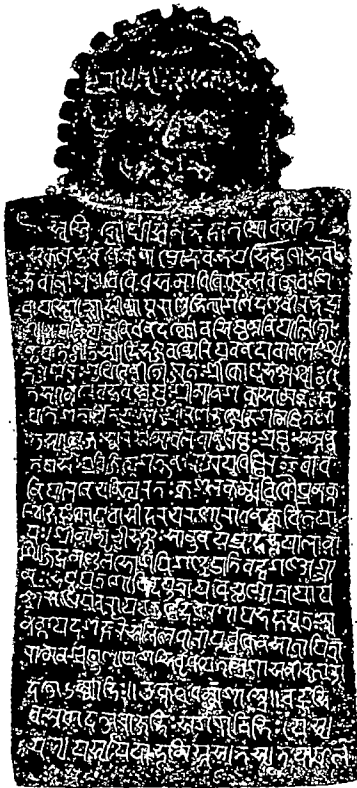
REVERSE

- L. 23. माभूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति
 L. 24. पार्थिवाः । स्वदत्तात् फलमानन्तं परदत्ता-
 L. 25. नुपालने ॥ भूमि यः प्रतिशृणोति यश्च भू-
 L. 26. मिं(मो) प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्य(न्य) कर्माणौ नि-
 L. 27. यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तांवा(म्वा)
 L. 28. यो हरेत्(त्त)वसु(शु)न्धरां । स विप्रायां कृमिर्भ-
 L. 29. त्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ अपिच
 L. 30. क्षितिरियं कुलटेव यो(यु)द्धा प्रिया हतश-
 L. 31. रीरमिदञ्च विनश्च(ख)रं । सुकृतमप्यन्य-
 L. 32. चेत् क्रि(त्क)यते ध्रुवं विपदि धक्ष्यति वोनुश-
 L. 33. यानलः । इति कमलेदलाम्बुवि[व]न्दुलो-
 L. 34. लां श्रियसुद्वीक्ष्य नरस्य जीवितञ्च ।

UKHUNDA PLATE

Obverse

Reverse



- L. 35. सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा (बुध्वा)नहि पु-
 L. 36. रूपैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥
 L. 37. सम्बत् ७ ज्येष्ठ शुदि १०

Text of Keshari Plate

OBVERSE

- L. 1. ॐ स्वस्ति(ः) । सकलभुवनैकनाथो भवभयभिदुरो भव[वो]भवानी(नि)श(ः*) ।
 विवि-
 L. 2. ध समाधि(समाधि¹⁸)वि[धि]ज्ञःसर्वज्ञो वः शि(सि)वायास्तु । आसी-
 (शा)त् क्रोच्याश्रममहा-
 L. 3. तपोधिष्ठानमुत्तम[म्]मथूराण्डोद्भव[ः] तस्मात् गणदण्डो वीरभद्राख्यः ।
 अष्टाशी-
 L. 4. तिसहस्रैस्तु सु[नि]मिः व्याघ्र(पि)ः पुरा । तेषान्तु प्रार्थनां दृष्ट्वा रामदेवेन
 सेवितस्ततोऽ-
 L. 5. ष्टाशीतिसहस्रग्रामस्याधिपतिः कृतः । चक्रवर्तिसम[ः] सर्वोपादोनञ्चनस्थितः
 L. 6. प्रतिपन्ननिधनदत्तो वशि(शी)ष्ठमु(नि*)पालितो नृपतिः । आदिभञ्जः
 रिपुदलनदा-
 L. 7. वानलः । स(श)रस्व(श्व)ती(ति)नि(त्रि)मित्तो जातः । श्रोकोट्टभञ्जसूनु-
 माण्डलिकश(स)तार्चिर्वतचर-
 L. 8. ण्डमलः । श्रीदुर्जयभञ्जदेवोभूत् तस्यात्मजः शु(सु)चिः प्रतापी[पि]कृतज्ञः
 सर्वै(ः)-
 L. 9. पापहरचरण[रा]धनतत्परः गुरुदेवपूजकः श्रीरणभञ्जदेवोऽभूत् तस्या-
 L. 10. त्मजः शूरः प्रतापी(पि)निर्जितशत्रुः सत्यधर्मान्वितः युधिष्ठिरसमः प्रजा-
 पालनत-
 L. 11. त्पर(ः)महामण्डलाधिपतिम(मा)हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर[ः] अष्टाशीतिसहस्र-
 (श्र)अधिप-
 L. 12. तिः । श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवपादेः म(मा)हादेवी(वि)श्रीअनक(कः)देवी(वि) ।
 यु(जु)वराज(जा) श्री
 L. 13. नरे(री)न्द्रभञ्ज[ः] । सन्धिविग्रही(हि)श्रीप्रजापति[ः] । मुद्रहस्त
 श्रीभो(मि) [ः] । प्रतिहारी श्रीमनोरथः । पुर
 L. 14. श्रेष्ठी श्रीविष्णुदत्तः । मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च¹⁹ धर्मयशो(सो)भिदृद्ध(ध)ये
 भगवन्तं भट्टारकं शंकर-
 L. 15. रं ममुद्दिश्य । उर्त्तिविष(स)य प्रतिव(व)द्धः स्य²⁰ह्यामायीग्राम(ः*)
 सजलस्थल चतु(ः*)सी(शी)मावच्छि[त्त(सि)न्न(ः*)]

18 Repetition through mistake.

19 The plate reads पित्तरात्मश्य

20 Unnecessary.

- L. 16. सविटपलतामध्य(ध)देश(स)विनि(न)र्गतभट्टपुत्रनारायणस्य पौत्राय भट्टपुत्रचक्र-
 L. 17. पाणोः (सिस्य)पुत्राय भट्टपुत्रदण्डपाणो²¹ । कौशि(कउसी)कस(स)गोत्राय
 त्रयार्ष(त्रियारिष) प्रवराय च(श्च)-
 L. 18. वसिष्ठगोत्राय वसिष्ठप्रवराय । ताम्र म्त्र)शा(सा)सनी(नि)कृत्य प्रदत्तोस्माभिः
 भूमि यः प्रतिगृहणा
 L. 19. ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ(तौ)पुण्य(न्य)कर्माणौ नियतं(तौ)
 स्वर्गगामिनौ आ

REVERSE

- L. 20. स्फालयन्ति पितर[ः*]प्रगल्भन्ति पितामहा[ः] । भूमिदाता कुलेजात
 [ः]स न[स्] त्राता भविष्य-
 L. 21. ति । हरते हारयते यस्तु मन्दबुद्धि(धि)स्तमो वृतः । सब(व)द्वोवारुणे
 पार्श्वेतिर्यग्यो-
 L. 22. नो [स] जायते । स्वदत्तां परं दत्तांवा(म्वा) यो(जो)हरे(र)त् (ते)वसुन्धरां-
 स विष्टायां क्रिमिभूर्त्वा-
 L. 23. पितृभिः सह पच्यते । स्वदानात् फलमानन्तं परदत्तानुपालने ष(स)ष्टिवर्ष
 (वरिष)
 L. 24. सहस्रा(श्रा)णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।

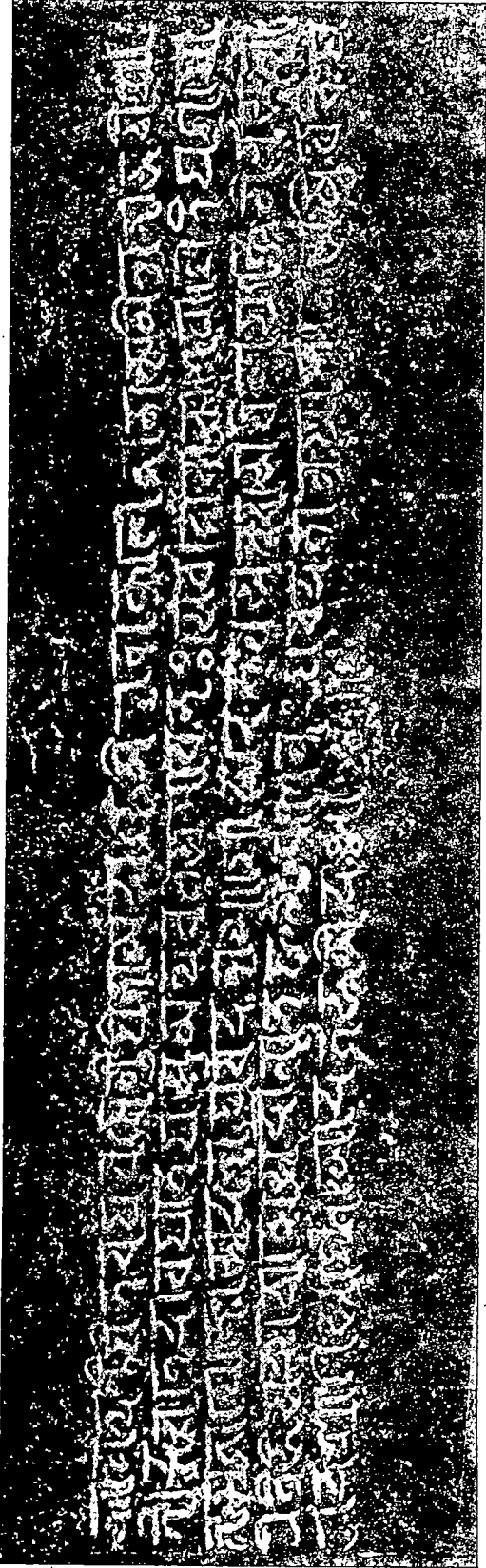
TRANSLATIONS

Grant D

- L. 1.—Hail! From the forest of great penance (abounding) in millions of sages.
 Ll. 2-4—May Bhava, the lord of Bhavāni, sole sovereign of all the worlds, dis-
 peller of worldly fears, conversant with the numerous (modes of) medita-
 tions, the omniscient, be to our prosperity.
 Ll. 4-6—There was a ruler called Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra who broke open the
 pea-hen's egg, was nurtured by the sage Vasiṣṭha and an expert in
 vanquishing the adversaries.
 Ll. 6-7—In his Ādibhaṅja family was born one called Koṭṭabhaṅja who was wild
 conflagration to the wilderness of enemies, renowned, valorous, pious and
 courteous.
 Ll. 8-9—In his family was born Raṇabhanja who was great, renowned in the
 world and whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of humbled
 feudatories.
 Ll. 10-14—His son Śri Pṛthvibhaṅjadeva who is the best of heroes like Smara (the
 god of love), great, of towering fame by conquering enemies, like king
 Yudhiṣṭhira ever engaged in good administration of (his) country, fully
 devoted to the performance of good deeds and sinless on account of

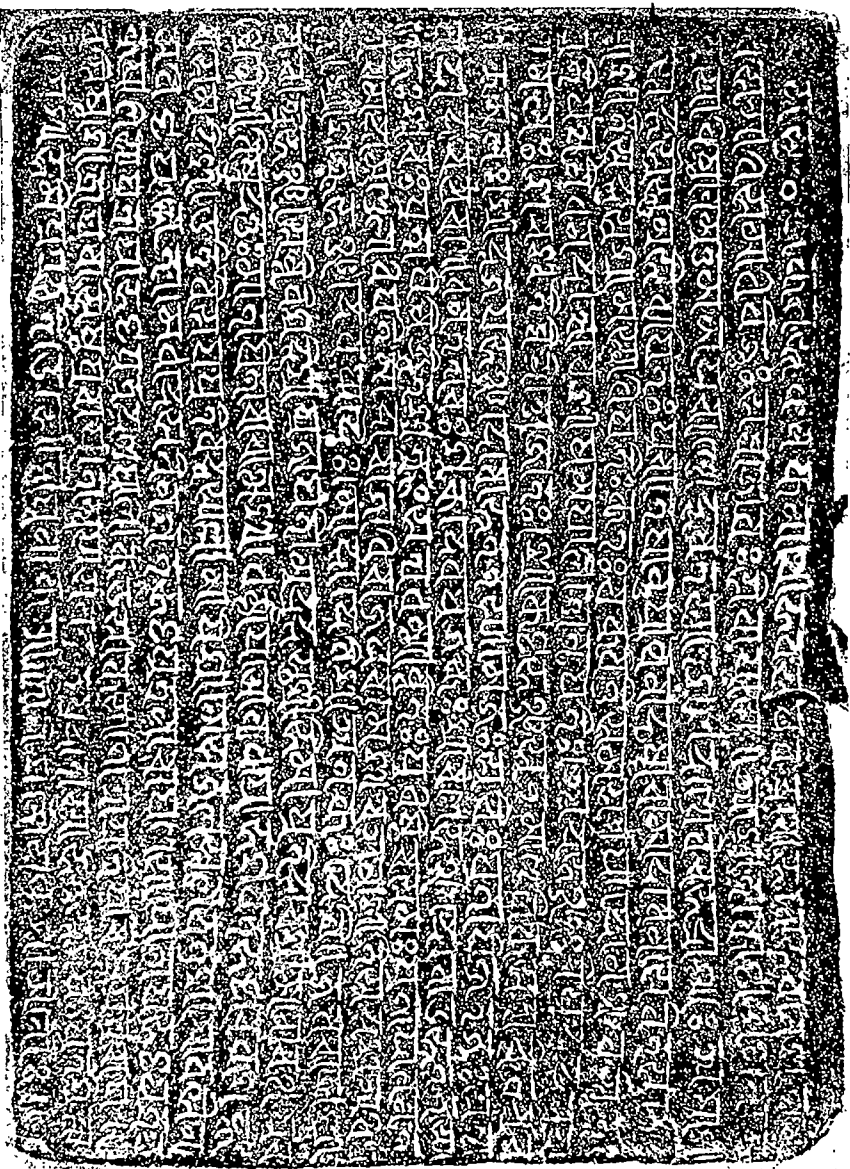
KESHARI PLATE

Reverse



I.H.Q., September, 1937

By the courtesy of the Mayurbhanj Archaeological Department



110 Q. September, 1917

By the courtesy of the Mayurbhanj Archaeological Department

devotion to the feet of Hara enshrined at Khijingakoṭṭa—humbly intimates to the rulers:—

- Ll. 15-20—The village Gaṇḍa included in Piṅaṇḍa, the district of Khijinga, has been granted by me with the libation of water and by means of copper-plate on the Daśaharā day to Bhaṭṭaputra Ananta son of Bhaṭṭaputra Govinda belonging to the Vatsa Gotra with the *pravaras* of five sages and studying the Yajurveda, for enhancement of merit and fame of parents and of self.

Grant E

- Ll. 1-2—Be it auspicious. May Bhava, the lord of Bhavāni, dispeller of worldly fears, sole sovereign of all the worlds, conversant with the numerous (modes of) meditations, the omniscient, be to our prosperity.
- Ll. 2-5—There was a good abode in the forest of great penance (abounding) in millions of hermitages. From one, born of a pea-hen's egg (sprang one) called Gaṇaḍaṇḍa Virabhadra who formerly was busily engaged by 88,000 sages and in view of their request Rāmadeva served him and then made him the lord of 88,000 villages.
- Ll. 5-7—(He) was like an emperor, an expert in vanquishing all his adversaries, the king Ādibhañja brought up by the sage Vaśiṣṭha, a wild conflagration in destroying the enemies, born as a representative of Sarasvati (the goddess of learning).
- Ll. 7-8—There was Śrī Durjayabhañjadeva son of Koṭṭabhañja; (his) lotus-like feet were worshipped by hundreds of lords of *maṇḍalas*.
- Ll. 8-9—His son was Raṇabhañjadeva, who was pious, powerful, grateful, devout in worship of Viṣṇu wiping off all vices and worshipper of preceptors.
- Ll. 9-12—His (Raṇabhañja's) son Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī Śatrubhañjadeva—who was lord of 88,000 villages, valorous, powerful, vanquisher of enemies, truthful like Yudhiṣṭhira and eager for the protection of his subjects—humbly intimates (?).
- Ll. 12-14—(In the presence of) Śrī Anakadevi, the queen, Śrī Narendrabhañja, the Yuvarāja, Śrī Prajāpati, the minister for war and peace, Śrī Bhima, the sealer, Śrī Manoratha, the door-keeper and Śrī Viṣṇudatta, the chamberlain.
- Ll. 14-18—The village Lāmāyi included in the Urtta district has been granted by me with its boundaries specified, with its trees and creepers, with its lands and pools, in view of favour of Lord Bhaṭṭāraka Śaṅkara, to Bhaṭṭaputra Daṇḍapāni, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Cakrapāni and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Nārāyaṇa belonging to the Kauśika Gotra with the *pravaras* of three sages and immigrating from Madhyadeśa and also to one belonging to the Vaśiṣṭha Gotra with the *pravara* of Vaśiṣṭha, by means of copper-plate for enhancement of merit and fame of parents and of self.

The Islāmic Kingship in India

Royal Titles

All the Turkish and Afghān rulers of Delhi used the title of 'Sultan'. The origin of the word is somewhat obscure, but it has an interesting history behind it. It is used in the Qur'ān in the sense of 'strength' or 'might',¹ and in the Egyptian Papyri as the title of the governor of a province, and thus it came to be applied to an official to whom power had been delegated.² Later on the independent prince who, after the disruption of the Khilāfat, divided the Islāmic world among themselves, assumed this title. Mahmūd of Ghazni is regarded as the first important Muhammadan ruler to set this example. The Memluks of Egypt and the Turks and Afghāns of India uniformly followed this practice.

Qutb-ud-dīn used the name *Aibek*. This word was in general use during this period even outside India, and it probably means 'Lord Moon' or 'Strong Moon'.³ His inscriptions show that he also assumed the title *Sayyid ul Turk wal 'Ajam*.⁴ In the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* he is referred to as *Al-Mu'izzī us-Sultān*. This is explained by Raverty as "the slave of the Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn".⁵ He used this title even after he had become independent. Among the titles bestowed on Iltutmish in his inscriptions occur the words, 'the most

1 Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 622.

2 Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 202.

3 J. Horovitz, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, p. 20. Raverty (pp. 513-14) explains the word as meaning "the powerless-fingered." This is supported by Firishtha (Briggs, vol. I, p. 190). Dr. Ishwariprasād's view (*History of Mediaeval India*, p. 133) that it was "the real name of the slave" does not appear to be justified.

4 Horovitz, *Ibid.*, p. 20. M. Shu'aib, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, pp. 2-3.

5 Vol. I, p. 512, note 3.

exalted Shāhanshāh', 'the Sultān of Sultāns', 'the shadow of God in East and West', and 'the help of Islām and the Muslims'. In some records he calls himself 'As-Sultāni' because he had been Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn's slave.⁶

Raziyyat is called *Sultān*. With reference to the original meaning of the word, "it is equally applicable to a female as a male". In her coins she is styled '*Umdat-un-Niswān* which means "the great, or illustrious among women".⁷ Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd is called 'the Sultān of Sultāns' and 'the heir of the Kingdom of Solomon'.⁸ In the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* he is called '*Us-Sultān-ul-A'zam-ul-Mu'azzam*'.⁹

Balban is called 'the shadow of God in the world', 'the exalted emperor', 'the lord of the world' and 'the king of mankind'.¹⁰

Kaiquād is called 'the vicegerent of God' and 'the emperor of the world'.¹¹

'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī is called 'the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world', 'the heir to the kingdom of Solomon', 'the second Alexander', 'the king of the universe' (literally, the face of the earth), 'the most exalted among the Sultāns of Arabia and non-Arab countries', 'the monarch with Darius's insignia', 'the emperor'; and 'majestic as Moses and powerful as Solomon'.¹² Some of the titles bestowed on him by Amīr Khusrav in his *Khazā'inul Fūtūh* are 'the Sultān of the world', 'the Sultān of the monarchs of the earth', 'Shadow of God', 'the exalted sun', 'the equal of the sun and the moon on high', 'the Khalifah', 'the Moslem Moses', 'the shepherd of the people', 'the conqueror of this age', 'exalted

6 Horovitz, *Ibid.*, pp. 21-4.

7 Raverty, p. 637, note 8.

8 G. Yazdani, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, p. 23.

9 Raverty, p. 671.

10 Yazdani, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9, 32.

11 Yazdani, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

12 Yazdani, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 16, 18, 20, 25, 27.

Dawn', 'the pious supporter of the Shari'at', and 'Emperor of the world'.¹³

Mubārak Khaljī is called 'the King of the universe' and 'the successor to the kingdom of David and Solomon'.¹⁴

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq is called 'the great Sultān',¹⁵ 'Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī', 'the Alexander of the period'¹⁶ and 'king of the horizons'.¹⁷

Muhammad *ibn* Tughluq is called 'the asylum of the world', 'the Lord of the Kings of the universe', 'the ruler of mankind',¹⁸ 'the shadow of God in every realm'.¹⁹

Firūz Shāh is called 'the world-taking Shāh',²⁰ 'the lord of the world'²¹ and 'Shāh-in-Shāh'.²²

It is quite clear that these titles and adjectives bestowed on the Muslim rulers of Delhi by themselves and by their courtiers and descendants do not convey any idea of the extent of their power and authority. In assuming titles which indicated larger powers than they really possessed, those princes were merely following the Eastern tradition of glorifying themselves, without believing, as a matter of fact, that they could have any claim to the pretensions which they or their courtiers pompously advanced. We are, however, told that a Sultān of Bengal conferred the governorship of Isfāhān to a visiting merchant, and that his ministers did not venture to remind him that the territory in question was not included in his dominions.²³ Such instances are not numerous, but they show how careless in awarding titles a prince might be.

13 *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 234-237, 239-241, 245, 252, etc.

14 Yazdani, *Op. cit.*, pp. 41-2.

15 Yazdani, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1923-24, p. 14.

16 Horn, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 436.

17 Vost, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 141.

18 Blochmann, *JASB.*, 1873, p. 251.

19 Blochmann, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 301.

20 Blochmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

21 Blochmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

22 Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 49.

23 Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 579.

Royal Absolutism

During the period with which we are concerned, the King and the State could not be distinguished that is to say, the King was the State. There was no limit to his authority or duties. He might appoint officers to help him and relieve himself by delegating to faithful relatives and ministers a portion of his authority. He might try to centralise all departments under his own personal control. There was no customary or statutory body to whose advice the king was bound to listen or whose assistance he might utilise in providing his subjects with a better system of administration. There was no recognised system of constitutional law which might guide, assist or check him. Everything depended upon the personality of the ruler. This is royal absolutism in its perfection. Professor Sarkar says: "The Muslim Statedepended for its existence on the absolute authority of the monarch."²⁴

The truth of the above observations will be made clear by an analysis of the various duties performed by the Sultāns of Delhi. It is neither possible nor necessary to refer in detail to *all* the matters which demanded the personal attention of the monarchs in those days of autocratic—but not strictly centralised—government. We shall try to indicate their position in a broad outline, remembering all the while that the monarchy was the mainspring of the entire system of administration.

As the natural head of the executive, the Sultān managed all affairs with the assistance of such ministers and officers as he might choose to appoint. He had no regular council of ministers, no cabinet in the modern sense of the term. In this respect he was exactly in the same position as the Mughal emperors.²⁵ Ministers

²⁴ J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 16.

²⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 17-18.

who owe their office and power to the favour of the king can hardly, if ever, offer him unprejudiced advice. The ministers of the Sultāns of Delhi never served their masters well, for it was impossible for them to contradict them even when it was necessary in the interest of the State to do so. They were, like the ministers of the Mughal emperors, "mere secretaries who carried out the royal will in matters of detail; but they could never influence their masters' policy except by the arts of gentle persuasion and veiled warning."²⁶ The resultant confusion was sometimes worse compounded when ministers tried to take an unfair advantage of the weakness of the monarchy in order to increase their political importance.²⁷ As regards the officers other than the ministers, their position was hardly different, though their power and influence were necessarily less prominent.²⁸

The influence of the Sultān was necessarily felt more in the territory around Delhi than in the distant provinces, which had to be left to the charge of provincial governors. The latter were carefully selected and controlled, but even under able and jealous Sultāns they virtually enjoyed independent authority. Their position was naturally more favourable under weak Sultāns. In any case, the details of administration were naturally left to these satraps, for no Sultān could decide the internal problems of Bengal or of the Deccan from his seat in Delhi.

The Sultān was the supreme commander of the army. The State being primarily military in character, its dependence upon the army is obvious. In those days the two most important duties of the Sultān were *Jabāngīrī* and *Jabāndāri*—the conquest and consolidation of new territories. Speaking of the territorial ambitions

26 J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 17.

27 For instances of over-mighty Wazirs, see the present writer's article in *Indian Culture*, vol. II, No. 4.

28 The position of these officers will be discussed by the present writer in another connection.

of the Turkish Sultāns, a modern writer observes: "Small, prosperous, and well-managed kingdoms were outside the scheme of their political ideas; hardly a true Sultān, but was haunted by the ambition of territorial expansion."²⁹ It is useless to characterise this lust for conquest as an instance of political suicide on the ground that "the kingdom became too unwieldy for administrative purposes and sank under its own weight."³⁰ We must remember that Iltutmish, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī were merely following the ideals set before them by the early heroes of Islām and the *digvijayī* emperors of ancient India. Moreover, India, after all, was united by her physical geography as well as her religion (*i.e.*, Hinduism), and it was quite natural for the dominant political power in India to try to absorb as much of the country as possible. It is easy to see, therefore, that such an important function as the command over the army could not be safely delegated to generals whose loyalty was often questionable. A Turkish Sultān was not a mere ornamental head of the army, as the head of a modern state is. He had to pay more attention to the army than to the problems of every-day administration. Often he himself was a good general and took an active part in the conduct of warfare. In most cases his personal presence in the field was an essential condition of success. Qutb-ud-dīn, Iltutmish, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Muhammad *ibn* Tughluq personally conducted important operations. Among the expeditions entrusted to generals mention should be made of those of Malik Kāfūr to the Deccan. We do not know why 'Alā-ud-dīn entrusted him with so important a command. We may assume, however, that 'Alā-ud-dīn was convinced of Kāfūr's loyalty; moreover, the Sultān might have considered it imprudent to leave his capital to the vengeance of the Mughals.

29 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan', *JASB.*, (Letters, vol. I, 1935, no. 2, p. 133).

30 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Ibid.*, p. 134.

The Sultān was the only law-maker in the state. He was also the head of the judiciary; as such, he decided cases in person whenever and wherever possible.

Professor Sarkar observes: "The immensity of the Mughal emperor's power can be judged from the fact that he was the head of the Church and the State alike."³¹ The same statement applies to the case of the Sultāns of Delhi. Some of them—like 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī—actually claimed the title of the "*Khalīfab* of the age," or "the latest successor of the Prophet in the command of the faithful." Such a Sultān was the highest living exponent of the faith (*mujtabid*) and leader in prayer (*Imam*). His religious duties were numerous. He was the champion of the doctrines enunciated and enforced by the orthodox '*ulamā*, and consequently the suppressor of religious innovations. The purity of Islām was preserved by punishing heretics and idolators. In his autobiography Firūz Shāh gives us an account of the measures undertaken by him to suppress heresy.³² "The Hindus and idol-worshippers had engaged to pay the money for toleration (*Zar-i-Zimmiya*)," says he. The punishments awarded to Shi'ās³³ for making proselytes are thus described: "On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (*siyāsat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tāzīr*) and threats (*tabdīb*) of public punishment (*tashbir-i-zijr*). Their books I burnt in public." The elders of the heretics (*mulhd*) and sectarians (*abāhtiyan*) were sentenced to death; their disciples were banished, those who "wore the garments of atheism" were punished with chains and banished to different cities. A false *Mahdī* was killed with his supporters and disciples. We may believe that such stern measures were not taken by those Sultāns

31 J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 18.

32 *Fatuhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 377-380.

33 For Aurangzib's persecution of the Shi'ās, see J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 157-161.

who, like Muhammad *ibn* Tughluq, were less orthodox than Firūz Shāh, but the Sultāns had to defend Islām with an attitude of intolerant aggression in order to maintain their identity "in what one might call the vast ocean of Hindu population." Nor did persecution exhaust the duties of the Sultān. He attended the Friday prayers as often as possible. He joined Muslim religious festivals: Firūz Shāh celebrated the *Shab Barāt* for four days. The Sultān appointed special religious officials like *Sbaikh-us-Islām*, *Sadr-us-Sudur* and *Mashaḥ-bardar*. He set aside and spent a fixed sum of money for charitable purposes.³⁴ All important judicial posts were usually given to the 'ulamā or at least to religious-minded Muslims. Though no Turkish Sultān was officially recognised as the religious guide of his Muslim subjects as Akbar was,³⁵ yet it is necessary to remember that Alā-ud-dīn once seriously contemplated the possibility of establishing a new religion. It is easy to see that, in discharging their religious duties the Turkish Sultāns, like the Mughal emperors, "had to play a twofold part, *viz.*, to govern *all* the people in their dominions as their king, and also to be the missionary defender and agent of the creed of a section of their subjects."³⁶ No satisfactory solution of this difficulty was discovered, and, as a result, the Hindus suffered.

This rough catalogue is a sufficient indication of the heavy burdens which the Sultān of Delhi had to bear, unaided, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He was not restrained by any of those checks which are usually associated with constitutional

34 This was known as *Zakāt*. It generally amounted to "one-fortieth of every man's annual increase," which Muslim monarchs "were bound to spend for the benefit of the faithful only—by building mosques, subsidizing pious men and theological teachers, endowing saints' tombs and monasteries, relieving Muslim paupers and providing dowries for Muslim maidens." J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 18-19.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 152-155.

36 J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 18.

monarchy. He was responsible only to his Maker, not to any human being. It was the duty of his subjects to obey him, and to suffer, if need be, without remonstrance. There was no lawfully constituted council of ministers or legislative assembly to guide and, if necessary, to oppose him. The nobles had no legal or even conventional *right* to check his excesses, although they, or some of them, were on some occasions powerful enough to make their will felt. Even the *'ulamā* did not venture to voice their opposition openly, and to depose an undesirable ruler in the same way as Hildebrand deposed Henry IV.³⁷ Such was the unique position enjoyed by the occupant of the throne of Delhi.

Apart from the question of theories, was there any practical restriction on the powers of the Sultāns? Speaking of the Mughal emperors Professor Sarkar says that "in practice the sovereign's action was often influenced by his fear of the Muslim soldiery and his reluctance to incur social odium."³⁸ This statement is applicable to the case of the Sultāns of Delhi as well. There is no doubt that the Sultāns were often influenced by the fear of the Muslim (as well as the Hindu) soldiery, for even the most powerful autocrat must feel helpless against the soldiers upon whom his strength primarily depends. The fear of the soldiery is, however, no real check on royal absolutism. The soldiers may rise against the most righteous king or the most benevolent measures—as the Netherlanders rose against Emperor Joseph II in protest against the reforms introduced by him; or they may continue to support an oppressive king, as they supported Louis XV of France. It is natural for a tyrant to make his position unassailable by taking proper care not to alienate the chiefs of the army. In such a case the army, instead of curbing royal absolutism, may become its upholder. In the same way, the fear of incurring social odium can hardly restrain a monarch

37 Compare, for instance, their attitude to Muhammad *ibn* Tughluq.

38 J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 16.

who is himself the centre of social life and the dictator of social laws. Was there any protest in France when Henry IV was about to involve his subjects in war with the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain in order that he might gratify his "senile and adulterous passion" by seizing Charlotte, the beautiful wife of Condé?³⁹

Another writer comes to the conclusion that the Sultān's powers, though absolute and unlimited in theory, had to submit to certain well-marked modifications in actual practice."⁴⁰ He enumerates five 'well-marked modifications'. In the first place, the systematic policy of conquest pursued by the Sultāns "imperceptibly set certain limits to the unbounded powers of the monarch. No foreign conquest was possible without peace within the kingdom. Before making war on the enemy, it was necessary for the Sultān to make peace with his own subjects." The writer quotes a verse of 'Afif in which that experienced author advances the following advice: "Make peace with thy subjects and then brave thy enemy; for the army of a just Sultān is composed of all those people over whom he rules." We have reasons to assume, however, that this wise precept was not always followed in its spirit by the Sultāns of Delhi. Did 'Alā-ud-dīn make his peace with his Hindu subjects before he sent Malik Kāfūr to brave his Hindu enemies in the Deccan? Secondly, the writer observes that "the necessity of organizing the administration of the country made it incumbent upon the Sultāns to acknowledge at least some elementary principles of civilized government." Nobody can question the truth of this proposition, but the recognition of "some elementary principles

39 See P. F. Willert, *Henry of Navarre*, pp. 435-446. It is argued by the King's apologists that the war which he was about to undertake was the result of 'twelve years of persevering negotiations and carefully prepared alliances', but there is little doubt that Henry's guilty passion had much to do with it. The project of war was abandoned as soon as he was assassinated.

40 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan', *JASB.*, (Letters, vol. I, 1935, no. 2), pp. 133-136.

of civilized government” is hardly a check on the excesses of royal power. Kings, being civilized men, cannot but act in a civilized manner—if we do not regard indiscriminate butchery⁴¹ and sensuality⁴² as the outbursts of an uncivilized spirit. Thirdly, the writer remarks that the Sultān had at least “to maintain an outward show of respect for the rituals and the symbols of Islām.” This might have minimised the sufferings of the Muslims, but it did nothing to minimise the misery of the Hindus—it really enhanced their difficulties—who constituted the majority of the population. Next, we are told that tradition compelled the Sultān to be benevolent and generous. How did the Sultān’s benevolence and generosity to individuals help the mass of the people? ‘Alā-ud-dīn was a patron of Amīr Khusrav; Muhammad *ibn* Tughluq was specially generous to foreigners. Their benevolence was narrow and capricious; it did not help the empire as a whole, as the benevolence of Aśoka did. Finally, we are referred to the so-called paternal features of the Sultānate, *viz.*, provision of facilities for trade and commerce, famine relief, etc. These are, however, extensions of the sphere of government, not restrictions on the autocracy of the monarchs.

We see, therefore, that practically speaking, there was no restriction on royal absolutism, except the natural fact that a man, however unscrupulous or depraved, acts like a man and obeys, however reluctantly, the unseen influence exerted by his environments. It is useless to blame the Turkish Sultāns for this. They were loyal to the traditions of Islām and the ideas of Hindustan. Nowhere did monarchy ever willingly give up its powers. The people of India failed to appreciate the meaning of constitutional liberty. They could not make their influence felt on their rulers. The nobles,

41 Balban’s butchery after suppressing Tughril’s rebellion in Bengal and ‘Alā-ud-dīn’s butchery of the Islāmised Mughals are well-known instances.

42 See Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Op. cit.*, pp. 147-149.

Hindu as well as Muslim, failed to take up a wide view of things and to compel the monarchs to recognise them as partners in the work of government as the nobles of England did during the Plantagenet and Lancastrian periods. The inevitable result was the continuance of royal absolutism for hundreds of years.

Court and Haram

A brilliant court is an indispensable corollary of an autocratic monarchy; it is a necessary vehicle through which the infinite majesty of royal power finds its expression. Leaving aside the ancient monarchies of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, China, India and Persia, the courts of the Khalifahs in Baghdad and of the petty despots in the Italian city-states remind us of medieval splendour in all its wasteful magnificence. If we compare, for instance, the court of the Doges of Venice or of the Medicis of Florence with that of their contemporaries on the English throne, we at once realise that the authority allowed by the English people to their kings was less extensive than that snatched from their suffering subjects by the autocrats of Italy. Absolute control over the resources of the state is necessary in order to create monuments of arts⁴³ and literature and to maintain a class of witty and chivalrous courtiers. This secret was taught to the monarchs of Europe by Louis XIV, whose dazzling court was indeed an epitome of the luxury as well as the intellect of France. But it must be remembered that, from the economic point of view, the royal courts put too excessive a strain on the people,⁴⁴ and that intrigues—often political intrigues of the worst character—flourished most in the corners of the artistically decorated palaces.

43 Compare the case of Shāh Jahān. The case of the Pyramid-builders of Egypt is another instance.

44 It is well-known how the expenses of the courts of Louis XIV and Louis XV impoverished France, and how the jealous courtiers of Louis XVI (including his Queen) baffled the reforms of Turgot and Necker.

For the student of medieval Indian administrative history it is necessary to know something about the court and *haram* of the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi in order to appreciate their position as despots. Many factors made it impossible for them to evolve a court-life as splendid as that of the Great Mughals. They had to concentrate their attention upon the conquest of new territories and the consolidation of the old, while Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān ruled over a well-consolidated empire embracing almost the whole of India. They had to safeguard their capital against the repeated inroads of the Mughals,⁴⁵ but the Mughal emperors⁴⁶ reigned supreme over the north-western gateway of India. They had to suffer from oft-repeated dynastic revolutions which were more serious breaks in continuity than the fratricidal struggles of the Mughal princes. Nor are we in a position to utilise the materials left by travellers like Bernier and Manucci or those contained in the memoirs of Bābur and Gulbadan; for all details connected with the court-life of the Turkish Sultāns, we must rest content with incidental references collected from historical chronicles and the account of Ibn Batūtā.

The palaces of the Sultāns naturally furnished the background of their social life. Building palaces was an old and popular custom of the Persian kings. Every king wanted a dwelling of his own and had no desire to use those bequeathed to him by a predecessor. He wanted his palaces to remain as a monument of his administration. The Hindu kings similarly considered it inauspicious to live in a place where somebody had breathed his last. The Sultāns of Delhi followed the same tradition as far as possible, and began abandoning the old palaces along with their contents, and building their own palaces anew.⁴⁷ Three palaces were built by the

45 Even a strong Sultān like 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī had considerable difficulty in resisting them.

46 Until the days of Nadir Shāh and except some troubles with the border clans.

47 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan', *JASB.*, (Letters, vol. I, 1935, no. 2), pp. 146-147.

Slave kings. 'Alā-ud-dīn built a new royal city named Siri. Muhammad *ibn* Tughluq built a new capital at Devagiri. The culmination of magnificence in this respect was perhaps reached during the reign of Firūz Shāh, who 'assigned no less than three palaces for giving audience alone to various grades of people—for the nobles, the companions of the monarch, and for the common people.'⁴⁸

Many apartments in these beautiful palaces were utilised by the wives and concubines of the Sultān and princes of the blood, who, a Muslim writer rightly observes, were "extremely sensual".⁴⁹ Sometimes a regular department was maintained for the supply of women. Sometimes expeditions were undertaken to procure them.⁵⁰ The wives of a deposed or dead Sultān or defeated Hindu king could be married by his successor or victorious Muslim rival.⁵¹ The happiness of family life was naturally unknown amidst such surroundings.⁵²

Apart from the inmates of the *haram* the majesty of the sovereign was often expressed by the number of slaves⁵³ (*Bandagān-i-Khās*) maintained by him. 'Slave-holding was a time-honoured institution throughout the Muslim world';⁵⁴ it was sanctioned by the

48 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

50 The episode of Padmini is well-known. We are also told that the ruler of the Vijayanagar Kingdom began a war for a girl with the Bahmani Kingdom. (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 391). Compare the story of Henry IV of France and Charlotte.

51 Mubārak Khalji compelled Devalrānī, the wife of his elder brother Khizr Khān, to marry him. The usurper Khusrav Khān married Mubārak Khalji's wife. 'Alā-ud-dīn married Kamalā Devi, the wife of Karan Rai, the defeated Baghela King of Gujrat.

52 Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 149) says that 'Alā-ud-dīn was "so troubled by his wife (a daughter of Jalāl-ud-dīn) and mother-in-law that he wanted to conquer some country wherein he might stay and never return home." Compare, however, the story of the romantic love, destined to a tragic end, of Khizr Khān and Devalrānī, described by Amīr Khusrav in his *Asbiqa*.

53 'Alā-ud-dīn had 50,000 slaves, Firūz Shāh had about 200,000.

54 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People, of Hindustan,' *JASB.*, (Letters, vol. I, 1935, no. 2), p. 150.

Prophet, who, however, encouraged manumission.⁵⁵ The slaves of the Sultāns of Delhi were not unlike the Janissaries organised by the Ottoman rulers of Turkey; like the Janissaries they were 'international in their composition,'⁵⁶ bound together by the bond of service and allegiance to a common master. Having no local connections or interests of their own, the Sultān could always rely on their faithfulness and devotion more than on that of other State officials and nobles.⁵⁷ An episode related by Minhāj-ud-dīn⁵⁸ clearly shows the happy relations that existed between the royal masters and their slaves. On one occasion 'one of the confidential favourites' of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad reminded him that 'sons were necessary to thy empire,'⁵⁹ in order that.....sovereignty might continue permanent in this family'. The Sultān replied: "Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons: I have so many thousand sons, namely my Turk slaves, who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me, will take care to preserve my name in the *Khutbah* throughout those territories". The history of the Slave Sultāns of Delhi illustrates the truth of the Mu'zz-ud-dīn's remark.

In the royal courts were to be found many favourites, courtiers (*nadīm*), astrologers, musicians, poets and fortune-hunters of every description. Here the Sultāns followed the immemorial traditions of the East. Favourites were naturally of many classes. They might be as able (and as ambitious) as Malik Kāfūr; they might be as depraved as those who dragged Kaiqubād to his doom. The courtiers, on the other hand, were "a class of refined and cultivated

55 Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, pp. 79-80, 87-89. Amcer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, pp. 262-267.

56 Most of them were Turks.

57 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan', *JASB.*, (Letters, vol. I, 1935, no. 2), p. 150.

58 Raverty, pp. 496-97.

59 He was 'wanting in (male) children'. Cf. B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 42.

men", whose "principal occupation was the entertainment of the Sultān in his leisure hours by adding to the liveliness of his gaiety and pleasures".⁶⁰ Like their Hindu predecessors the Muslim rulers utilised the services of astrologers. Musicians were appreciated and patronised by Muslim princes and nobles. Even poets were not left in the cold.

Turning again to the court, we find that there were many officials entrusted with various duties connected with it as well as the *haram*.

Of the symbols of royalty the most important were the crown, the throne, the parasol (*Chatr*), the baton (*Dūrbāsh*) the canopy (*sāyabān*), the band (*naubat*) and the standard (*'alam*).⁶¹

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to describe in detail the court and its etiquette. Much information may be gathered from the works of Ibn Batūtā and Baranī.⁶²

This brief account of the court and *haram* of the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi clearly reveals the wasteful extravagance which characterised their government. We must remember in this connection that the patronage offered by them to arts and literature—the only relieving feature of the life of unmeasured luxury usually led by them—was almost in all cases confined to their co-religionists. Hence the country as a whole did not prosper—as France prospered under Louis XIV or Russia did under Catherine the Great. The result was stagnation.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

60 Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan', *JASB.*, (Letters, vol. I, 1935, no. 2), p. 153.

61 For details, see Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Op. cit.*, pp. 158-161.

62 Text (*Bibliotheca Indica*), pp. 29-31.

Akbar's Religious Policy*

II

11. *Some administrative measures*

To increase the efficiency of his government, Akbar adopted many new measures. One of these was the introduction of a uniform year for official purposes. The Muslim lunar year, the Hindu Fasli years of different calculations, and the many local eras in use caused a good deal of administrative confusion. The lunar era was not suitable for revenue purposes as its months did not correspond with harvest seasons. On this account it was not possible to fix any date of the era either for the issue of demand slips to the cultivators, or for the collection of revenue. A new era with a solar year was therefore introduced in the year 1586 (994 A.H.) and called the Ilāhī Year.⁹⁰ It was not intended to, and it did not, supersede the use of the Hijri era. So convenient was the new measure that it was continued by his successors including Aurangzeb who only gave precedence to the Hijri dates in state papers.⁹¹ Yet Akbar was so careful in respecting the religious feelings of his Muslim subjects that he hesitated long before the introduction of this measure lest its introduction be misunderstood. He had, earlier in 1582, tried without success to make the Hindus reckon the beginning of their month from after the 16th lunar day rather than the 29th.⁹² The Ilāhī era was intended to be used in official records oftener than not along with the Hijri dates. It did not involve the disuse of the Muslim era either by Akbar or his subject.⁹³ Akbar

* Continued from p. 322 of vol. XIII.

90 *Badāyūni*, II, 301; *Āin.*, II, 30; *Akbar Nāma*, II, pp. 10-12; *Mūrāt-i-Abmadi*, II, 159-162 contains the full text of the Royal order.

91 Documents of Aurangzeb's reign are in existence giving both the dates.

92 *Badāyūni*, II, 356; *Akbar Nāma*, II, 11.

93 Letters of the period are still found in many collections bearing the Hijri date.

was a patron of literature and science of all kinds. He refused to believe, unlike his Safavi contemporary of Persia, that only the legalities (Muslim theology, tradition and law) need be studied.⁹⁴ He patronized, therefore, the study of astronomy, mathematics, history, *belles lettres*, medicine and diverse other subjects.⁹⁵ A contemporary Persian poet regretfully recorded the fact that on account of the orthodoxy of the Persian princes it was impossible for any one to become learned in different sciences. Only when one came to India, he acknowledged, one could really acquire proficiency in his studies.⁹⁶ Naturally the Mullas who were themselves brought up on the old lore found the change hard to accept. It involved the disappearance of their monopoly of learning. They could hardly adapt themselves to the new order of things and keenly resented this change. Badāyūnī's wrath against the emperor who sponsored this change from 'classicism' to 'modernism' can be easily understood. It is not necessary to believe him when he tells us that the emperor interdicted the study of Arabic.⁹⁷ It is only the lamentation of an old man on the passing away of the old order. We know Akbar's library contained a section for Arabic books.⁹⁸ Some Arabic works were translated under his patronage.⁹⁹ Again the assertion of Badāyūnī that Akbar directed that the letters peculiar to Arabic should not be used in spelling words in Persian,¹⁰⁰ seems to have originated either in his attempt at ridiculing the main plank of Akbar's policy or it represents the attempt of a 'purist' at producing 'pure' Persian. But there is nothing to prove that this order was obeyed in the sense in which Badāyūnī wishes us to believe it was intended. No documents of Akbar's reign have come down

94 Brown, *Modern Persian Literature*, p. 26.

Abdullā Khān, king of Turan, prohibited the study of logic and philosophy in his kingdom. (Badāyūnī, III, 150).

95 Badāyūnī, II, 301; *Āim.*, I, 279.

97 Badāyūnī, II, 306, 356, 363.

99 *Āim.*, I, 104.

96 Shibli, III.

98 *Āim.*, I, 103.

100 Badāyūnī, II, 301.

to us with this peculiarly fantastic attempt at reforming spelling. The *Farāmīn-i-Salātīn* compiled and edited by Bashīr Ahmad includes a Farmān of Akbar dated 1595 (1004A.H.) where many words appear without any change in their spelling.¹⁰¹ This 'tale' therefore must be credited to Badāyūnī's resentment at Akbar's patronizing useful, as against purely religious, modern, as against classical, studies and accomplishments as against legalities.

The administration of the 'Sadr-us-Sadūr's department, Akbar felt, was far from satisfactory. Even an orthodox Muslim of Badāyūnī's type was not pleased with the way things had been going on for years. The Sadrs had had far too much power and they had not used it well. The first step in the direction of reforms here was the appointment of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk as the provincial Sadr of the Punjab. Akbar, therefore reduced the powers of Abdul Nabī's successor in office, Sultān Khwāja. In 1581 he appointed six Sadrs in the provinces.¹⁰² Inquiries were also held into the rent-free grants made earlier in the reign. Abdul Nabī's grants, according to Badāyūnī, were greater than those of all the previous emperors taken together.¹⁰³ Even under Shaikh Gadāi at least one theologian held a grant worth ten million tankas.¹⁰⁴ Akbar was therefore driven in order to protect his own financial interests to inquire into the grants so far made. On investigation he re-awarded the heredity grants made to scholars, theologians, priests and teachers according to his own estimate of their worth. One class of people, however, suffered in these proceedings and according to Badāyūnī suffered justly. Those who 'enlisted disciples of their own, or held assemblies, or encouraged any kind of counterfeit worship' were imprisoned or exiled to Bengal or Sindh.¹⁰⁵ The leaders of the Ilāhī sect were exiled to Bhakkar and Qandahar and

101 *Farāmīn-i-Salātīn*, p. 246.

103 Badāyūnī, II, 71, 204.

105 *Ibid.*, II, 278.

102 *Akbar Nāma*, III, 372, 234.

104 *Ibid.*, II, 34.

exchanged for colts. Their practices constituted 'a bundle of foul lies and nonsense,' according to Badāyūnī.¹⁰⁶ But some Shaikhs and Faqīrs may have suffered innocently in the course of these proceedings. Badāyūnī's statement that they were exchanged for mules in Qandahar is either a repetition of the fate that befell the Jalalis or must be referred to some other unpopular group of theologians. It would have been rather difficult to send any Shaikhs or Faqīrs as prisoners to Qandahar and there sell them as slaves among an orthodox Muslim population unless they had lost all popular support. It was a punishment that could not have been carried against popular or respected scholars and religious mendicants. Akbar had to transfer the grants made to many scholars mostly because he discovered their influence on the people was not good. The collectors were given general directions to inquire into all cases of rent-free grants of land and revert to the State the share of a deceased grantee, an absentee, or a State servant.¹⁰⁷ These measures seem to have been taken mostly in self-defence. Akbar's general policy is well illustrated by Badāyūnī's example who though, as an orthodox Mulla, got no preferment, was yet able to keep his original Jagir of 1000 Bighas intact. Earlier periodical examination and resumption of these grants are mentioned by Badāyūnī himself and amply prove that Akbar was moved not by any feelings of revenge but the ordinary State necessities.¹⁰⁸

The emperor further sanctioned the charging of interest.¹⁰⁹ Here again he could not have made it obligatory. If good Muslims did not want to receive interest they could avoid it. But if their Hindu creditors wanted a return for their money, Akbar made it possible for them to secure it through the imperial courts. The measure indicates a growth of commercial transaction between the

106 Badāyūnī, II, 299.

108 Badāyūnī, II, 29, 30.

107 *Āin.*, II, 47.109 *Ibid.*, II, 338.

Hindus and Muslims and seems to have been rendered necessary by commercial considerations.

12. Court Ceremonies

Akbar further introduced certain ceremonies in court. The method of doing honour to the emperor by way of Kurnish and Taslim had been introduced by Humayun. Akbar, however, seems to have made it common.¹¹⁰ But despite the special pleadings of such divines as Tāj-ud-Din of Delhi,¹¹¹ the faithful objected to it as against the teachings of Islam. Thereupon it was discontinued in the open court but permitted in the private audience chamber.¹¹² But those who had any religious scruples were never compelled to undergo this indignity. In 999 A.H. (1590-91) Badāyūnī refused to perform obeisance to the emperor in this fashion even when some courtiers urged him thereto. Not much harm came to him thereby.¹¹³ Four years later, in 1003 (1594-95 A.D.), however, he changed his mind and performed Sijdah.¹¹⁴ It became the common method of salutation to the emperor and continued under Jahangir. Shah Jahan excused the Sijda to scholars but continued it for other people for some time.¹¹⁵

Akbar's charity annexed a peculiarly Hindu custom of giving alms to the poor. On different auspicious occasions the emperor would be weighed against different materials which would then be given away to the needy, Hindus and Muslims alike.¹¹⁶ The institution so appealed to the generous instincts of the Mughal emperors that this was continued even under the Puritan Aurangzeb who is

110 *Āin.*, I, 158.

112 *Āin.*, I, 158.

114 *Ibid.*, II, 402.

116 *Āin.*, I, 266, 267.

111 *Badāyūnī*, II, 301.

113 *Badāyūnī*, II, 376.

115 *Badshāhnāma*, I, 110-112.

found writing to one of his grandsons urging him to get weighed twice a year in order to ward off evil.¹¹⁷

13. *The Infallibility Decree*

But the most important of Akbar's administrative measures was the promulgation of what has been miscalled the 'Infallibility Decree.' Akbar had tried to bring together his divines, but, as we have already seen, when they met, they failed to agree. Partly urged by the practical necessity of providing for an authoritative interpretation of the Muslim Law, partly led on by his own ambition to brook no rival authority in the state, Akbar secured the presentation of a petition to him declaring that where doctors of divinity differed in their interpretation of the Muslim Law, the emperor's decision was to be final. This declaration was drawn up by Mubārak but was signed by Makhdūm-ul-Mulk; Abdul Nabī, the Sadr-us-Sadar; Sadr Jahān, Grand Mufti of the empire; Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Chief Qāzī; Mubārak, 'the deepest writer of the age', and Ghāzī Khān, 'unrivall-ed in various sciences'. The declaration was thus authoritative, bearing as it did the signatures of the highest church dignitaries in the empire along with the two greatest scholars of the reign. Of course it has been very often urged that Mubārak was the emperor's tool in the matter and that others had been dragged into signing it. Unfortunately, Badāyūnī on whose authority this statement is based seems to have been carried away by his wrath against this lodging of an authority in the emperor which he thought rightly belonged to the divines. He makes two contradictory statements. In one place he declares that some signed it willingly others against their convictions. Elsewhere he tells us that only Mubārak signed it

¹¹⁷ *Letters of Aurangzeb* (printed), letter No. 17. Aurangzeb declares that though weighment is not current along the Muslims of Persia, it is efficacious.

willingly.¹¹⁸ This latter statement could not obviously have been true. Among the signatories, Jalāl-ud-Dīn was the emperor's nominee whom Akbar had recently appointed in supersession to his inconvenient predecessor.¹¹⁹ Sadr-i-Jahān continued in his office long after the issue of this declaration¹²⁰ and could not have been opposed to its issue. Ghāzī Khān, a Mansibdar who continued in office till his death in 992 A.H. (= 1584 A.D.) again seems to be little likely to require any undue pressure for putting his signature to this document. Mukhdūm-ul-Mulk who had his eyes on the office of the Sadr-us-Sadūr and Abdul Nabī who was filling it at this time are likely to comprise Badāyūnī's 'some' who signed it against their convictions. Their unwillingness can be easily understood.

But the nature of the document has been a little misunderstood in the heat of arguments raised over it.¹²¹ It gave Akbar no power until and unless the divines failed to agree. Even then he had the power to interpret the Muslim Law and not to make it. It is necessary to remember that Akbar only gathered into his own hands powers and functions which had been so far exercised by a subordinate functionary, the Sadr. He did not create a new office, he brought an older one under imperial control. Even here Akbar differed from Aurangzeb, for example, in honesty assuming the right to be his own judge rather than dismiss a Sadr who criticised him—as Aurangzeb did—and appoint a successor who would give a convenient opinion. Akbar claimed to be infallible no more than the Privy Council or the House of Lords does. His interpretation of the laws was to be final, just as a ruling of the Privy Council. Thus Akbar made no claim to infallibility in any metaphysical sense. Still further his decision could not, and in fact did not, silence opposition to his views. As an instrument for suppressing opposi-

118 Badāyūnī, II, 270, 272.

119 Badāyūnī, II, 110, 10.

120 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 392.

121 Cf. Blochman; Smith, 178-81; Haig, 364; Malleon, 158.

tion it was valueless. Decision given under its authority would not convince those who did not recognize it as valid. It could be used effectively only by Akbar himself for justifying his own personal practices. The main planks of his policy of toleration had already been laid. The Jizya had been abolished, the pilgrimage tax remitted, the Hindus admitted to public services and public religious worships tolerated long before the issue of this so-called 'infallibility decree'. These departures from the accepted orthodox policy had not necessitated any artificial support. The decree was only a manifestation of Akbar's anxiety to be considered a good Muslim. Badāyūnī's statement that after the Fatwa the distinction as hitherto understood between the lawful and the unlawful was obliterated, can have reference to Akbar's personal actions alone. No orders of his could force his people to adopt as lawful modes of action that they considered unlawful. It was thus not a decree much less an infallibility decree. All that it really affected was to take away from the theologians the right to persecute others for their opinions. Akbar did not claim to define religious beliefs of his subjects and force his definition on them as Tudor 'Governor of the Church' was claiming to do. No one was persecuted for rejecting Akbar's definition, if any, of the Muslim faith. He issued no Thirty Nine Articles, he forced no 'Act of Uniformity.'

14. *Marriage and Religion*

In another field Akbar apparently restricted religious liberty. Mixed marriages were not allowed. Under the Muslim Law, a Muslim could marry only Muslim. Thus if a Hindu girl wanted to marry a Muslim, she had to be converted to Islam before the marriage could be solemnised. The case of a Muslim girl trying to marry a Hindu became still more difficult. Her marriage would not be legal according to the Muslim Law. It is doubtful whether the Hindu Law as *then understood* sanctioned such marriages. Akbar

therefore decreed that as such conversions to Hinduism or Islam were based on passion rather than on religion, they should not be permitted.¹²² He does not seem to have introduced any substantial change in the judicial practices of the day. A story related by Badāyūnī himself bears this out. A Muslim, Mūsā by name, who wanted to marry a Hindu girl, eloped with her and had then to keep himself and the girl concealed for fear the parents of the girl would be able to get her back by judicial process if they learnt of their whereabouts.¹²³

15. *The alleged persecution of the Muslims*

This brings us to the much canvassed question about the persecution of the Muslims by Akbar. 'Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islam' says Dr. Smith.¹²⁴ 'In the latter part of his life' says Sir Wolsley Haig, 'he persecuted its followers and destroyed its places of worship'.¹²⁵ These are grave charges and, made by serious students of history as they are, they compel an examination. They are based on two sets of authorities, the orthodox Badāyūnī and his followers and the Jesuit Missionaries who came to convert Akbar to their faith. A good deal of misunderstanding has been caused, however, by mixing up two different questions. Akbar's personal

122 Badāyūnī, II, 391-92; *Dabistān-i-Mazābib*, 413 (?).

Smith (257) rather unfairly omits to notice the provision in the *Dabistan* concerning such conversions to Hinduism notwithstanding the fact that Blochman refers to it. His criticism is therefore misplaced and unjust. Akbar treated Hindus and Muslims alike in this matter and there is no justification whatever for finding in this regulation a persecution of Islam. Badāyūnī records what appeared to him an inversion of Muslim rights, though as we shall see below he is wrong even there. Return of Muslim girls to their families was an ordinary affair for him and called for no comment or record.

123 Badāyūnī, II, 110-118. The story of Shaikh Mūsā as recorded by Badāyūnī.

124 *Akbar*, 257.

125 *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 378.

practices may have been objectionable but they do not and cannot prove that he persecuted Islam. In deciding the question of his persecutions, therefore, we have to look for such acts of his as forced a line of conduct on his subjects which was contrary to Islam.

Even thus limited, Badāyūnī's list is formidable and the Jesuit statements carry it still further.

1. Akbar made wearing of silk dresses and ornaments obligatory at prayer times.

2. He forbade prayers of Islam.

3. He discontinued public prayers and call to prayers in the Assembly Hall.

4. He forbade the fasts.

5. Pilgrimages to Mecca were stopped. Any one even mentioning the subject in 1004 A.H. received capital punishment.

6. Muslim festivals were discontinued.

7. Akbar changed some names wherein the name of the Prophet figured in order to avoid using it.

8. Mosques and prayer rooms were turned into stables and given to Hindu chaukidars.

9. Akbar when in straits for money would even plunder mosques.

10. Shaving of the beard was allowed with the support of the unprincipled and scheming Mullas.

11. The eating of the flesh of tigers and wild boars was permitted.

12. The king razed to the ground the towers built for the Muslim call to prayer.

13. Mosques were turned into stables and those decaying were not repaired.

14. Blochman and Low have both rendered a passage of Badāyūnī implying that good men were killed in place of cows presumably by Akbar.

A better rendering would be: 'they (the Hindus) kill good men in the place of cows.' Another passage has been translated as stating that killers of animals on certain dates were either killed or their property confiscated. Besides, Akbar is generally credited with the design of 'annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islam'. Badāyūnī refers to Islam as having died in this reign.¹²⁶

Now to examine these complaints about persecution. In connection with the first Badāyūnī is self-contradictory. If, as he says in (2) prayers of Islam were forbidden, Akbar could not have made the use of the unlawful silken dresses and ornaments obligatory at them. Either prayers were still being held, in which case the second complaint disappears as also the third, or if they were not held, there could have been no point in making a certain dress obligatory thereat. As we shall see, Akbar may have become remiss in offering public prayers himself, but that is a personal question. Akbar could not have forbidden the offering of Muslim prayers throughout his empire. No case of anyone being persecuted for offering prayers is on record anywhere. We have on the other hand the testimony of Badāyūnī himself to prove that when Mīr Fath Ullah Shīrāzī offered his Shia prayers in the court, he was not interfered with at all. Akbar was so far from being offended with him on that account that he was appointed vizir and retained in that office. Shaikh 'Arif-i-Husainī Mūsā and 'Abdul Ghais are also alleged by Badāyūnī himself as performing prayers in the imperial court. Abul M'aālī said prayers with his companions, Abdus Samad is described as much occupied in praying.¹²⁷ The obligation to wear silk dresses at the prayer times could only have been imposed on his courtiers alone and that also when they said their prayers in

¹²⁶ Badāyūnī, II, pp. 239, 265, 274, 301-307, 312, 322; Du Jarric, 44, 45, 61.

Cf. Monserrate's *References to Akbar's religion*, 64, (*Murray's Travels*, II, 95).

¹²⁷ Badāyūnī, II, 315, 316; III, 59, 92, 126, 139, 150.

his company. It is rather ridiculous to suggest that it involved any persecution of Islam. The fourth charge is that Akbar forbade fasts. Did he go about compelling every one of his subjects to take their meals in the months of fasting? That could have been hardly possible. He may have discontinued keeping fasts himself but that would not amount to a persecution of Islam. Fortunately evidence is available at least of the year 1582 that the fast was still kept by the faithful, Akbar's Muslim ambassador who had been sent to bring the Jesuit fathers to the court stayed at Sultānpur, near Surat, for the purpose of celebrating the fast and the sacrifices connected therewith.¹²⁸ The fifth complaint again is not tenable. The stoppage of pilgrimage is mentioned in the year 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.). But in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) Gulbadan Begum returned from Mecca and was royally welcomed. In 992 A.H. (1584 A.H.) Shāh 'Alī Tarāb brought the impress of the prophet's foot from Mecca and it was also received as a holy relic. It was brought to Ahmedabad where a splendid edifice was built for housing it. This took six years in building. A theologian was appointed to keep guard over it as over a sacred relic. When Badāyūnī completed his history, Qutb-i-'Ālam was guarding it in 1595-96.¹²⁹ More conclusive, however, is the account of Du Jarric. The Third Mission while coming to the court in 1595 met in Gujerat many men and women going on the pilgrimage to Mecca.¹³⁰ Khan-i-A'zam, governor of Gujerat, went to Mecca in 1001 A.H., returned in 1002, and came to the imperial court.¹³¹ The discontinuance of the Muslim festivals cannot be termed persecution. It implies if anything, Akbar's ceasing to celebrate them himself. The suggestion contained in the seventh is fantastic. Muhammad remained a part of Akbar's name and occurs in many of the Farmāns he

128 Monserrate, 13. Shah Jahan was excused the duty of keeping fasts in his old age.

129 Badāyūnī, II, 321; III, 111; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II, 138, 179.

130 Du Jarric, 60.

131 *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II, 181, 182.

issued in the latter half of his reign.¹³² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī's* list of scholars and grandees contains such names as also Abdul Fazl's list of the grandees.¹³³ Badāyūnī's third volume as well contains many such names. What is Akbar supposed to have done? Did he issue a roving commission for the purpose of changing the names of such persons all over his extensive empire! Turning of mosques and prayer rooms into stables and porter's lodges may be true in some cases where Akbar's toleration made the maintenance of mosques in an entirely Hindu centre both impolitic as well as useless. It is possible that in some villages where mosques, like Protestant churches in Ireland in some places, were maintained simply as an emblem of the Muslim conquest, the mosques might have been converted to other uses. Akbar was utilitarian enough to turn such mosques to the civil or military purposes. But if it implied that Akbar turned all Mosques and Prayer rooms into stables, or an appreciable number thereof either, one must deny it. On his march to Kabul Akbar set apart a special tent for prayers. He said public prayers on his return to India in the mosque at 'Alī Masjid.¹³⁴ Many mosques of his days are still standing. The Jesuit fathers, who support Badāyūnī in these assertions, did not find the mosques of Delhi turned into stables or porter's lodges.¹³⁵ Murray's state-

132 Du Jarric, 46.

133 *Tabaqāt*, 383, 384, 385, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 395, 398, 401, 403, 404, 405.

134 Monserrate, 155.

135 Monserrate, 95, 97, 98.

Sub-deacon Leo Grinon when he conveyed Akbar's invitation to Goa for the second mission is said to have told the Provincial of Goa in 1590, "The emperor turned all the mosques of the city where he lived into stables for elephants or horses on the pretence of preparation for war. He destroyed the Alqurans." Report of the Provincial of Goa dated 1590, quoted from Spitilli by Maclagan (62).

This is supposed to have reference to Lahore. It is needless to refute this statement because it is followed by the wholly incredible and untrue statement that Akbar had confined himself to one wife and distributed the rest among his courtiers.

Pinheir's Letter dated 3rd of September, 1595 repeats this assertion, "in the city there is no mosque and no copy of-Quran. The mosques previously erected have been turned into stables and public granaries." (Maclagan, 70).

ment about Akbar's plundering mosques is based on misconception. They are usually hardly worth plundering and Akbar was very seldom in straits for money. The third mission in 1595 did find the mosques in ruin because they had not been repaired. But then, this state of things refers to 'many towns and large cities which were mostly in a state of ruin.'¹³⁶ Shaving of the beard cannot constitute persecution. It could only have been a permissive order. The eleventh again is permissive, not mandatory. Such 'unlawful' meat does not seem to have been forced on any one. Only those taking it were absolved from sin. The twelfth again is an exaggeration. We have already dealt with the thirteenth. The general statements of Badāyūnī's remain; but he is not sure in his description of the state of things that ensued. Sometimes the Shiaism seems to him to have been gaining ground, at other times he is bewailing the disappearance of Islam and yet again talking of the progress of Hinduism.¹³⁷ As we shall presently see the whole regime of toleration was distasteful to Badāyūnī and his sort and in their disgust they gave it different names. While Badāyūnī talks of Islam as a dead religion, Du Jarric in describing the persecution of the Fathers of the third mission speaks of Muhammadanism and Hinduism as strongly established in 1603.¹³⁸

Badāyūnī writing in 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) mentions among living scholars "Abdul Qadir at Lahore, Qāzī Nur Ullāh of Lahore, a Muhtasib at Lahore, Maulāna Muhammad, Mufti of Lahore, who gave a public dinner on his completing his studies of Muslim Law and tradition. (Badāyūnī, III, pp. 101, 138, 154). It is impossible to believe that these Muslim divines had not a single copy of the Quran between them. We cannot but reject such impossible testimony. The Qāzī, the Mufti, and the Muhtasib could not have functioned in a city where all mosques were stables and all copies of the Qurans had been lost!

¹³⁶ Du Jarric, 61.

¹³⁷ Badāyūnī, II, 262, 265, 272, 309.

¹³⁸ Du Jarric, 192.

16. *His Religious Beliefs*

Another charge remains. Smith is definite in his opinion that after 1582 Akbar ceased to be a Muslim. Unfortunately even he cannot get away from certain facts which proclaimed aloud Akbar's faith in Islam. He holds Akbar therefore guilty of still another sin, hypocrisy. The reasoning is rather ingenious. Akbar was not a Muslim presumably because he was not practising certain rites. When he practises them, why you call him a hypocrite and there is an end of the matter! But Smith, unfortunately, overlooked certain other inconvenient facts. The Jesuit letters may be 'full of emphatic declaration that at the time of the First Mission Akbar was not a Muslim.' But Du Jarric's account mentions that Akbar held many disputations with the Fathers of the First Mission in defence of Islam. When the Mullas could not defend the Muslim conception of paradise, Akbar came to their help and tried to defend it. Similarly he so earnestly tried to defend his Mullas on another occasion that the Fathers were reluctantly compelled to conclude that they had no chance whatever of converting him to Christianity. Botelho writing in 1648-54 declared that 'inspite of discussions the king remained as much a Moor as before.' Peruschi writing in 1595 no doubt mentions rumours current about Akbar's religious beliefs. He comes to the conclusion that 'the more intelligent think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity'. Akbar's letter written in 1582 to the philosophers of Europe and entrusted to Monserrate on his departure speaks of the prophet with all respect.¹³⁹ Further in his letters to 'Abdullā Khān Uzbek written in 1586 Akbar definitely declares himself a Muslim and proudly boasts that on account of his conquests Islam had now spread to territories where it had never been

¹³⁹ Du Jarric, 192; Botelho quoted in Hosten, 150; Peruschi, p. 14, quoted by MacLagan, 52. *Letters of Abul Fazl*, No. VII (Section I).

heard of before and the temples of the non-believers had been converted into mosques. He also roundly declares that the institutes of the Prophet and revelation of God have always been his guides.¹¹⁰ Thus Akbar seems to have considered himself a Muslim almost to the very end of his life.

But we have to admit that to Badāyūnī and men of his way of thinking Akbar ceased to be a Muslim. The orthodox spread tales of his fall from the true path throughout the empire. The courts of the independent kings in the Deccan rang with tales of his having ceased to be a Muslim.¹¹¹ In Persia, Kābul and Tūrān these tales were often told.¹¹² Even here in India a rebellion was organised ostensibly on behalf of the true faith. But the failure of this rebellion, even when Akbar's brother Hakīm had been discovered as the convenient peg on which to hang the claims for an empire, proves that to a majority of his Muslim courtiers and subjects, Akbar had not fallen enough from the true path to merit the fate of an apostate.¹¹³ When prince Salim rebelled against his father, he could have found his father's apostasy a very powerful weapon against him. But neither Jahangir nor his historians use this argument to justify his rebellion.¹¹⁴ Salim no doubt got Abul Fazl murdered but all that he alleges against him is his ascendancy in the councils of his

140 Letters nos. 2, 1, 3.

141 *Tazkrat-ul-Malūk* (MS), pp. 566, 567. Botelho was asked by Adal Shah of Golkunda whether Akbar had been converted to Christianity. Botelho, however, had to confess that Akbar remained and died a Muslim. (Hosten, 151.).

142 *Letter of Abul Fazl*: from Akbar to 'Abdullā Khān of Tūrān written in 1586.

143 Cf. *Letters of Abul Fazl*: from Akbar to 'Abdullā Khān written in 1586 and 1596.

144 Lest it be thought that references to the misdeeds of an earlier king by his son and successor were not considered in good taste, one has only to refer to the accounts of Shah Jahan's rebellion in *Iqbal Nāma Jahangiri* and the official histories of Shah Jahan's religion.

Jahangir, however, speaks with all reverence of Akbar's austerities. *Tazkrat-ul-Malūk* (MS) p. 566, refers to Salim's issuing a Farman when he rebelled justifying his action as taken in defence of the true faith and against Akbar's religious vagaries.

father. He could have conveniently mentioned Akbar's renunciation of Islam as an excuse for his own crime at least. His silence is suggestive. We have it on the authority of Du Jarric's account that when in 1598 a Christian accepted Islam in order to be able to marry the niece of his dead wife, though prince Salim desired to punish him, he dared not do so for fear of his father who obviously must have been pleased at this conversion. A little later in 1599 the fathers converted a Muslim girl. They were afraid that if the matter was made public and brought before the judges they would hold it against the Quran and the *king's regulations*. Such a king cannot have ceased to be a Muslim. Monserrate again tells us that 'Akbar does not listen to actors because acting is forbidden by the Muslim law.' Here again we have evidence enough to prove that Akbar was a Muslim. Botelho declared that Akbar died a Muslim and Roe also came to the conclusion that Akbar continued a Muslim and died as such.¹¹³

But let us examine the delinquencies of Akbar as set down by the Jesuits and the orthodox Mullas. Akbar is accused of having violated the law because from 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) onwards he shaved his beard. He kept dogs and pigs in the palace yard, and inspected them every morning. He discontinued keeping fasts. 'Birbar we are told, 'led Akbar to reject inspiration, prophetship, miracles, even the whole law.' 'He listened to the early history of Islam and began to think less of the companions of the prophet.' He gave up going to public prayers. 'Akbar cast aside Islamic revelation regarding the day of judgment, the details connected with

It is difficult, however, to believe this statement as the writer tells us on page 468 that Jahangir became a follower of Din-i-Ilahi after his accession. According to our author, then, whatever Akbar's religious vagaries, Salim fell a victim thereto. Now we know that Salim remained a conforming Muslim.

145 Roe, II, 313; Botelho as quoted above, note 141; Monserrate, pp. 171, 202; Du Jarric, pp. 86, 87, 94. Roe says, however, that 'Akbar began to make a breach into the law', true that 'a certain outward reverence detained him' and 'so he died in the formal profession of his sect.'

it, and traditions of which the prophet was the repository.' 'He ceased to believe in the evil spirits, angels, invisible beings, the prophet's method of receiving revelation and miracles, and the authority of the prophets and the Imām.' He is further accused of acknowledging 'reason to be the basis of all religions and possessing a spirit of inquiry opposed to every principle.' All doctrines of Islam Akbar is said to have set down as 'senseless.' It is further said that Akbar examined some accounts of Prophet's life and refused to believe certain incidents, as related therein. But what Badāyūnī really says is that some people made such remarks in Akbar's presence. We have then Badāyūnī's specific statement that till 986 A.H. (1578-79 A.D.) Akbar had shown 'every act of sincerity and was diligently searching for truth. Afterwards he grew colder and colder till after the short space of five or six years (1584-85) not a trace of Muslim feeling was left in his breast.' The *Āim.* also quotes a saying of His Majesty that not being himself a Muslim it was unjust to force others to become such. Du Jarric is emphatic in his assertion that he is certainly not a Muhammadan.¹⁴⁶

Most of these things concern matters of belief rather than action. But in two things Akbar seems to have gravely violated the Muslim commandments. He kept burning a perpetual fire and as he sat in the Jharoka Darsan (the salutation balcony) he kept muttering one thousand and more names of the Sun which had been particularly strung together in Sanskrit verses for his special benefit.¹⁴⁷ He had peculiar regard for the Sun and the fire and had had Zoroastrian priests come to him and explain the mysteries of their religion. The Hindu scholars as well had been instructing him in their own mysteries in various ways and in his own fashion he had been receiv-

¹⁴⁶ *Āim.*, I, 290; III, 381, 383, 384, 388; Du Jarric, 68; Monserrate, 64, 65, 67, Badāyūnī, II, 211, 255-57, 260-62, 273, 275, 286, 301, 305-8, 312, 324-25.

¹⁴⁷ Hirānand Shāstrī, *HHQ.*, March, 1933; Monserrate, 183, 184.

ing such impressions from their teachings as he could. But though he picked and chose from the teaching of various teachers he remained a monotheist.¹⁸¹ He did not worship the Sun as a god but paid it respect as the most powerful manifestation of God. He did not worship fire either. There is nothing to warrant the statement of Smith that Akbar hated the very name of the Prophet. Despite all that is recorded by Badāyūnī, his belief in the prophet as well remained unshaken and any one insulting the Prophet in his dominions was sure of having a dagger plunged in his breast even in 1598. He cautioned even the Christian fathers of the first mission to take care not to slander the Prophet. The *Akbar Nāma* mentions the prophet with all respect, Faizi's *Nal-o-Daman* presented to Akbar in 1595 contains a section in the Prophet's praise.¹¹⁹ The assertion of the *Āin* that Akbar did not regard himself a Muslim falls to the ground when confronted with Akbar's assertion in his letters to 'Abdullā Khān that he is a sound Muslim and a follower of the Prophet as well.' It simply implies that he could not consider himself as one fulfilling all the ordinances of Islam—a common enough confession in the orient.

17. *The Dīn-i-Ilāhī*

But then there is the Dīn-i-Ilāhī, to be explained. Its official name was Tawhīd-i-Ilāhī, divine monotheism. From the meagre in-

¹⁴⁸ Du Jarric, 68.

Many Hindu scholars were received at one time or another at his court and played their part in giving him information on religious questions. The following names of Hindu savants, theologians, and men of God are mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbari*:

Madhav Sarasvati, Madhu Sudhan, Narayan, Harivijya Suri, Damodar Bhat, Ram Tirath, Narasingh, Parmendar, Aditya, Baba Bilas, Baba Kapur, Rama Bhadrā, Yadurup, Bishn Nath, Ram Krishan Bhat, Vidya Navas, Gori Nath, Gopi Nath, Krishna Pundit Bhattacharya, Bhagirath, Kashi Nath Bhattacharya, Vijja Sen Suri, Bhanu Chandra.

¹⁴⁹ Smith's *Akbar*, pp. 215, 216; Du Jarric, 84; Monserrate, 180; *Akbar Nāma*, III, 12, 281.

formation that is available to us about its beliefs and practices in the *Āin*, *Badāyūnī*, and the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, it would be a gross exaggeration to give it the rank of a religion. It had no book, no priests, no ceremonies, and practically no religious beliefs. It was an order rather than a religion and more akin to Freemasonry than any religious movement. Smith, on the authority of Bartoli and *Badāyūnī*, dates the proclamation of the *Dīn-i-Ilāī* in the beginning of the year 1582.¹⁵⁰ Yet according to Monserrate, the first Jesuit Mission when it left in 1583 had only suspicions that Akbar intended to found a new religion of his own. Botelho writing in 1648-54 declared that Akbar desired to found a new religion combining Islam and Christianity.¹⁵¹ Even Pinheiro, writing in September, 1595, from the royal court is doubtful about the religion Akbar followed. 'It is the opinion of the many' writes Pinheiro, 'that he aims at making a new religion of which he himself is to be the head.' He admits that 'it is said that he already has numerous followers', but is not prepared to vouchsafe for the fact himself. All that he can definitely say in the matter is that '*it is more or less certain* that he has a strong desire to be looked upon, and esteemed as a God, or some great prophet.' It must be a curious sort of *religion*, the existence of which was yet a matter of doubt even thirteen years after its inception.¹⁵² Monserrate and Pinheiro's statements knock the bottom out of the story of a council held for the purpose of promulgating the new religion. After the date assigned for the foundation of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, Akbar is found defending his Mullas so earnestly that the Fathers think of retiring from the task of converting him. A thing discussed and promulgated after a public meeting of Akbar's advisers could not have been concealed from the Fathers of the First mission and must have found a place

150 *Akbar*, 148.

151 Monserrate, 184. Botelho quoted in Hosten, 151.

152 Du Jarric, corrected by Payne in his notes, 68.

in Monserrate's account and Du Jarric's history of the Three Missions. Smith has further confused the Darsaniyas with the followers of Dīn-i-Ilāhī.¹⁵³ Darsaniyas were those of Akbar's subjects who had taken a vow not to take their meals without having obtained a sight of Akbar. After his death they behaved in the same fashion towards his successor.¹⁵⁴ Still further Smith has exalted the voluntary statement made by a courtier into a regulation issued by Akbar for followers of Dīn-i-Ilāhī. Badāyūnī only states that Mirzā Jānī and other apostates signed a declaration that 'they had abjured Islam, accepted the four grades of entire devotion and embraced the divine religion of Akbar Shah.' He stops short of suggesting that Akbar ordered all members of the Divine Faith to sign such declarations.¹⁵⁵ Badāyūnī admits that Akbar never used persuasion, force or bribery for gaining adherence to his opinions and that he took care to broadcast it that those who joined the band should expect no favours from him. Of course he accuses those who joined the ranks of Akbar as being mostly actuated by such base motives.¹⁵⁶ Thus it is clear whatever Dīn-i-Ilāhī was, Akbar was not very anxious to obtain adherents for it. He seldom used the resources of his empire for advancing the fortunes of those who were admitted still less did he force his subjects to adopt it. He had overthrown the conception of a State religion in India. It was not to be revived even in the service of the order he had created. It seems Dīn-i-Ilāhī aimed at nothing higher than banding together a number of Akbar's courtiers in personal devotion to him. The only obligation its entrants assumed was devotion to Akbar, their only badge of brotherhood was Akbar's likeness, the only leader they were to follow was Akbar. It is true Akbar laid down some rules of life for these devotees of his, but it

¹⁵³ *Akbar*, 219.

¹⁵⁴ *Travels of Abdul Latif*, p. 16; Roe, 314.

¹⁵⁵ *Akbar*, 216; Cf. Badāyūnī, II, 304, 305.

¹⁵⁶ Badāyūnī, II, 269, 291, 312, 313, 336, 339, 364.

would be a mistake to exalt the order into a religion. He appointed no missionaries. Badāyūnī's statements about the members who joined are all vague. At one place he declares that all courtiers—of whom he was one—became Akbar's disciples. Numerous conversions are said to have taken place on the Feast of Accession in 992 in batches of twelve. 'Base and low men of higher and lower classes professed themselves his disciples.' There is no warrant for Van Noer's statement that at any time thousands were admitted into the fold of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī. In fact no attempt seems to have been made to admit the masses. Of course the Hindus and the Muslims alike deified Akbar who is said to have performed many miracles in spite of the fact that Badāyūnī declares him to be a disbeliever in miracles. His mere sight is said to have produced enlightenment. He breathed on cups of water which were then used for curing the suffering. He prophesied future events. Vows were made to Akbar and when they were fulfilled offerings were made to him. He cured the sick. He joined together the tongue of a recluse who had cut it into two. Akbar's clothes, we are assured, fitted every one.¹⁵⁷

We admit that, like most kings, Akbar swallowed a good deal of flattery. It is not to be wondered at that his achievements turned his head a little and he came to believe, according to his friend and biographer, that he could work miracles. But those who know the Indian masses would readily testify that their credulity is amazing and a man need not claim to be a prophet before such tales will be believed of him. Even today many men are found in the countryside about whom similar tales are told. Thus Akbar's miracles do not constitute proof enough of the fact that he claimed to be a prophet. Badāyūnī in his third volume mentions several Muslim saints who were credited with the power of working miracles. His Dīn-i-Ilāhī was neither a monument of his folly nor of great wisdom. It was an attempt at getting together a band of enthusiastically

¹⁵⁷ *Āin.*, I, 164, 165, 169; III, 389, 390; Du Jarric, 68, 69.

devoted followers some of whom, like the English murderer of Becket, were prepared to give their all in the royal service. It was not an intellectual brotherhood either. Its only Hindu member was Raja Birbar. No adherents of Jainism or Zoroastrianism are found among its ranks. It was able to draw adherents mostly from the ranks of the Muslims alone. Whatever it was, it did not affect his religious policy as apart from his personal views. No one seems to have suffered for adherence to Islam or Hinduism either. Badāyūnī would have us believe that many owed their places at court to their admission into the order. But as he is at pains to admit, it was not the emperor's fault.

18. *His Critics*

But what about his critics then? The authority of the Jesuit fathers is tainted because of the fact that though they were always ready to see him baptized, they never succeeded in bringing him into their fold. As Max Müller says, Akbar was the first serious student of comparative religion. They took his spirit of inquiry as willingness to be converted. Accustomed to the horrors of the Inquisition, they were dazzled by the sight of a king, who allowed them full liberty of opinion. As he did not gainsay them, they thought he agreed with them. Their statements about his readiness to be converted are all an indication of their desire to see him admitted into their church and so are their statements about his having ceased to be a Muslim. We have to remember that neither Akbar understood Latin or Portuguese nor did most of the Fathers know Persian well enough to converse with him therein. The conversation was almost always carried on with the help of interpreters. We have already seen that the general statements of the Jesuits are sometimes contradicted by particulars they themselves relate. Naturally we cannot believe those general statements when they are opposed to the story they themselves tell us.

Badāyūnī is then left. In order to understand his criticism it is necessary to understand him first. He was an ultra-conservative in religious matters for whom the beaten path was the only path to salvation. All non-Muslims were condemned to eternal hell according to him. He cannot mention a Hindu name without boiling over in pious wrath. Shias were equally matters of contempt. If Birbar is 'a bastard', Shias were 'heretics, fools, worshippers of the devil, fit only to be cast out'. He could not tolerate even a scholar of Muhammad Ghaus's reputation if he happened to show common courtesies to Hindus. He would not go to pay his respects to him when he discovered that he used to show respect to some Hindus by rising to salute them. When Abul Faiz becomes a Shia, he is at a loss how to describe the change, and says; 'thus alternately he became a religious recluse and a Hindu.' Islam to him seemed to centre not even in the observances of its outward ceremonies alone but in the display of militant hostility towards the non-Muslims. He was prepared heartily to condemn any one found negligent in those outward things. When Akbar set prince Danyal to learn Portuguese from the Fathers, Badāyūnī distorts this to mean that he sent him to learn elements of Christianity. Thus if Badāyūnī describes Akbar as having founded a new faith, we should be rather cautious in accepting his word too literally. If he says that Akbar had ceased to be a Muslim, in his mouth that can only mean that he ceased to be an instrument for perpetuating the fantastic distinctions between his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. It is true he ascribes particular opinions to him as well, but it is difficult to decide whether those opinions are Akbar's or simply represent a point of view put forward in his religious discussions in the *Ibādat Khāna*.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Badāyūnī, II, 8, 13, 64, 198, 207, 211, 226, 228, 229, 246, 264, 273, and 304. Badāyūnī is himself a great enigma. He believed with Mubārak and Akbar in the advent of a new Mahdi. He helped Akbar in tiding over his

It is well to remember that there are many other contemporary historians of Akbar besides Badāyūnī and Abul Fazl. Firishta wrote in Akbar's life time, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* was compiled while Akbar was still alive. Yet neither of these works represents Akbar either as a persecutor of Islam or the denier of its truth.¹⁵⁹ Abdul Haq, author of *Tārikh-i-Haqqi* writing in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign prays, "May it be the will of God that through the aid of this omnipresent emperor the Muhammadan Law and Religion may be established for ever and ever." Abdul Latif writing early in the reign of Jahangir praises Akbar. But the list of those who give Akbar a clean bill is a very long one.¹⁶⁰ Mubārak whom Badāyūnī describes as a 'Shaik Kāmal'; Abul Fazl, Faizī, Pāzī Husain, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Multānī, 'a profound and learned man', Gilānī brothers, Sharīf of Amil, Tāj-ud-Dīn of Delhi, 'in mystic philosophy second to Shaikh, 'Alī Ahmad alone', Mullā Ullah Dād of Sirhind, 'the villainously irreligious Ulama who in their works found the emperor to be without sin,' and Mullah Shair are all found ranged on Akbar's side. The list at the end of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* contains many names of scholars who are found serving the emperor in various capacities. This list includes Muftis (lawyers), teachers of repute, Qāzīs of provinces, the Sadr-us-Sadūr, and Sūfis of great authority. Badāyūnī's third volume contains many names of living scholars, theologians, teachers, and saints of repute some of whom were in receipt of

difficulty over the question of the number of wives the emperor could legally keep. He had little respect for many of the leaders of orthodoxy. He condemned prostration but performed it himself. He calls Akbar, a Khalifa. He refused to hold with his friend Naqib Khān that to follow a Hindu leader, even though serving a Muslim emperor, was not a sure method of gaining religious merit. "Whoever is appointed by the king is good enough for me." He kissed Akbar's foot. But it seems that disappointed in his chances of recognition and reward he became a bitter enemy of the court party. Their religious vagaries supplied him with excuse enough for venting his wrath on them.

¹⁵⁹ Eliot, *Biographical Index of the Historians of Muslim India*, p. 277.

¹⁶⁰ *Travels*, pp. 11, 12.

allowances from the state. He describes India as full of such people and they do not seem to have been persecuted.¹⁶¹ Despite the wailings of Badāyūnī, Islam was not a "dead religion," nor seem all the Muslims to have migrated to other countries. Thus even among his contemporaries, Akbar does not seem to have been regarded as a non-believer by a very large section of his Muslim subjects. According to Finch his tomb was worshipped by pious Muslims in Jahangir's reign.¹⁶²

But even if all that Badāyūnī alleges against Akbar be accepted as true, does Akbar become a non-Muslim thereby? In these days of Amān Ullāhs, Razā Khāns, and Kamāl Pāshās, it is useless to condemn Akbar as a non-believer for having anticipated the march of events by some centuries. Akbar had offended the orthodox beyond any hope of pardon by his policy of toleration. Naturally they revenged themselves on Akbar by tarring his memory. We have seen that Akbar believed in one God and his prophet Muḥammad. That coupled with the fact that he continued calling himself a Muslim is decisive.

19. *His achievements*

On the larger question again it is difficult to agree with Akbar's detractors, Badāyūnī,¹⁶³ Sir Wolsley Haig or Dr. Smith, who have

¹⁶¹ Badāyūnī, II, 158.

Badāyūnī's list includes the following living scholars and theologians serving in official capacities. 'Arif-i-Hussaini, (vol. II, p. 59), Mūsā (*Ibid.*, p. 92), Ilah Bakhsh, Sadr of Gujarat, (101), Jalāl Qāzi of Jaunpur (106), Qutb-i-Ālam at Delhi (110), Ilahdād, Qazi of Allahabad, (117), Usman (118), Isa, Mufti of Agra (129), Muḥammad (133), Qāzi Nūr Ullah of Lahore (138), a Muhtasib, at Lahore (138), Maulāna Muḥammad, Mufti of Lahore, (154), Shaikh Mansūr Fojdar of Bajwara, (155).

Cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, pp. 389-393; *Āim-i-Akbari*, vol. III. Amin Ahmad Bāzi speaks of Mubārak, Abul Fazl and Faizi as three great scholars of Agra without imputing heresy either to them or to their writings. (*Haft Aqalim*, MS, 76 b, 77 a).

¹⁶² *Early Travellers*, 186.

¹⁶³ Badāyūnī villifies Abul Fazl and Faizi as non-believers and as the arch-conspirators against Islam. Yet we find Faizi writing a commentary on the Quran

tried to represent Akbar as partial to Hindus and a persecutor of Muslims. As the foregoing study shows Akbar's toleration was not absolute—it is not so even now under the British. In certain spheres without abandoning his policy of toleration Akbar preserved his liberty of action by separating the church from the state. His social legislation and some administrative measures prove that. He offended Hindus and Muslims alike when he tried to interfere in their social customs. It has been usual so far to focus attention only on those measures which affected Muslims only. Interference with Hindu customs and usages is taken for granted as it was a usual part of the Muslim State policy. But this is a rather distorted view of things. If one likes to assail Akbar's toleration, one will have to admit that, like the policy of the British government in India today, it was not absolute, but relative. What can be fairly claimed for him is that he emancipated the State in India from its domination by the church of the minority. Other Muslim rulers in India had claimed such independence earlier but only to be able to persecute the Hindus better (witness Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Tughlaq). Akbar emancipated the state from the Muslim church in order to create a common citizenship in India. Akbar's reign presents an apparently strange phenomenon. On the one hand he separated the state from the church, on the other he assumed, though temporarily, the headship of the Muslim church in order to safeguard his policy of toleration. His toleration was more comprehensive than that of his contemporary English queen, Elizabeth. Indeed some of its aspects did not assume practical

(completed in 1002 A.H.) the only objection against which was its literary style. His Diwan contains verses soundly declaring his faith in the Prophet and his Companions.

صد شکر کہ ما پید را طریقت اصحاب رسـولیم - این شروع دگر
راه نما را نه شناسیم -

(Quoted by Shibli in his *Sibir-ul-Ajam*, III, 54).

shape even in England till the latter half of the nineteenth century. The greatest of the contemporary monarchs of the world, Akbar is sure of a very high place among the rulers of mankind for his brilliant success in the great adventure of governing men. Among rulers of India he occupies a very high place for—among other things—his having attempted to bring Hindus and Muslims together with success. If he did not succeed in creating a nation, it was because he could not hurry the march of events. It is worth remembering that at a time when Europe was plunged into strife of warring sects, when Roman Catholics were burning Protestants at the stakes, and Protestants were executing Roman Catholics, Akbar guaranteed peace not only to sects but to differing religions. In the modern age, he was the first and almost the great experimenter in the field of religious toleration if the scope of his toleration, the races to which it was applied, and the contemporary conditions are taken into account.

SRI RAM SHARMA

APPENDIX I.

Hindu Mansabdars of Akbar.

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| | <i>Haft Hazari (7000).</i> | | <i>Haft Sadi (700).</i> |
| 1. | Raja Man Singh of Jaipur. | 25. | Bihari, son of Raja Todar Mal. |
| | <i>Panj Hazari (5000).</i> | 26. | Rao Pitri Dass. |
| 2. | Raja Bhagwan Dass of Jaipur. | 27. | Medni Pat Chohan. |
| 3. | Raja Bhar Mal of Jaipur. | 28. | Babu. |
| | <i>Chahar Hazari (4000).</i> | 29. | Salahadi, son of Raja Bharmal. |
| 4. | Raja Todar Mal, Finance Minister. | | <i>Panj Sadi (500).</i> |
| 5. | Rao Rai Singh of Bikaner. | 30. | Parmanand. |
| | <i>Dobazar Panj Sadi (2500).</i> | 31. | Jugmal. |
| 6. | Raja Jagan Nath, son of Raja Bhar Mal of Jaipur. | 32. | Raval Bhim of Jaisalmer. |
| | <i>Do Hazari (2000).</i> | 33. | Arjun Singh, son of Raja Man Singh. |
| 7. | Raja Birbal. | 34. | Sahal Singh, son of Raja Man Singh. |
| 8. | Raja Ram Chandra Bughela of Bandhav. | 35. | Ram Chandra Bundela. |
| 9. | Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner. | 36. | Ram Chandra of Orissa. |
| 10. | Rao Surjan of Bundi. | 37. | Dalpat, son of Rao Rai Singh of Bikaner. |
| 11. | Bhao Singh. | | <i>Chahar Sadi (400).</i> |
| 12. | Ram Dass Kachhwaha. | 38. | Shakti Singh, son of Raja Man Singh. |
| 13. | Maha Singh. | 39. | Rao Manohar, son of Rao Lun Karn. |
| | <i>Yak Hazar Panj Sadi (1500).</i> | 40. | Ram Chandra Kachhwaha. |
| 14. | Rao Durga Sassodia; of Rampur (in Rajputana). | 41. | Balaka Kachhwaha. |
| | <i>Yak Hazar Do Sadi (1200).</i> | | <i>Sib Sadi (300).</i> |
| 15. | Rai Shal. | 42. | Bal Bhadra Rathor. |
| | <i>Yak Hazari (1000).</i> | 43. | Keshav Dass, son of Jayamall. |
| 16. | Rupsi, brother of Raja Bharmal. | 44. | Tulsi Dass Yadav. |
| 17. | Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur. | 45. | Krishna Dass. |
| 18. | Jagmal, brother of Raja Bharmal. | 46. | Man Singh Kachhwaha. |
| 19. | Raja Asakarn. | 47. | A Raja of Orissa. |
| 20. | Kalyan Dass. | | <i>Do Sad Panjabi (250).</i> |
| 21. | Pratap Singh. | 48. | Jagat Singh, son of Raja Man. |
| | <i>No Sadi (900).</i> | 49. | Mathra Dass Khatri. |
| 22. | Jagat Singh, son of Raja Man Singh. | 50. | Mathra Dass. |
| 23. | Raj Singh, son of Raja Asakarn Kachhwaha. | 51. | Sanwal Dass Yadav. |
| 24. | Rao Bhoj of Bundi. | 52. | Keshav Dass Rathor. |
| | | 53. | Udand, zemindar of Orissa. |
| | | 54. | Sundar, zemindar of Orissa. |

In 990 Akbar divided the work of the government in several departments. In all, forty-six public servants at the centre were appointed to look after the various affairs of the state. Out of these nine (Raja Todar, Rai Shal, Rai Durga, Rai Surjan, Jgan Nath, Lun Karn, Asakarn, Jagnal, and Birbor) were Hindus. (*Akbar Nāma*, IV, 404, 405).

In the year 31 (994) Akbar appointed two Joint Governors, one Diwan, and one Bakhshi for every one of the twelve provinces of the empire. Of these, two Diwans (Todar Mal, the imperial Diwan and Diwan of Lahore and Rai Pitri Dass, Diwan of Bihar) were Hindus, besides one Bakhshi, (Tara Chand of Oudh), and six joint governors (Raja Jagan Nath and Rai Durga of Ajmer, Raja Asakarn, in Agra, Raja Man Singh in Kabul, Raja Bhagwan Dass and Rao Rai Singh in Lahore).

APPENDIX II.

The so-called Infallibility Decree!

Petition

'Whereas Hindostan is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home.

'Now we, the principal Ulama, who are not only well versed in the several departments of Law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Quran, 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you,' and secondly, of the genuine tradition, 'Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the Imam-i-adil; whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee,' and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony: and we have agreed that the rank of Sultan-i-adil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid.

Further, we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God on the earth, Abul-fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Padashah Ghazi (May God his kingdom perpetuate) is a most wise, and a most God-fearing king.

Should, therefore, in future a religious question arise, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids differ and his Majesty in his penetrating intellect and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the people and for the betterment of the administration of the country, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue an order to that effect.

We do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation. Further we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order all shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order shall not be in opposition to the injunctions of the Quran and he also of real benefit to the

people Any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

This document has been with honest intentions, for the glory of God and propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulama and the lawyers in the month of Rajab in the year 987.

APPENDIX III.

Sanskrit Writers of Akbar's Reign.

1. Anantadeva, patronized by Baz Bahadur of Mālava is the author of the famous work *Dattakadidhiti* recognized as the standard work on adoption by our High Courts even to-day. He wrote, besides, *Saṃskāarakustubha* of which the above is one of twelve parts. He is the author of works on expiations of different offences, a description of Mathurā, and an essay on devotion.
2. Anānta, author of various works on astrology.
3. Anantadeva, son of Appadeva wrote on devotion, law and penances.
4. Anonymous.
 - (i) A work on concretion of Paṇḍals. (1574).
 - (ii) An Anukarmaṇi of Nighaṭtu. (1562).
 - (iii) Cayanaprayoga on the construction of five altars. (1590).
5. Kavikarṇapūra wrote on poetics and metaphors, besides being the author of a drama with Caitanya as its hero and an account of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana.
6. Kavicaṇḍra, author of works on medicine, poetics, grammar.
7. Keśava Mīśra, patronised by Rājā Mānak Candra of Kāṅgrā in the Pujah wrote on poetics, similes and metaphors.
8. Keśava, on astrology.
9. Nārāyaṇa
10. Gaṅgādhara author of *Manoramā*.
11. Guṇavyaya Gaṇi wrote a commentary on *Raghuvaṃśa*, and another on the story of Damayanti.
12. Gopālācārya commented on *Rasamañjarī*.
13. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa wrote several works on devotion.
14. Gopāladāsa wrote on devotion.
15. Cīntāmaṇi Mīśra wrote on poetics.
16. Rāmākṛṣṇa wrote on law, astrology and various other subjects.
17. Rāmākṛṣṇa commented on *Parāśara Smṛti*.
18. Rāmādāsa.
19. Rūpa Gosvāmin, author of more than thirty works on devotion, poetics, dramaturgy.
20. Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa on poetics.
21. Vijñānabhikṣu, author of some eighteen known works on different subjects.
22. Viśvanātha commented on several rituals.
23. Virabhadradeva on erotics.
24. Vaidanta Dikṣita wrote on law.
25. Vaidyārāja on medicine.
26. Śaṅkara Mīśra commented on Vaiśeṣikasūtra.

27. Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, author of some eight works.
28. Śiva, son of Rāma.
29. Śivarāma voluminous author.
30. Śrīvallabha.
31. Sadhusundragin.
32. Samya Sunidragin.
33. Haradatta Miśra.
34. *Virabhadradva Campi*, anonymous in 1587.
35. Jivagosvāmin wrote various works mainly on devotion.
36. Todar Mal wrote on medicine.
37. Nilakaṅṭha wrote under the patronage of Todar Mal, '*Todarānanda*', a voluminous work on judicial procedure, auspicious times for marriages, religious ceremonies and law and medicine
38. Dhunḍirāja wrote some thirteen works on astronomy and astrology.
39. Dāmōdara Paṇḍita wrote for his patron Chuhar Mal.
40. Dhanvin wrote on ritualism.
41. Nanda Paṇḍita was a great jurist.
42. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote on philosophy.
43. Nārāyaṇa Sarasvatī.
44. Nārāyaṇa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours.
45. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is the author of some thirty three works on various subjects.
46. Nārāyaṇa wrote on eclipses.
47. Nilakaṅṭha, a great astrologer and astronomer wrote some twenty works.
48. Narasiṃha Sarasvatī wrote on Vedānta.
49. Pūrṇānanda wrote more than a dozen volumes of Tantric subjects.
50. Prabhākara, commentator and author.
51. Mahidhara of Benares is the author of some sixteen works.
52. Raghunandan Sūri.
53. Raghunandan Bhaṭṭa wrote on devotion, law and ceremonial.
54. Raghunandan Miśra author of *Todara Prakāśa*, work on law written under the patronage of Rājā Todar Mal.
55. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi is the author of some 31 known works on various subjects.
56. Ratneśvara Miśra.
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58. Rāma wrote on astronomy. (Summarized from the author's forthcoming work on *Sanskrit Writers of Mughal India*.)

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 - 4 *Āin-i-Akbari*, Calcutta edition. I have, however cited the English translation by Jarric.
 - 5 *Letters of Abul Fazl*, Lucknow edition.
 - 6 Firishta's *History of India*. I have, however, cited the Urdu translation published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
 - 7 *Tuzak-i-Jahāngiri*, Lucknow edition.
 - 8 *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*.
 - 9 *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri* by Mu'tmid Khān.
 - 10 *Bādshāh Nāma* by Abdul Hamid, Calcutta edition.
 - 11 *Letters of Aurangzeb*.
 - 11a *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*.
 - (ii) MSS.
 - 12 *Tārikh-i-Salātin Afāghana*; by Ahmad Yādgār.
 - 13 *Tārikh-i-Dāudi*, by 'Abdulla.
 - 14 *Tārikh-i-Mubammad 'Arif Qandabāri*, described for the first time by the present writer in the *JRAS.*, (London), October, 1933.
 - 15 *Travels of 'Abul Latif* from Gujrat to Bengal during the years 1607 and 1608.
 - 16 *Tazikrat-ul-Waqi'āt* by Jauhar.
 - 17 *Tazikrat-ul-Malūk* by Rafi'-ud-Dīn Shirāzi (1608).
 - 18 *Haft-Aqalim* by Amir Ahmad Rāzi.
 - 19 *Memoirs of Bayazid*.
- B. Sanskrit.
 - 20 *Biography of Karm Chand*, a Jain courtier of *Akbar* written by Jaya Soma.
 - 21 *Hira Saubhāgyam* written before 1595 by Deva Vimala Muni.
- C. Hindi.
 - 22 *Bhakt Māl* by Nābha Ji with the commentaries of Priya Dāss. It has been translated into English as well as Urdu.
- D. English (Mostly translations of Jesuit Accounts).
 - 23 *Account of India* by Monserrate, translated by Hoyland.
 - 24 *Akbar and the Jesuits* by Du Jarric, translated by Payne.
 - 25 *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, by Father Ho-ten, reproduces in translation much original material.
 - 26 *Jesuits at the Court of Akbar* by Maclagan in the *JASB.*, (Calcutta), makes available in English a good deal of information contained in Jesuit accounts.
 - 27 Roc's *Account of his Embassy*.

- 28 *Early English Travellers to India*, edited by Foster.
II. Modern Works.
- 29 *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects* by Tritton.
- 30 *Akbar, the Great Mughal* by V. A. Smith.
- 31 *Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism during the Muslim Period* by the present writer.
- 32 *A History of Persian Literature*, vol. III, by Brown.
- 33 *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam* by Shibli, (History of Persian Literature in Urdu) vol. III.
- 34 *Farāmin-i-Sulātīn*, edited by Bashir Ahmad.
- 35 *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muslim India* by Elliot.
- 36 *The Jesuits and the Great Mughals* by Maclagan.
- 37 *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, the Muslim Period, by Sir Wolsley Haig.
- 38 *Darbār-i-Akbarī* by Āzād.
- 39 *History of India* by Nazir Ahmad, vol. IV.
- 40 *The Mughal Kingship and Nobility* by Khosla.
- 41 *Jain Stupa of Mathura* by V. A. Smith.
- 42 *Mishra Bandhu Vinod*, vol. I. (Hindi), by Mishra Brothers.
- 43 *Akbar* by Malleson.
- 44 "Jains at the Court of Akbar" by Smith in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*.

The Early History of the Kalacuris of Cedi

A branch of the Kalacuri family held sway over the Cedi country, which was also known as Dāhala. Dābhāla or Dāhala was under the sway of the Parivrājaka-Mahārāja Saṃkṣobha (A.D. 528-529), a feudatory of the imperial Guptas.¹ The Sanjan copper-plate² of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I reports that Govinda III (A.D. 794-814) conquered Dāhala, and appointed one of his officers as its governor. Dāhala passed into the hands of the Kalacuris from that of the Rāṣtrakūṭas.

Kokkalla I is the earliest known king of the Kalacuri dynasty of Cedi. The Bilhari Cedi inscription³ states that—in the family of Arjuna flourished many kings, among whom was born Kokkalladeva. As regards Kokkalla's military achievements the same inscription relates that⁴ "having conquered the whole earth, he (Kokkalla) set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Āgastya) that well-known Kṛṣṇarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvera Bhojadeva, a store of fortune." The Benares copper-plate⁵ of Kaṇhadeva states that Kokkalla I granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harṣa, king of Citrakuta, and the king Saṃkaragaṇa. The Amoda plates⁶ of the Kalacuri Prthivideva, dated in K.E. 831 = A.D. 1079, lays down that

1 *Coll.*, p. 113.

2 *El.*, vol. XVIII, p. 253.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 264.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 256.

जित्वा कृत्वां येन पृथ्वीमपूर्व्वङ्कीर्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते स्म ।

कैम्भोद्भव्यान्दिश्यसौ कृष्णराजः कौवेर्याञ्च श्रीनिधिभोजदेवः ॥ v. 17.

5 भोजे व(ल्लभ) राजे श्रीहर्ष (र्षे) चितकूटभु(भु)पाले ।

स (श)ङ्कर गणो च रा(ज)नि यस्यासीदभयदः पानिः ॥ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 306, V. 7.

6 कारणाट(करणाट)वङ्गपतिगूर्जरकोङ्कणेश सा (शा)कभरीपतितु (रुष्कर) धुङ्गवानाम् ।

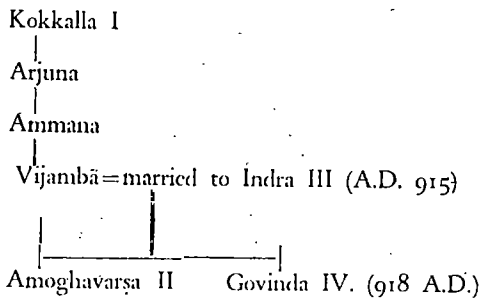
आ(द)ाय को(श) हरिदन्त(न्ति)चयं हठेन त्सं भोजयस्य विहितो भुवि येन राज्ञा ॥

v. 5, *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 78.

Kokkalla I "raided the treasuries of the Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families."

As regards the adversaries of Kokkalla I, referred to in the Benares copper-plate, Professor Kielhorn remarks that Vallabha is identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II (A.D. 878-915), Bhoja is the same as the Pratihāra Bhoja I (A.D. 836-892), Harṣa is to be identified with the Candella Harṣa, son of Yaśovarman, and Śaṃkaragaṇa was the son of the same name of Kokkalla I.⁷ According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Śaṃkaragaṇa should be identified with the Kalacuri Śaṃkaragaṇa I, father of Guṇāmbodhideva, and the ruler of eastern United Provinces.⁸ Mr. R. D. Banerji remarks that Kokkalla I, who came in contact with the Candella Harṣa, a feudatory of the Pratihāra Mahipāla (A.D. 914), could not possibly be a contemporary of the Pratihāra Bhoja I. Hence Bhoja of the Benares copper-plate should be identified with the Pratihāra Bhoja II A.D. 909-914.⁹ Some of the monographs on the mediæval dynasties, recently published, support this view.

The value of the above identification of the adversaries of Kokkalla I can be properly estimated if the period when the latter flourished is determined.- The Cambay plate¹⁰ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV, dated in Ś. 852, furnishes the following genealogy of Kokkalla I and his successors:—



7 *El.*, vol. II, p. 305 ff.

9 *Memoirs ASI.*, p. 4, No. 23.

8 *Gurjara-Pratibāra*, p. 53, fn. I.

10 *El.*, vol. V.I, p. 44.

As Govinda IV got the sovereignty after overthrowing his elder brother Amoghavarṣa II, who ruled for one year only, he was sufficiently mature in age at the time of his accession in 918 A.D.¹¹ It may tentatively be taken that he was at that time twenty-five years old, and his elder brother was possibly over twenty-seven years old. This fixes the date of Amoghavarṣa's birth in about A.D. 891. As his mother Vijambā was at least fourteen years older than he, she was born before A.D. 876. If each of Kokkalla I, Arjuna, and Ammana is taken to have given birth to his first child when he was twenty years old, Kokkalla I may be taken to have been born in about 816 A.D. This is the latest possible date of Kokkalla's birth. He was in all likelihood born much earlier. It seems unlikely that Kokkalla I, who was born sometime before 816 A.D., was a contemporary of Bhoja II, who flourished between A.D. 909 and 914.

The Maliyapundi grant¹² of the Eastern Cālukya Amma II (A.D. 945-970) definitely establishes that Kokkalla I closed his reign long before the accession of Bhoja II. It states that the Cālukya Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III defeated Śaṅkila, the king of Dāhala. Śaṅkila is identical with Śaṅkuka or Śaṅkaragaṇa, son and successor of Kokkalla I. Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III ruled from A.D. 844 to 888.¹³ Śaṅkaragaṇa evidently ascended the throne of Dāhala before A.D. 888, and his father Kokkalla I died prior to his accession. Thus Bhoja of the Bilhari inscription and the Benares copper-plate cannot be identified with the Pratihāra Bhoja II (A.D. 909-914). Prof. Kielhorn is thus correct in identifying him with the Pratihāra Bhoja I (A.D. 836-892). There will not be any chronological diffi-

11 *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 222.

12 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 51—Tat putraḥ Paracakraṃāparanāmadheyah/ hatvā bhūri-Nodambaraṣṭra-nrpatiḥ Maṅgimahā-saṅgare Gaṅganāśrita-Gaṅgakūṭa-śikharān nirjitya saḍ-D(āha) lādhiśaṃ Saṅkilam ugravallabhayutaṃ yo bhāyayitvā catuścatvāriṅśatam abdakāṃś ca Vijayādityo rarakṣa kṣitīḥ

13 Author's 'Eastern Cālukyas', p. 55; *IHQ.*, vol. X, p. 90.

culty in taking Kokkalla as a contemporary of the Candella Harṣa if the latter is assigned a reign of fifty years.

It is, however, possible that Harṣa, referred to in the Benares copper-plate, was not the Candella Harṣa but some other king. Harṣa, as it appears from verse 7 of this record, was not necessarily the *Citrakuta-bhūpāla*. The Udepur Praśasti¹⁴ relates that the Paramāra Bhoja defeated the lord of Cedi, Indraratha, Toggala(?), Bhīma, the kings of Karṇāta, Lāta, Gurjara, and the Turuskas. Here the name of the Cedi king, who was either Gāṅgeyadeva or his son Karṇa, has not been mentioned. Similarly Citrakuta-bhūpāla may have been one whose name has not been mentioned in verse 7 of the Benares copper-plate.

If it is assumed that Harṣa of the Benares copper-plate was the Citrakuta-bhūpāla, he cannot be identified with the Candella Harṣa. The early Candella kings were Nannuka, Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti, Rāhila, Harṣa, Yaśovarman, and Dhaṅga. A fragment of a stone inscription of the time of Harṣa or of his son Yaśovarman, found at Khajuraha, in the Chatarpur State, Bundelkhand, is the earliest known record of the Candellas.¹⁵ Next in order of time is a stone inscription of Yaśovarman's son Dhaṅga, dated in V.E. 1011, found in the same locality of Khajuraha.¹⁶ It is known from this second record that Yaśovarman conquered Kālañjar, and that Dhaṅga's kingdom extended as far as Kālañjar and as far as Bhāsvat (Bhilsa), on the bank of the Mālava river, from there to the banks of the Kālindi, and from there to the frontiers of the Cedi country, and even as far as Gopa mountain (Gwalior). Kālañjar is about forty-five miles north-east of Khajuraha. A place known as Citrakuta is situated about twenty-five miles north-east of Kālañjar. As the Candella kingdom did not extend beyond Kālañjar during the reign of Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga, Harṣa cannot be taken to have been

14 *EL.*, vol. I, p. 235, v. 19. Cediśvara-Emdraratha-(Togga)la-(Bhīma-mu)khyān Karṇāta-Lāṭāpati-Gūrjjara-rāt-Turuskān.

15 *EL.*, vol. I, p. 121.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 134.

the ruler of Citrakuta. There was another place known as Citrakuta, modern Chitor, in the Udaipur State, Rajputana. The Candellas never held sway over it.

Attention of the scholars is drawn to the fact that besides the Candella Harṣa there was another king named Harṣa, who belonged to the Guhila dynasty, and who was a contemporary of Kokkalla I. The Chatsu inscription¹⁷ of Bālāditya states that the Guhila Harṣa having conquered the northern country, presented horses to Bhoja (I). It has been pointed out elsewhere that the Guhila dynasty, to which Harṣa belonged, was the ruler of Gurjarātrā or the Gurjara country.¹⁸ The Nilgund inscription¹⁹ of the Rāṣṭrakūta Amoghavarṣa I reports that Citrakuta, modern Chitor, in the Udaipur State, was within the territory of the king of Gurjara during the reign of Govinda III. It is not unlikely that Citrakuta remained a part of the kingdom of the Guhilas during Harṣa's reign. Whether Harṣa, mentioned in the Benares copper-plate, was the ruler of Citrakuta or not nothing militates against his identification with the Guhila Harṣa.

Of all the adversaries of Kokkalla I, referred to in the Amoda plate, the 'Raghu family' deserves our special attention. The poet Rājāśekhara, in his *Bālabbhārata* or *Pracandapāṇḍava*,²⁰ describes the Pratihāra Mahipāla I as a pearl-jewel of the family of Raghu. The Harṣa stone inscription²¹ of the Cāhamāna Vighararāja, dated in V.E. 1030, states that the Tomara leader and others, who were imprisoned by Sinharāja, father of Vighararāja, were liberated by the emperor of the earth himself, who belonged to the family of Raghu. Dr. H. C. Ray, I suppose rightly, identifies this emperor of Raghu's family with the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II, king of Kanauj.²² In

17 *El.*, vol. XII, p. 12. श्री हर्षराजं.....जित्वा यः सकलानुदिच्य नृपतीम्भोजय भक्ता(त्क्या) ददौ ।

18 *IHQ.*, vol. X, p. 616.

19 *El.*, vol. VI, pp. 102, 103.

20 Ch. I, vs. 7-8.....Sri-Mahipālādevaḥ tena ca Raghuvaṃśa-muktāmaṇinā...

21 *El.*, vol. II, p. 122, v. 19.....taninuktyartham upāgata Raghu-kula bhūcakravartī svayam.

22 *Dynastic History*, vol. II, p. 1064.

this circumstance the family of Raghu, mentioned in the Amoda plate, can be confidently taken to have been identical with the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, to which Bhoja I, referred to in the Benares copper-plate, belonged.

Other chiefs, who, according to the Amoda plate, were defeated by Kokkalla I, can be identified without much difficulty. The Karnāta king was the Rāṣtrakūta Kṛṣṇa II, the Gurjara king was the Guhila Harṣa, the Koṅkaṇa king may have been the Śilāhāra Kapardin II, the Vaṅga king was probably the Pāla Devapāla or his successor Vigrabapāla, the king of Śākambharī may be identified with the Cāhamāna Candrarāja or Guvāka II. The Turuṣkas, with whom Kokkalla I came into conflict, were the Arabs of Sindh and not the Turks. The Gwalior Prasasti²³ of Bhoja states that Nāgabhaṭa II seized the hill fort of the king of the Turuṣkas. Whether Kokkalla's adventure against the Turuṣkas had any connection with that of Nāgabhaṭa II (c. A.D. 800-833) cannot be ascertained.

Almost all the scholars are inclined to believe that the Bilhari and the Benares inscriptions prove that Kokkalla's relation with Kṛṣṇa, Bhoja and others was friendly. But in view of the information supplied by the Amoda plate that theory is to be abandoned. It is not, however unlikely that Kokkalla I, having defeated Kṛṣṇa and Bhoja, established friendly relation with them.

It follows from a general survey of the above discussion that Kokkalla I, the founder of the Kalacuri dynasty in the Cedi country, was one of the greatest kings of India in the ninth century A.D. To his arms submitted the Rāṣtrakūṭas, the Pratihāras, the Pālas, the Cāhamānas, the Guhilas, the Śilāhāras, and the Arabs of Sindh. Curiously enough the Arab geographers viz., Abú Zaid, Al Mas'ūdī, and others do not mention anything about these Kalacuris. It only proves that they had imperfect knowledge about the political condition of India.

D. C. GANGULY

Date of Pārthasārathimiśra and Sequence of his Works

Pārthasārathimiśra does not mention in his works the period in which he flourished or the place in which he was born. It is not however, the case with Vācaspatimiśra and Udayanācārya. Nor has he left any trace in his writings by which we can determine his place of birth and his time. He had only stated his name as Pārthasārathimiśra and that of his father as Yajñātman from whom he learnt the Śāstras. In this respect the prevalent belief is that he was a native of Mithilā or Behar and Bengal even though the name Pārthasārathi is rarely used in the North. The designation 'Miśra' however, leads us to think that he was probably a Maithil, since this designation is rather common in this country. Probably the same law applies to the great authors like Maṇḍanamiśra, Vācaspatimiśra, Paritoṣamiśra and Sucaritamiśra. It is still more difficult to fix his date with any degree of certainty.

In finding it, we have merely to depend on the earlier authors whom he quotes and the later ones who had quoted from his works. It may be pointed out here that he is quoted as an authority by a host of writers on Pūrvamīmāṃsā belonging to the Modern Period. The earliest of them is Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya who reverently refers to him in his *Jaiminiyanyāyamālāvistara*. Vidyāraṇya is known to have flourished in the 14th century A.D. and was attached to the court of Bukka I the famous King of Vijayanagara. Cidānanda Paṇḍita's *Nītitvāvīrbhāva*¹ presupposes also the existence of the works of Pārthasārathi. This author is believed to have been a native of Kerala country and probably flourished in the 13th century A.D.² His work is commented upon by one Paramēśvara II of Kerala who is placed in the 14th c. A.D.³ According to this commentator the

¹ MSS. of this work are deposited in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library under R. Nos. 3300 and 3626.

² See *Tattvabindu*, Introduction, p. 75 (ed. Annamalai University, Madras).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

author of the *Nītitattvāvīrbhāva* presupposes the existence of the *Nyāyaratnamālā* and the *Śāstradīpikā* and Pārthasārathi.⁴

There is also another direct reference to the works of Pārthasārathi by which it will be possible for us to fix the lower limit of his time as 1100 A.D. Halāyudha in his *Mīmāṃsāśāstrasarvasva* has named the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi and the quotation from that work can be traced in it.⁵ Moreover, Halāyudha quotes many passages of the *Śāstradīpikā* as his own without acknowledgment to Pārthasārathi. Paṇḍit Umeśa Mīśra, the editor of the *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, published in the *JBORS.*, vols. XVII and XVIII, has identified all these passages borrowed from the *Śāstradīpikā* marking them out in the footnotes with references to the respective chapters. In each *Adhikaraṇa*, Halāyudha has rewritten the major portion of the *Śāstradīpikā* with profuse quotations from the *Tantravārttika* of Kumārilabhaṭṭa. This work is available in print only upto the 4th pāda of the 3rd chapter, as the only MS. available at the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal stops at this point. Thus, it can be seen that the author of the *Mīmāṃsāśāstrasarvasva* was acquainted with Pārthasārathi's works.

The authorship of this *Mīmāṃsāśāstrasarvasva* is attributed to Halāyudha on the ground that Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* published at Benares makes a statement that he was the author of *Mīmāṃsāsarvasva* also, though the unique MS. of this work preserved in the A.S.B. does not mention his name in any of the colophons.⁶ Likewise, he also calls himself the author of other works such as the *Vaiṣṇvasarvasva*, *Śaivasarvasva* and *Paṇḍitasarvasva*, all titles ending with the word 'Sarvasva'.⁷ Paṇḍit Umeśa Mīśra in his introduc-

4 *Tattvabindu*, (ed. Annamalai University), p. 71.

5 *JBORS.*, XVII, p. 321; *Nyāyaratnākara*, p. 202, under Kārikā 4, 230.

6 *JBORS.*, vol. XX, pp. 24-32.

7 मोमांसासर्वस्व' वैष्णवसर्वस्वमकृत शैवसर्वस्वम् ।

परिदत्तसर्वस्वमसौ सर्वस्व' सर्वधीराणाम् ॥—*Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, verse 19.

tion to the work (*JBORS.*, vol. XX) states that there can be no objection to identify the *Mīmāṃsāsāstrasarvasva* edited by him with the *Mīmāṃsāsarvasva* of Halāyudha.

If this identification be correct it is not difficult to find out the lowest limit of Pārthasārathi's time. Mr. P. V. Kane places no less than three Halāyudhas⁸ in 11th and 12th centuries A.D. On his own testimony our Halāyudha,⁹ the author of *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, was the Dharmādhyakṣa of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. King Lakṣmaṇasena ruled in Bengal during the period 1178-1200 A.D. The *Adbbutasāgara* which was begun (1168-69 A.D.) by Ballālasena was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. The *Saduktikarnāmrta* gives Lakṣmaṇasena's year of accession to the throne as 1178 A.D.¹⁰ Halāyudha was raised from the post of a Rājapaṇḍita to that of Mahādharmaādhyakṣa in the courts of his patron king and therefore the period of his literary activities should range from 1150 to 1200 A.D. As he quotes the *Nyāyaratnākara* as an authority and incorporates large portions from the *Śāstradīpikā* in almost all the adhikaraṇas, Pārthasārathi ought to be placed at least 50 years before him. Thus the lower limit of Pārthasārathi's time is 1100 A.D.

To fix the upper limit is, however, neither easy nor very convincing. Pārthasārathi quotes in his works very old writers such as Upavaṛṣa, Bhavadāsa, Śabara, Dīnnāga, Dharmakīrti, Bhartṛmitra, Hari, Kumārila and Prabhākara. The latest author quoted by him seems to be Maṇḍanamiśra, whose time it is very difficult to settle. Maṇḍana is usually identified with Sureśvarācārya,¹¹ but it has been proved to be untrue.¹² Maṇḍana is reputed, however, to be the author of six works, namely, *Vidhiviveka*, *Bhāvanāviveka*,

8 P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, §72. 9 *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, verse 12.

10 P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, §72.

11 *Bhāvanāviveka*, Intro. (ed. Princess of Wales Series); Vidyāranya, *Saṅkaradigvijaya*.

12 *Tattvabindu*, pp. 41-42 (ed. Annamalai University); P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, pp. 252-264; *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, p. 480.

Vibramaviveka, *Mīmāṃsāsūtrānukramaṇī*, *Sphoṭasiddhi* and *Brahmasiddhi*. He seems, however, to have belonged to the Pre-Śāṅkara period of Advaita philosophy, because his views in *Brahmasiddhi* considerably differ from those of the great Śāṅkarācārya while Sureśvara who is identified with Viśvarūpa is one of the four disciples of Śāṅkara himself. Maṇḍana is supposed to be one of the eminent disciples of Kumārilabhaṭṭa who flourished in the second half of the 7th century A.D. He supports the theories established by Kumārilabhaṭṭa and passes adverse criticisms on the views of Prabhākara who also was his elder contemporary. Maṇḍana, therefore, may be placed later than Kumārila and Prabhākara and must have flourished in a period between 680 and 750 A.D.

Another writer of the Prabhākara School, to whom Pārthasārathi refers indirectly in his *Nyāyaratnamālā*, is Śālikanāthamiśra.¹³ He flourished after Maṇḍana as he quotes from *Vidhiviveka* and *Brahmasiddhi* in his¹⁴ *Prakaranapañcikā* and *Rjuvimalā*. Śālikanātha's time, therefore, must be the 2nd half of the 8th century as he is referred to by Vācaspatimiśra in the middle of the 9th century.¹⁵ The latest writer to whom Pārthasārathi has indirectly referred to is Vācaspatimiśra. The style of writing and series of arguments in the *Nyāyakanikā* and the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspati are often followed and at times, the same sentences are used by Pārthasārathi in his *Vidhinirṇaya*, *Nityakāmyaviveka* and *Vākyaṛthanirṇaya* of the *Nyāyaratnamālā*.¹⁶ Very probably Pārthasārathi cited Vācaspatimiśra, the author of the *Nyāyakanikā*, by the term 'Nyāyavit' on page 83 of his *Nyāyaratnamālā*.¹⁷ Here, Pārthasārathi had established as his own view, *Abhidhāvyaṇāpāra* or significative power of the affix *Liṅ* as *Vidhi* or *Śabdabhāvanā* and had rejected

13 *Nyāyaratnamālā* (G. O. S.), pp. 101, 120, 227.

14 *Prakaranapañcikā*, p. 178; *Vidhiviveka*, pp. 243, 302; *Rjuvimalā* (Madras edn.), p. 20.

15 *Nyāyakanikā*, p. 109.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 325; *Nyāyaratnamālā*, (G. O. S.), pp. 130-31.

17 K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, *Nyāyaratnamālā*, (G. O. S.).

all objections already raised in that respect by Maṇḍana and Vācaspati in their works. After proving his own theory of Śabdabhāvanā, he again accepts the theory of *Iṣṭasādhana* as *Pravartanā* established by Vācaspati in his *Nyāyakanikā*, and in doing so, he writes *Nyāyavidān tu Iṣṭasādhana* *evābbhīmatam*.

Now the question arises as to the identity of the *Nyāyavit* intended by this term. Under ordinary circumstances, three persons can be called *Nyāyavit*. These are: (1) Udayanācārya who is known as the *Nyāyācārya* and the author of the *Kusumāñjali*. (2) Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī* and (3) Vācaspatimīśra, the author of the *Nyāyakanikā*. When we refer to the *Kusumāñjali* and the *Nyāyamañjarī* of the first two authors, we find that they do not favour the idea of *Iṣṭasādhana* *pravartanavāda* and Udayana states that the *Vidhi* is nothing but the desire of the person who commands and that one who hears the suffix *Liñ* and learns *Vidhi*, infers *Iṣṭasādhana*¹⁸ of the work which he is asked to perform.

Jayantabhaṭṭa also states in his *Nyāyamañjarī* that *Pravartaka* is only the result and not *Iṣṭasādhana*.¹⁹ Under these circumstances it can be concluded that the expression '*Nyāyavit*' refers only to Vācaspati, the author of the *Nyāyakanikā* whose view is that *Iṣṭasādhana* alone is *Vidhi*. Then, in support of the view of the *Nyāyavit*, Pārthasārathi in his *Nyāyaratnamālā* quotes a verse from the *Vidhiviveka* of Maṇḍana which was commented upon by Vācaspati. Besides this, Pārthasārathi criticises the commentary of Vācaspati on a verse of the *Vidhiviveka* and gives a new explanation for the same.²⁰ These references undoubtedly

18 विधिर्वक्तुरभिप्रायः प्रवृत्त्यादौ लिङ्गादिभिः ।

अभिधेयोऽनुमेया तु कर्तुरिच्छाभ्युपायता ॥—*Kusumāñjali*, v. 15.

19 तस्मात्पुंसः प्रवृत्तौ प्रभवति न विधिर्नापि शब्दो लिङ्गादिः

व्यापारोऽप्येतदीयो नहि पटुरभिधाभावनामधिष्या ।

न श्रेयस्साधनत्वं विधिविषयगतं नापि रागादिरेवं

तेनाख्यत्-काम्यमात्रं फलममलमतिः प्रेरकं सूत्रकारः ॥—*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 362.

20 K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, *Nyāyaratnamālā* (G. O. S.), p. 84.

show that Pārthasārathi was acquainted with the *Nyāyakaṇikā* of Vācaspati who flourished according to his *Nyāyasūcīmibandha* in 841 A.D. In the circumstances the upper limit of Pārthasārathi's time may be fixed at 900 A.D.

From the foregoing facts, it may be presumed that Pārthasārathi's time must be between 900 and 1100 A.D. But there are other materials on the strength of which this intervening period can be further shortened. It is quite possible that Pārthasārathi is earlier than Rāmānujācārya, the author of the *Śrībhāṣya* (1027 A.D.) as he does not state Rāmānuja's views in his *Tarkaṭhā* for refutation in the same way as he did in the case of the Advaita and other schools of philosophy. Pārthasārathi may also be an elder contemporary of Udayanācārya who gives his date in the *Lakṣaṇāvālī* as the last quarter of the 10th century. Pārthasārathi does not refute the arguments set forth by Udayana while refuting Upamāna, Arthāpatti, Śakti, Vidhi etc., accepted by the Mīmāṃsakas. We shall thus be justified in placing Pārthasārathi in the middle of the 10th century before Udayana and Rāmānujācārya.

Bhavanātha, the author of the *Nyāyaviveka*, a work on the Prābhākara system, also seems to be an elder contemporary of Pārthasārathi because the latter seems to refute the argument advanced by Bhavanātha in proving Śabda or sound as Dravya or substance in the Vyāptivāda chapter ²¹ of the *Nyāyaratnamālā*. It is well known that Prābhākaras consider the Sound as a Guṇa or quality; while the Bhāṭṭas consider it as a substance. Bhavanātha and Pārthasārathi who seem to be contemporaries managed to write their works in the Adhikaraṇa style, thus making the study of the

21 कश्चित्त्वेकेन्द्रियग्राह्यतया रूपदिक्छब्दं गुणमिच्छति । तस्यापि वायावनैकान्तिकत्वम् ।
स्पर्शविरहे सतीति विशेषणोऽपि गोत्वरूपत्वादिसामान्येषु व्यभिचारः । *Nyāyaratnamālā*, p. 327.

न भस्त्वचानुषमपि शब्दगुणानुमेयम् । शब्दो गुणः स्पर्शान्यैकेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् । etc.

—*Nyāyaviveka* (MS. copy at the Oriental Institute, Baroda), p. 92.

Sūtras of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* superfluous in the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara systems of Mīmāṃsā where it was consequently neglected.

Sequence of his Works

Altogether four philosophical works are attributed to Pārthasārathimiśra. Two of these works are commentaries on Kumārila's *Vārttika* while the other two are independent works. The names of the works are: *Nyāyaratnamālā*, *Tantrarātna*, *Śāstradīpikā* and *Nyāyaratnākara*. Pārthasārathimiśra does not seem to have written on any other system of Philosophy except his own school unlike Maṇḍanamiśra and Vācaspatimiśra, though admittedly he possessed an equal proficiency in other systems also.

Nyāyaratnamālā seems to be the very first work of the author as he alludes to it in all his three later works and refers his readers to make a reference to his first composition for further details.²² In this work, he has collected together all topics on which the systems of Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara differ and shows the latter system to be faulty after stating the grounds relied upon by both. In doing this, he did not fail to elucidate the subtle and controversial points, and give support to the views of Kumārila-Bhāṭṭa. Incidentally, he also establishes the fact that the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system is one of the distinguished systems of Philosophy and gives it a worthy place amongst the sister systems. In this work, the author gives a brief sketch of all the twelve chapters of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* showing the points of controversy between the Bhāṭṭa and the Prābhākara systems.

His second work seems to be the *Tantrarātna*,²² an extensive commentary on Kumārila-Bhāṭṭa's *Tuṭṭikā* which is in its turn, a commentary on the last nine chapters of the *Śābarabhāṣya*. In this work Pārthasārathi seeks to elucidate the Bhāṣya of Śābarasvāmin because the *Tuṭṭikā*, being scanty, is not capable of explaining the

22 *Tantrarātna*, p. 173; *Śāstradīpikā*, pp. 11, 62, 471; *Nyāyaratnākara*, p. 350.

23 *Śāstradīpikā*, p. 471.

text in a satisfactory manner. In this work also, he refers to the changes introduced by Prabhākara and refutes them wherever found desirable. This work was so long available in MSS but very recently two parts of it are published at Benares under the distinguished editorship of Mm. Dr. Ganganatha Jha of Allahabad.

The *Śāstradīpikā* is the third work of Pārthasārathi and in this, he often refers to his two earlier works—*Nyāyaratnamālā* and *Tantrarātna*.²⁴ Pārthasārathi attained everlasting fame in the field of Pūrvamīmāṃsā literature by writing this monumental treatise which remained a standard work on the subject for several centuries after him. It may be said that the knowledge of Pūrvamīmāṃsā is never considered to be perfect without a thorough study of the *Śāstradīpikā*. It has been accepted as a text book on Pūrvamīmāṃsā all over India. The *Śāstradīpikā* is considered a classic after the great *Vārttikas* of Kumārila. It was also considered to be a work of the highest authority by all the later writers of the Bhāṭṭa School and there was scarcely a writer who was not influenced by the writings of Pārthasārathi. It will not be an exaggeration to say that he was the fore-runner of a distinct epoch of Pūrvamīmāṃsā which started as early as the beginning of the 11th century. For the sake of convenience, we shall call this period as the modern period of Pūrvamīmāṃsā.

The *Śāstradīpikā* was commented upon by the most eminent scholars of the modern period such as Somanātha, Appayadikṣita, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, Rājacūḍāmaṇidikṣita and others, and this shows at once the popularity and authoritativeness of the work amongst the scholars. There were of course a few authors like Bhāṭṭasomeśvara and Khaṇḍadeva who considerably differed from the views of Pārthasārathi and virtually started a new school. Still there are reasons to say that they also have followed the method of Pārthasārathi and were profoundly influenced by his

24 *Śāstradīpikā*, p. 471.

views. After the voluminous treatises of Kumārila and Śabarasvāmin, Pārthasārathi apparently had two motives in writing this work. First to condemn the Prābhākara system which made a great headway by that time, and secondly, to condense the elaborate discussions under each Sūtra in Bhāṣya and Vārttikas in a handy form. Pārthasārathi seems to be the founder of this kind of Adhikaraṇa system where all the arguments of Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhānta advanced by both the parties are dealt with in a comprehensive manner without reference to the original Sūtras in order that the students may take a lively interest in the subject and be thoroughly acquainted with it.

Pārthasārathimiśra's new method was followed by many later writers such as Venkaṭanātha, Mādhavācārya, Gāgābhāṭṭa and Khaṇḍadeva in their works. Undoubtedly, this method became very popular in the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools of Pūrvamīmāṃsā.

In the Tarkapāda of the *Śāstradīpikā*, Pārthasārathi has refuted the principal tenets of all the existing systems of philosophy including Buddhism, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Advaita and Prābhākara system and established the views of Śabarasvāmin and Bhaṭṭakumārila on Epistemology, Ātmavāda, Mokṣavāda, Creation, Universe and Īśvara with considerable skill coupled with great scholarship. Thus, his work made it unnecessary for later writers of the Bhāṭṭa School to enter into details relating to the topics already enumerated, and in fact, no one after the 11th century made an attempt to cover the same ground while writing on the Tarkapāda.

Pārthasārathi's fourth work²⁵ is *Nyāyaratnākara*, a commentary on the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. His ingenuity and masterly scholarship find expression in this work, when he explains the meaning and significance of the most obscure passages of Śabarasvāmin and Kumārila and supplies appropriate quotations from the works of eminent Buddhists such as Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti (also called as Bhikṣu). His testimony proves the existence of Bhartṛmitra,

25 *Śāstradīpikā* is cited here on p. 840.

probably a Vṛttikāra on the Śabarabhāṣya, whose theories were diametrically opposed to the accepted principles of Mīmāṃsā. We also can gather from this work that Kumārila had in his work endeavoured to re-establish the Mīmāṃsā Darśana as one of the orthodox systems of philosophy against the view of Bhartṛmitra.²⁶ From him also we understand that Kumārila had written a monumental work entitled the *Bṛhatṭikā* of which the present *Ślokavārttika* is only a digest.²⁷ This *Bṛhatṭikā* unfortunately is now no longer extant, but its existence is proved by the numerous quotations from it in standard works on Indian philosophy. All these quotations are naturally attributed to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa though they are not traceable in his known works. It is generally accepted by all scholars that the *Bṛhatṭikā* is the first production of Kumārila, and that the prominent among later writers referring to the *Bṛhatṭikā* are: 1. Śāntarakṣita, the author of the *Tattvasamgraha* (G.O.S.) 2. Śālikanātha, 3. Jayantabhaṭṭa, 4. Pārthasārathi, 5. Somēśvarabhaṭṭa and 6. the authors of works on Jain philosophy.²⁸ *Nyāyaratnākara*, being a brief and comprehensive commentary on the *Ślokavārttika*, very easily threw in the back-ground the two earlier commentaries of Umbeka *alias* Bhavabhūti and Sucaritamiśra.

Umbeka's commentary on the *Ślokavārttika* is rarely quoted and recently, it is announced that a MS of this work has been discovered and it is in the course of publication.²⁹ Sucaritamiśra's commentary *Kāśikā*, on the other hand, is available in the form of MS and only a part of it has been published by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

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²⁶ *Nyāyaratnākara*, p. 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 452.

²⁸ Vide author's articles 'Forgotten Kārikās of Kumārila' in *JOR.*, vol. I, p. 131 Madras; and 'Kumārila and the Bṛhatṭikā' in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, p. 523.

²⁹ *Tattvabindu*, Intro. p. 46 (ed. Annamalai University.)

MISCELLANY

Spontaneous Nasalization

Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has an interesting note in the *IHQ.*, for September 1936, p. 525, on the derivation of the name *Kantbaka*, the horse of the bodhisattva Gautama. He would derive it from the root *kattb-* by spontaneous nasalization, but something more seems to be needed to make it complete. What does 'spontaneous' mean? The term is an old one, and much used in the early days of comparative grammar. It had been noticed that there are certain changes which always follow a certain rule. So Grimm's law and many others were invented. But there were cases that seemed to defy any rule, so they were called spontaneous changes. It was only a disguised way of saying that the cause of the change was unknown. Then about 1870 the school of Young Grammarians arose. They found that many irregular or spontaneous changes could be explained by general rules, and they declared that phonetic laws were as absolute as the laws of nature. This way of putting it is not popular now, but no one has gone back to the idea that to call a change spontaneous is the same thing as explaining it. It is merely a disguising of the fact that we are ignorant. If there is a change there is a cause for it.

There is the less reason to speak of nasalization as being spontaneous, for several causes of nasalization are known. One that appears in the Pāli of Ceylon is generally disguised, for when editors find it in their MSS. they mostly ignore it, and do not trouble to record it even as a variant reading. Rhys Davids, however, preserved it in the title and text of the *Singālovāda-sutta* (for *sigālo-*), and the Japanese editors of the *Vinaya* commentary, less bound by Western conventions, insert in their text such spellings as *naṅgara*, *nāṅga* for *nagara*, *nāga*. *Sundam* for *suddham* (Th. I. 704) is probably part of the same phenomenon. This nasalization was no spontaneous

mystery, but due to the scribes of the time pronouncing the vowels with a nasal twang. It is well-known in other languages, but does not appear to occur in Pāli outside Ceylon.

There is an apparent nasalization in connexion with such words as *śata* compared with the cognate Latin *centum*. The explanation of this was due to the young Grammarians, and the very nature of the change makes it impossible to apply the process to the root *katth-*. However, there are still other causes of nasalization proper. In this root the problem is quite different. If *kanth-* really comes from *katth-*, there is not the insertion of a nasal, as in *lip-*, *limp-*, but the change of the *t* of the root into *n*.

It might be said that nasalization may exist as a fact, even if we cannot find a reason for it. But this is just what the facts fail to show in the present case. There is no trace of nasalization of the verbal forms of this root in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Jain Prakrit. Whitney called *katth-* "a secondary prakritized root, but of unclear derivation." If it is secondary there ought to be something primary, but he did not venture to suggest even a theoretical Sanskrit original. At present it stands quite alone, but there are several instances of the verb in Pāli, which imply the distinct sense of 'boasting', as in the *Mahābbhārata*. One who does not boast of his moral achievements is spoken of as *sīlesu akatthamāno* (Sn. 783), and it is said that a bhikkhu should not be a boaster, *na ca katthitā siyā bhikkhu* (Sn. 930). Jātaka 80 is a tale about a boastful weaver, and there *pavikatth-* and *vikatth-* are used. This meaning does not increase the probability that the noun was applied to an excellent horse.

When we come to the name *Kanthaka* it is necessary to inquire what is the actual evidence for it in Buddhist works. We can agree with Professor Bhattacharya in putting aside the cerebralized form *Kanṭhaka* in Sanskrit as being a change due to the scribes. It shows, however, that those who adopted the spelling *kanṭh-* had no idea of connecting it with the root *katth-*, and yet this root occurs in

the Pāli *Dhātupāṭha*. The regular Pāli form is *Kanthaka*, and the evidence for it is fairly early, as it occurs in the canonical poem, the *Kanthaka-vimāna*, in the *Vimānavatthu*, VII, 7. I call it early because it is also found in a Sanskrit form in the *Mahāvastu*, ii, 191, so that it must have existed before there was any violent division between the Theravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas. Still more interesting is the fact that several MSS. of the *Mahāvastu* sometimes read *Kanthaka*, and the chief MS., the one which the editor used as the basis of his text, appears to read it throughout, but he consigned this reading to the notes. There are two editions of the *Vimānavatthu* in the Pāli Text Society's Series, (1) the bare text edited in 1886 by E.R. Gooneratne with critical notes by Rhys Davids from the Mandalay MS., and (2) an edition with the Pāli commentary by E. Hardy in 1901. The surprising fact is that Hardy reads *Kaṇṭhaka*. He gives as his reasons, (1) that this is the reading of the Sanskrit works, but as we have seen this is not strictly correct, and (2) that the notes in the edition of 1886 give *Kaṇṭhaka* as the reading of the Mandalay MS. But on the editor's own showing *Kanthaka* is the original reading of this MS., and the cerebralized form found there is due to a later hand. We may therefore take no further notice of it.

There is one feature about the MS. evidence which makes it at first look as if it might supply the solution to the whole problem. This is the fact the one of Hardy's MSS. reads *Kaṇṭhaka* throughout. This is an intelligible word, and a natural name for a horse as 'Blackie'. It would also be natural, if this were original, for it to become changed, since its resemblance to the name of Māra the Black might have led to a wish to avoid a word with such evil associations. But for two reasons this must be rejected. It would not explain the name *Kanthaka* in *Pāṇini*, nor the hitherto overlooked fact that in the form *Kanṭhāe* and *Kanṭhaga* it occurs in Jain works, where it is the epithet of a horse.

It appears twice in the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*: *Jabā se kamboyānam āinṇe kanthae siyā*. XI, 16. Jacobi translates, 'as a trained *Kamboja-steed*,¹ whom no noise frightens.' The translation of *kanthae* as 'whom no noise frightens' depends upon the *ṭikā*, and only tells us how it was then understood. It is essentially the same interpretation as that given by Ratnachandraji in the *Ardhamā-gadhi Dictionary*: "not terrified even by the explosion of guns." The second passage is:

Maṇo sāhasio bhīmo dutthasso paridhāvai,

Taṃ sammam tu nigirbhāmi dhammasikkhāe kanthagam.

XXIII, 58.

Here the mind is said to be a bad horse, violent and terrible, and the speaker duly restrains it so that it becomes a *kanthaga*. Jacobi merely translates the word as '(so that it becomes a well-) trained *Kamboja steed*'. He is no doubt right in pointing out that the word in these two passages is not a proper name, but is meant to be descriptive. It is evidently a laudatory epithet of a horse. In both places, allowing for differences of dialect, we have the same word as the name of Gautama's horse. It may quite well be that the meaning of the word, drawn from Jain commentaries, was a recognized one, but it does not follow that this was the primitive meaning. Both the Sindhu and the *Kamboja* regions have given their names to breeds of horses, so that *Sinbuka* and *Kambojaka* have both become epithets implying excellent qualities in a horse. The same thing may have happened with *Kanthaka*. This would explain why no explanation from the *Dhātupāṭha* has been found for it. In this respect it is like *Sinbuka* and *Kambojaka*, which have no etymological deri-

¹ *Ainna* is the Pāli *ākinna*; it evidently refers to a good kind of horse, whether it is taken with the com. in the sense of *vinītāsua* or with Charpentier as *ājāneya*. Ramachandraji says "a horse of good breeding." Schubring (*Der Jūnismus*, p. 184) points out that in the *Tbhāna mūlasūtra*, *āinna* is used of a stallion and *kanthaga* of a horse in general.

vation beyond the fact that they refer to places in Western India. Until an actual place-name is found in this region to explain *Kanthaka* this must remain a supposition, but in the Jain passages we have direct evidence that it was a term applied in praise to a breed of horses among the Kambojas. That it should become the individual name of such a horse is a natural development.

There remains the word *Kanthaka* in the *Gaṇapāṭha* attached to Pāṇini, IV. 1, 105. Professor Bhattacharya says it is the name of a man. How does he know that? Doubtless the names derived by Pāṇini's rule from the words in this list are personal names, but this cannot be said of all the words from which the personal names are to be derived. But this point is not here important. If *Kanthaka* here refers to a person it is all the more likely that its connexion with the Jain and Pāli meaning of a horse lies in the fact that in both cases it originally applied to a district. That this district in the Jain use was in North West India we see from the reference to the Kambojas. The valuable article on *Geographical Data in Pāṇini* by Mr. Basudev Upadhyaya (*IHQ.*, 1936, p. 511) shows how well-acquainted Pāṇini was with North West India and beyond.

These considerations show that the evidence on the subject is none too plentiful. Perhaps Professor Bhattacharya can produce more to put the matter in a different light. At present we have on the one hand the root *katth-* with no trace of nasalization and no suggestion by any Indian grammarian that it has any connexion with *kanth-*. On the other hand we have *Kanthaka*, which for both Buddhists and Jains refers to a horse; and no one has yet attempted to make it probable that it ever meant 'boasting' or 'praising'. I suggest that its origin is more likely to be found in the name of the place from which the horses came, as in the case of *Sindbuka* and *Kambojaka*.

E. J. THOMAS

A Note on the Barah Copper-plate of Bhoja

Some years ago a copper-plate was discovered at the time of digging the foundation of a new house in the village of Barah, twenty-three miles west-south-west from the city of Cawnpore, in the United Provinces. The inscription in the copper-plate has been edited by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.

The inscription was issued from the camp of Mahodaya. It was issued by the Pratihāra Bhoja, son of Rāmabhadra, and the grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, in V.E. 893 = A.D. 836. It records¹ that the *Mahārāja* Bhoja "seeing the *Śāsana* of the illustrious *Parameśvara* Śarvvavarmadeva and the approval of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Nāgabhaṭadeva and finding that the allotment was for the time being obstructed through the incapacity of a legal officer during the reign of the illustrious Rāmabhaṭradeva" granted the *agrahāra* of V(B)alākā, attached to the Udumbara-Viṣaya, included in the Kālañjara-Maṇḍala of the Kānyakubja-Bhukti. The grant was made in accordance with the same old Division (*Prāgbhāga kramena*).

The learned editor of the inscription remarks that he has not been able to locate the *agrahāra*, mentioned above, definitely. He is of opinion that Śarvvavarman of the grant was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa as his grant was approved by the latter. "The fact that he is described as a *Parameśvara* would show that he was a subordinate prince." He can not be the Maukhari king of the same name. He seems to be identical with the Mahārāja Śarvan of the

1 महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ श्रीकन्यकुञ्जभुक्तौ । श्रीकालञ्जरमण्डलान्तर्गतानि उदुम्बर-
विषय सम्वद्ध-बलाकाग्रहारे समुपगतान्...समाज्ञापयति । उपरि लिखिताग्रहारसम्वर्षाय समेत
श्रावन्नाकर्कत्तिककालम्पूर्वदत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः परमेश्वरश्रीशर्व्वस्मदेवशासनं । महाराज-
श्रीनागभट्टदेवानुमतिञ्च दृष्ट्वा भागञ्च महाराजश्रीरामभट्टदेवराज्ये व्यवहारिणो वैगुण्य-
त्किञ्चिकालम्बिहृतं ज्ञान्वा मया... ls. 6-12, p. 18.

Sanjan copper-plate of Amoghavarṣa. Mahodaya is not the same as Kānyakubja, which is mentioned separately.

The Sanskrit Grammar allows the interchange of *l* and *r*, so V(B)alākā may be an equivalent of V(B)arākā. The village Barah, where the inscription was found, is, in my opinion, a contraction of Barākā.

An inscription² states that the Cālukya-Pulikeśin II "acquired the second name of *Paramēśvara* or supreme lord by defeating Harṣavardhana." The Gupta Bālāditya, the Maukhari Śarvvavarman and Avantivarman have been given the titles *Paramēśvara* in the Deobaranark inscription of Jivitagupta. Hence the association of the title *Paramēśvara* with the name of a chief indicates his great political power and not his subordinate position. Thus the title *Paramēśvara*, given to Śarvvavarman in the Barah copper-plate, establishes, on the contrary, that he was not a subordinate of Nāgabhata.

The Deobaranark inscription,³ referred to above, reports that a village was granted by the *Paramēśvara* Bālāditya. The grant was approved of by the *Paramēśvara* Śarvvavarman, *Paramēśvara* Avantivarman, and by the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Jivitagupta II. Bālāditya, mentioned above, was either Narasimhagupta Bālāditya (c. A.D. 470) or the king of the same name, who defeated Mihirakula. (c. 510 A.D.). Jivitagupta II flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. It follows from this that Jivitagupta II approved of a grant, which was originally made about two hundred and fifty years before his time. Śarvvavarman of the Barah plate was not necessarily a contemporary of Nāgabhata simply because the latter approved of a grant made by the former.

It is not known whether any king of the name Śarvvavarman ever held sway over the Cawnpore district except that, who

² *IBBRAS.*, XVI, 226.

³ *CII.*, p. 218.

belonged to the Maukhari dynasty.¹ Nothing contradicts if the *Paramēśvara* Śarvvavarman of the Barah plate is taken as identical with the *Paramēśvara* Śarvvavarman of the Deobaranark inscription. It cannot be said positively whether the description of the village Balākā viz., that it was situated in the Udumbara-Viṣaya, included in the Kālañjara-Maṇḍala of the Kānyakubja-Bhukti, was copied from the grant of Śarvvavarman. The village Balākā or Barah is about one hundred miles north-west of Kālañjar, in Bundelkhand. It is to be decided whether the possession of Balākā by Bhoja implies that he also held sway over Kālañjar fort.

It is known from other sources that Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Cakrāyudha, king of Kanauj, and Barah plate establishes that he also took possession of the kingdom of Kanauj.

D. C. GANGULY

The Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra and the Tantri

In the *Foreword* to the second edition of the *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra* (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 2, 1926, Calcutta) it has been pointed out by Dr. Johan van Manen that there are now extant many collections of *nīti* verses, whose authorship is attributed to Cāṇakya, and which are known variously by the name of *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, *Laghu-Cāṇakya*, *Bodhi-Cāṇakya*, *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra*, *Cāṇakya-nītiśataka*, *Cāṇakya-nītidarpaṇa*, *Nītisāra*, *Nītisamgraha*, etc. Otto Kressler's *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit* (Indica, Heft 4, Leipzig, 1907) gives an index of nearly 1600 such stanzas contained in seventeen works of this nature; and there is no doubt that there are many other *nīti* stanzas, found in other works of this nature, that are not included in this index. Further, it also becomes apparent from an examination of some of these collections that many stanzas contained in them have got different readings; see in this connection the *Vorindex* given by Kressler in his above-mentioned work.

Pp. xviii-xix of the above-mentioned edition of the *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra* reproduce the *Foreword* contributed by Dr. Narendra Nath Law to the first edition of that work; and it has been pointed out there by this scholar that some of the verses contained in the above collection occur also in the *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra* and other works. Now, the Javanese *Tantri*, that is, the prose work written in Middle Javanese and known also as *Tantri Kāmandaka*, *Tantra-wākya* and *Tantricarita*, is an adaptation of a version of the Indian *Pañcatantra*, and was, according to Dr. C. Hooykaas (*Tantri, de Middell-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking*, p. 132), written in about 1200 A.D. This work cites 77¹ Sanskrit stanzas; but the citations

¹ I am however inclined to believe that the two stanzas which Hooykaas has numbered as 21, 22 form actually one stanza composed in the Mālinī metre.

are so corrupt that it is a difficult matter to find out what their original, uncorrupt reading was.

Dr. Hooykaas however has been successful in finding out the correct forms of about thirty of these stanzas, and has reproduced them in his above-mentioned dissertation and also in his edition, (with Dutch translation), of the *Tantri Kāmandaka*. It is my object to show here in this paper that some of these verses are found in the *Nītiśāstra* collections spoken of above and that the author of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* was acquainted with such a collection whose authorship was attributed to Cāṇakya. The *Nītiśāstra* works used by me for the purpose of comparison are the following :

1. *Cāṇakya-nītidarpaṇa* : edited with Hindi translation by Paṇḍita Meherchand Śarma; Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Kalyan, Śaka 1814. Referred to in this paper as *K*.
2. *Nītisāra* : edited with Telugu translation by Nori Guruliṅga-śāstri and published by Tyāgarāya Śāstri; printed by the latter at the Gīrvāṇa-bhāṣa-ratnākara Press, Madras, 1896. Referred to as *L*.
3. *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya* : with Kannada translation of Tirumalācārya; printed by Śrīnivāsācārya (in Telugu character) at Karṇāṭakākṣara-mudrāśālā, Bangalore and published by V. Veṅkaṭeśa Śāstri in 1873. Referred to as *M*.
4. *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstram* : spoken of above. Referred to as *N*.
5. *Garuda-purāṇa* : edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara; Calcutta, 1890. Chaps. CVIII-CXV consist of a *nītiśāstra* book that seems to have been bodily incorporated in the Purāṇa. Referred to as *P*.

6. *Nītiśāstra*: with Telugu meaning; published by V. Rāmasvāmi Śāstrulu and Sons; Madras, 1911. Referred to as *R*.
7. *Nītiśāstra*: with Kannaḍa meaning; published by T. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Setṭi, Madras, 1835. Referred to as *S*.

1. Tantri 17 reads as
 agnihotra phala veddhah dantābhuktiphala dhanam/
 rātripuṭṛaphala nari śilam brahmaphalam śrutam//

The original form of this stanza is:

अग्निहोत्रफला वेदा दत्तभुक्तफलं धनम् ।
 रतिपुत्रफला नारी शीलब्रह्मफलं श्रुतम् ॥

Pādas a, b, d = a; b, d of P. cx. 4; regarding pāda c, compare B. 96c: rati-putra-phalā nāryaḥ.

2. Tantri 7 reads as
 adigyakamidhāśāstri narojñatāsyatitmanha/
 - dharmohadeśavināyam aṛya-aṛya sunāsunam//

The original form of this verse is,

अधीत्येदं यथाशास्त्रं नरो जानाति सत्तमः ।
 धर्मोपदेशविद्ययातं कार्याकार्यशुभाशुभम् ॥

See *K*. I, 2

3. Tantri 28 reads as
 asantuṭṭam dwija naṣṭāḥ santuṣṭā sāmaṅgapatih/
 salajā ganima naṣṭā nilajā duskalangśaṇam//

The original form of this verse seems to be

असन्तुष्टा द्विजा नष्टाः सन्तुष्टाश्चैव पार्थिवः ।
 सलज्जा गणिका नष्टा निर्लज्जा च कुलाङ्गना ॥

Pādas a, c = *R*. 42 a, c, and d = *M*. XVIII, 18 d; pāda b reads differently as सन्तुष्ट इव पार्थिवः (*R*. 42; *S*. 46); and सन्तुष्टाश्च सहीयतः (*M*. XVIII, 18; *K*. VIII. 18).

4. Tantri 11 reads as
 ākāre nginggita jñeyah ścaśwayana anenañca/
 netra-waktra-wikireṇa śerhyate n ta manah//

The original form of this verse is:

आकारैरिङ्गितैर्गत्या चेष्टया भाषणेन च ।
नेत्रवक्त्रविकारेण गृह्यन्तेऽन्तर्गतं मनः ॥

Pādas a, b = *N.* II, 55 a, b; c, d read as. विकाराभ्यां ज्ञायतेऽन्तर्गतं नृणाम्
in *N.*, and as विकाराभ्यां लक्ष्यतेऽन्तर्गतं मनः in *P.* (cix. 52) and *L.* (II. 52).

5. Tantri 49 reads as
ācā—kulam akyantoh deśam ānyati bhāṣata/
sāmbhramā sneham akyantih wāpur anyati bhonama//

The original form of the verse is:

आचारः कुलमाख्याति देशमाख्याति भाषितम् ।
संभ्रमः स्नेहमाख्याति वपुराख्याति भोजनम् ॥

See *P.* cxv. 74.

6. Tantri 18 reads as
enapingsusuputrinam widyayuktepuruṣena/
kulapurusinghena candranevarakasyaste//

The original form of this stanza is:

एकेनापि सुपुत्रेण विद्यायुक्तेन साधुना ।
कुलं पुरुषसिंहेन चन्द्रेण गगनं यथा ॥

Pādas a, c, d of this stanza = a, c, d of *P.* cxiv, 56 and pāda b = *K.* III, 16 b.

7. Tantri 20 reads as
ekenawāṇawre puspitenā sugandhinam/
vasśītātwatwanaśatwam suputrena kulālatāh//

The original form of this stanza is:

एकेनापि सुवृक्षेण पुष्पितेन सुगन्धिना ।
वासितं तद्वनं सर्वं सुपुत्रेण कुलं यथा ॥

See *K.* III, 14.

8. Tantri 42 reads as
tasmāt bhūmiśvara matye dharmā-karma siddhayet/
guṇāwanātniyañcitta guṇā inantuta jayet//

The original form of this stanza seems to be :

तस्माद्भूमेश्वरोऽमात्यं धर्मकर्मार्थसिद्धये ।

गुणवन्तं नियुञ्जीत गोब्राह्मणहिताय वै ॥

This verse is found in *L.* (V, 25) and *P.* (cxii, 25) only; *L.* has *prājñam* in pāda a, instead of *amātyam*, and *sādhane* in b; and *P.* reads *dharmā-kāmārtha-sādhane* in b. Further, both works reads *niyojayec ca satatam* in c.

9. Tantri 43 reads as

tyaja durjana-sangsargam bhagyam sadusamāsamam/
kuru puṇyam mahorātram.....//

The original form of this stanza is :

त्यज दुर्जनसंसर्गं भज साधुसमागमम् ।

कुरु पुरयमहोरात्रं स्मर नित्यमनित्यताम् ॥

See *K.* XIV, 20.

10. Tantri 16 reads as

nawinañca nakiwañca śrangginam bastrāwāninam/
wiśośwa ning pagantanam strikulajana kuśudham//

The original form of the stanza is :

नखिनां च नदीनां च शृङ्गिणां शस्त्रपाणिनाम् ।

विश्वासो नैव कर्तव्यः स्त्रीषु राजकुलेषु च ॥

See *K.* I, 15.

11. Tantri 13 reads as

yasya bhāryā wirūpakṣi tasmāt lihalaha priyam/
uttarottarawanginya sā jarā na jarā jarā//

The original form of the verse is :

यस्य भार्या विरुपाक्षी कश्मली कलहप्रिया ।

उत्तरोत्तरवादा च सा जरा न जरा जरा ॥

See *P.* cviii, 22.

12. Tantri 31 reads as

yowanekalasangpattih prawtwammawiwēhitah/
ekekapanakwayah kimuhyatrahsatustāyam//

The original form of the verse is :

यौवनं धनसम्पत्तिः प्रभुत्वमविवेकिता ।
एकैकमप्यनर्थाय किमु यत्नं चतुष्टयम् ॥

See S. 214.

13. Tantri 30 reads as
wayet werkulajamprajñah wirupammapi kanyakam/
rupāpikantunikañca wāwewahyabhrasangkuru//

The original form of the verse is :

वरयेत् कुलजां प्राज्ञो विरूपामपि कन्यकाम् ।
रूपशीलां न नीचस्य विवाहः सदृशो कुले ॥

See K. I, 14. It is doubtful however if pādas c, d read as above in the Tantri; see the Dutch translation on p. 53 of the edition.

14. Tantri 50 reads as
wiśād aṣy amerta graṣya amedya cāpi kañcaṇam/
niścawaly uttameng widyam stri-rātna duskulandapi//

The original form of this verse is :

विषादप्यमृतं ब्राह्ममेध्यादपि काञ्चनम् ।
नीचादप्युत्तमां विद्यां स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि ॥

See K. I, 16. The reading *uttamām vidyām* in pāda c is plainly incorrect; but it is found not only in the Tantri and K, but also in M. (I, 15) and P. (cx, 8). The correct reading *uttamā vidyā* is found in L (III, 7).

15. Tantri 45 reads as
sanorrātwasadewidya saneparwatamaliṇam/
panneyoteghnadharmaśca pwaya meśwaṣancesanch//

The original form of this verse is :

शनैरर्थाः शनैर्विद्या शनैः पर्वतमारुहेत् ।
शनैः कामश्च धर्मश्च पञ्चैतानि शनैः शनैः ॥

Pādas b, c, d = b, c, d of L. II, 46; pāda a reads in L. as *śanair vidyā śanair arthāḥ*. See also P. cix, 46.

16. Tantri 19 reads as

śarwaridipako candrah...../,

tryelokyadipako dharmah suputrā kuladi wada//

The original form of this verse is:

शर्वरीदीपकश्चन्द्रः प्रभातोद्दीपको रविः ।

तैलोक्यदीपको धर्मः सुपुत्रः कुलदीपकः ॥

See *R* 36.

17. Tantri 12 reads as

sa karya ya gerha dakṣa sa bharya ya priṇambadah/
.....sa bharya ya patibrata/

The original form of this verse is:

सा भार्या या गृहे दक्ष सा भार्या या प्रियंवदा ।

सा भार्या या पतिप्राणा सा भार्या या पतिव्रता ॥

See *K.I.*, 15.

18. Tantri 26 reads as

ekopasahpatanana ekaryawasajapriyah/

komitrambhramapewirdwa nerkedewahkeśawoñca//

The original form of this verse is:

एको वासः पत्तने वा वने वा

एका भार्या सुन्दरी वा दरी वा ।

एकं मित्रं भूपतिर्वा यतिर्वा

एको देवः केशवो वा शिवो वा ॥

Compare *S.* 122 and *R.* 112 which have the same four pādas but in a different order, and both of which read *nārī* instead of *bhāryā*. The verse occurs in Bhartrhari's *Nītiśataka* also (no. 69) which too has a different arrangement of the pādas, but which like *Tantri*, has the reading *bhāryā*.

Of the above eighteen stanzas, all except one (no. 18: *eko āsah patttane vā*.....) are found in one or other of the seventeen *Nītiśāstra* works examined by Kressler; and their *pratīkas* are therefore found in the *Index* given by him in the above-mentioned

work. Of these seventeen stanzas, moreover, all except two (nos. 2 and 8) are, according to this *Index*, found in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*.

The equivalents given in the *Indische Sprüche* have been reproduced by Dr. Hooykaas in his above-mentioned two works in connection with thirteen of the stanzas given above (namely, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17); but a comparison of these equivalents with those given by me above shows that, in respect of nine stanzas (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 17), the readings given by Böhtlingk differ slightly from those favoured by the author of the *Tantri*.

Dr. Hooykaas has reproduced from the *Indische Sprüche* the equivalents of eight other Tantri verses also (nos. 1, 14, 15, 32, 47, 62, 63, 76). None of these verses occurs in the seven Nītiśāstra works examined by me, or in the seventeen works indexed by Kressler.

The author of the *Tantri*, when giving the purport of verse 7 (= *adbīyedaṃ yathāśāstram*.....; see no. 2 above) begins with the words "iti śāstra Cāṅakya" ('so is het śāstra van Cāṅakya'); and these words show that this verse formed part of a *Cāṅakya-nītiśāstra* that was known to him. There can therefore be no doubt that it is from this Nītiśāstra that he has borrowed the other seventeen verses reproduced above. It is also probable that, among the other (unrecognised) verses of the *Tantri*, there are some more which have been borrowed from this Nītiśāstra.

**Problem of the 'tad uktam' Sūtras
in the Brahmasūtras**

Sūtra III. 4.42

There are eight Sūtras in the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa in which the expression "*tad uktam*" occurs (Bra. Sū. I. 3.21, II. 1.31, III. 3.8, III. 3.26, III. 3.33, III. 3.43, III. 3.50, III. 4.42). I propose to interpret *one* of these Sūtras (*upapūrvam api tv'eke bhāvam āsanāvāt tad uktam*.....III. 4.42) in this paper.

The problem of the *tad uktam* Sūtras arises from the fact that the references implied by the expression *tad uktam* ('it has been stated') are variously explained by various Ācāryas, even one and the same Ācārya interpreting it differently in different sūtras. For example, Śaṅkarācārya explains *tad uktam* in three sūtras as referring to some of the Brahmasūtras, and in the remaining five to the Jaiminīsūtras; Rāmānujācārya agrees with him in five Sūtras, but in Bra. Sū. III. 3.8 and III. 4.42 he understands the reference to have been made to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Gautama Dharmasūtras*(?), while in the case of Bra. Sū. III. 3.50 the two Ācāryas take the expression as referring to different Sūtras of the Jaiminīsūtras; and Vallabhācārya agrees with Śaṅkarācārya in three cases only and explains *tad uktam* in Bra. Sū. III. 3.33, III. 3.50, and III. 4.42 as referring to the *Bhāgavata Purāna*—which all refer to the Jaiminīsūtras according to Śaṅkarācārya; the *tad uktam* in Bra. Sū. III. 3.26 and III. 3.43 refers according to Śaṅkarācārya and Rāmānujācārya to the Jaiminīsūtras as shown above, but Vallabhācārya understands it to be a reference to Bra. Sū. III. 3.29 and III. 2.5 and to *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* III. 2.3 respectively. This problem of the expression *tad uktam* and the vagueness of its implications in various Sūtras seem to have escaped the notice of modern scholars like Thibaut, Deussen and Ghate.

The following table will show the views of the three commentators regarding the works referred to by the *tad uktam* Sūtras in the Brahmasūtras:—

Works referred to by 'tad uktam'.

No. of the <i>tad uktam</i> Sūtras.	Saṅkara	Rāmānuja	Vallabha.
(1) I. 3.21	Bra. Sū. I. 2.7	The same as Saṅkara.	The same as Saṅkara.
(2) II. 1.31	Bra. Sū. II. 1.27	"	"
(3) III. 3.8	Bra. Sū. III. 3.7	<i>Chā. Upa.</i> I	"
(4) III. 3.26	Jai. Sū. X. 8.15	The same as Saṅkara.	Bra. Sū. II. 3 29, III. 2.5
(5) III. 3.33	Jai. Sū. III. 3.8	"	<i>Bhāgavata Pu.</i> II. 9.10
(6) III. 3.43	Jai. Sū.	"	<i>Mu. Upa.</i> III. 2.3
(7) III. 3.50	Jai. Sū. XI. 4.7	Jai. Sū. III. 5.21	<i>Bhā. Pu.</i> IX. 4.63
(8) III. 4.42	Jai. Sū. I. 3.8-9	Gautama I. 3	<i>Bhā. Pu.</i> VI. 9.39

Two out of the eight *tad uktam* Sūtras have already been discussed by me in my thesis (*Akṣara: A forgotten chapter*, pp. 164-165). There I have shown that *tad uktam* in Bra. Sū. III. 3.43 and in Bra. Sū. III. 3.50 has a distinct reference to *itaravat* in Bra. Sū. III. 3.16 and to Bra. Sū. III. 3.42.

In order to discuss the significance of *tad uktam* in Sūtra III. 4.42 it is necessary to interpret Sūtra III. 4.41 also because the two Sūtras go to make *one* adhikaraṇa.

To me it seems that these two Sūtras discuss the question whether the person that aspires after absolution should perform his professional duties or not. After 'ādhikārikam' in Sūtra 42 the word *karma* seems to be understood. The Sūtra 32 runs as *vibhatavāc cāśramakarmāpi* and in Sūtra 42 we have *na cādhikārikam api* i.e. *na cādhikārikam karmāpi*. In Sūtras III. 4.19 and 27 the author has mentioned certain *karmans* to be performed by the seeker after absolution. In Sūtra III. 4.32 it is said that the seeker should perform

the duties of his particular order of life also.¹ Thus, one may think that the Sūtrakāra would allow the seeker to perform the duties of his profession *also*. To this he seems to me to reply in the negative in Sūtra III. 4.41.

I shall now literally interpret the Sūtras in question and offer the reasons for my interpretations in the form of notes:—

“And (the seeker of absolution should) not (perform) his professional duties *also* because of their dissociation (from him) due to the Smṛti mentioning his fall (from the endeavour to achieve absolution)”. —Sūtra 41.

“But the followers of a certain branch of the Veda *also* mention the *subordinate* or *side* (*upapūrvam*) existence of professional duties with regard to a seeker in dire need, as they mention ‘eating’ (beans)—this has been explained.” —Sūtra 42.

Sūtra III. 4.41

Notes:

1. In Sūtra III. 4.41 we have to take *karma anuṣṭheyam* as understood, so that the Sūtra would be *na cādbhikārikam api karma anuṣṭheyam*. ‘*Anuṣṭheyam*’ I take as understood from Sūtra III. 4.19 and 27 and ‘*karma*’ from Sūtra III. 4.32.

2. *Api* in Sūtra 41 is necessary because the Sūtrakāra means that no professional duties should be performed *in addition to* the duties mentioned in Sūtras 19 and 32.

3. *Tat* in *tadāyogāt* should refer to *ādbhikārika karma* ‘the professional duties’ (in the case of a seeker of absolution). *Tadāyogāt* should mean ‘because (the seeker has) no connection with those (duties).’

4. *Patanānumānāt—Anumāna* means a Smṛti like the *Gītā* (Cf. *yogabhrāṣṭa* in *Bhagavadgītā*, VI. 37-44), the *Mahābhārata*, or

¹ The Sūtrakāra seems to hold the view that the seeker may be in any² of the *four* orders of life.

even a Purāṇa. There are stories in these Smṛtis narrating how a seeker of absolution fell from his endeavour on account of his performing duties which are meant for certain professions only.

Sūtra III. 4.42

5. *Tv eke* shows that the Sūtrakāra is not in favour of the seeker of absolution doing any professional duties, but he only quotes the view of the followers of a certain branch of the Veda, and, therefore he would not object to the seeker doing those duties under the circumstances mentioned in the Śruti in question.

6. *Bhāvam* means the existence of the professional duties. *Bhāvam* is used in Sūtra 42 in opposition to *na* in the preceding Sūtra which is equivalent to *a-bhāva*.

7. *Upapūrvam*—The word *upa* as well as the word *aśana* seems to me to be a clear suggestion for the Śruti referred to by *eke* in Sūtra 42. It is very likely that here the Sūtrakāra refers to *Cchāndogya Upaniṣad*, I. 10-11 particularly *tatrodgātrṇ āstāve stoṣya-māṇān upopaviveśa sa ha prastotāram uvāca* (*Cchā. Upa.*, I. 10.8). To this passage (particularly *upopaviveśa*) we trace *upa* mentioned in the Sūtra (in *upapūrvam*); and this identity of *upa* in both the cases seems to me to be an important point in favour of the interpretation I have suggested here for these two Sūtras.

8. *Upapūrvam bhāvam* i.e. *upapūrvam ādhikārikasya karmaṇaḥ bhāvam*—By this expression the Sūtrakāra not only gives a clue to the Śruti he has in mind, but he also gives, it seems to me, his own interpretation of that Śruti. By *upapūrvam karmaṇaḥ bhāvam* he seems to mean that if the seeker of absolution has to do professional duties, they should be *upapūrvā* i.e. of a subordinate or subsidiary nature. 'Upa' has this sense of subordination, e.g. in the famous illustration *upa hariṃ surāḥ* (Pāṇini, I. 4. 87, Sk.). The preposition *upa* may also mean "superiority" e.g. in *upa niṣke kārṣāpanam*. And, this sense may have been as well intended by the

Sūtrakāra in *upapūrvam bhāvam*. Thus, the Sūtrakāra interprets *upopavivēśa* to mean that Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa did not actually act as a priest in the sacrifice of the king, but he only *supervised* over the other priests that were actually officiating there; so, this kind of secondary performance of professional duty may be allowed in the case of a seeker in dire need.

9. *Aśanavat*—This has a reference to the fact that in case of dire necessity Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa had to eat beans out of what remained, after the owner of the elephant had partaken of the same. This Uṣasti did only because he was dying of hunger. This is proved by the fact that though Uṣasti ate the 'impure' beans, he refused to drink 'impure' water offered by the lord of the elephant.

10. *Tad uktam*—This has undoubtedly a reference to Bra. Sū. 4.28 *viz.*, *sarvānnānumatiś ca prāṇātyaye taddarśanāt*. Śaṅkarācārya rightly explains *taddarśanāt* in Sūtra III. 4.28 as referring to the story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa (*Chā. Upa.*, I. 10). But, somehow or other, perhaps due to the loss of tradition, he fails to realise that *aśanavat* in Sūtra 42 is a reference to the eating of beans by Uṣasti and that *tad uktam* in Sūtra 42, therefore, refers to the explanation of the story of Uṣasti given in Sūtra III. 4.28. The Sūtrakāra means that the explanation of performing the professional duties by a seeker of absolution mentioned by the followers of a certain branch of the Veda is *like that of the eating of beans by Uṣasti* in the same text and, that the explanation of the latter is already given by him in the foregoing portion of the Sūtras *viz.* in III. 4.28. Thus, the eating of the forbidden food and the doing of professional duties are allowed in the case of a seeker of absolution only at the time when life is about to end if he denies himself the use of both. If we read the whole story of Uṣasti, we find that he officiated at the sacrifice as a supervisor only because he was in dire need of money with which he wanted to buy the necessities of life without which he would have possibly died.

11. According to Śaṅkarācārya and other commentators Sūtra

III. 4.41 refers to the section of Adhikāralakṣaṇa in the Jaiminisūtras VI. 8.21. Śaṅkarācārya was led to this belief only because the word *ādhikārika* occurs in the Sūtra (Bra. Sū. III. 4.41). But the same word occurs also elsewhere in the Brahmasūtras, e.g., Bra. Sū. IV. 4.18 (*pratyakṣopadeśād iti cen nādhikārikamaṇḍalasthokteḥ*) and Bra. Sū. III. 3.32 (*jāvad adhikāram avasthitir ādhikārikāṇam*). In neither of these cases does Śaṅkarācārya or any other Ācārya explain *ādhikārika* as referring to the *Adhikāralakṣaṇa* of the Jaiminisūtras. Moreover, at the very first sight it looks absurd that the author of the Brahmasūtras should adversely criticise the Jaiminisūtras on a point which does not at all form a part of the Vedānta doctrine.

Śaṅkarācārya connects *ādhikārika* with the word *prāyaścittam* taken as understood; but there is no reference to any *prāyaścitta* in the Sūtras that are connected with Sūtra III. 4.41 and, therefore, that *adhyāhara* seems to me to be unjustifiable in this context.

Patana of the Sūtra (III. 4.41) Śaṅkarācārya unnecessarily changes into *apratīsamādhya patana*.

Anumāna of the Sūtra should mean a Smṛti like the *Gītā*, the *Mahābhārata*, or a Purāṇa; but so far as I am aware the Sūtrakāra never uses the word *anumāna* to mean a Law book like that of Manu which, of course, can be called a Smṛti. In the latter case the Sūtrakāra would very likely use the word 'Smṛti' itself instead of the word *anumāna* because the use of *anumāna* in the sense of a Smṛti like the Manusmṛti would lead to a great confusion.

According to Śaṅkarācārya's interpretation *taḍayogāt* in Sūtra III. 4.41 becomes almost redundant.

In Sūtra III. 4.42 Śaṅkarācārya interprets *upa* in the sense of *upapātaka*, and here, too, the topic of the Sūtra as given by Śaṅkarācārya has nothing to do with the Vedānta doctrine. The discussion of the relative sinfulness of a confirmed celibate co-habiting with any other women but his teacher's wife is quite out of place in the Brahmasūtras.

Similarly his explanations of *bbāva* and *āsana* also seem to me to be unacceptable on the same ground.

Saṅkarācārya explains *eke* in the Sūtra as referring to *eke Ācāryāḥ* but gives no reference.

He explains *tad uktam* of the Sūtra (III. 4.42) as referring to Jai. Sū. I. 3.8 and I. 3.9. This is quite inconsistent with the context as I have already shown.

12. Rāmānujācārya and Vallabhācārya refer *tad uktam* to Gautama and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

13. Madhvācārya reads *bbavaśamanavat* in place of *bbāvaṃ āsanavat* and thus seems to make the confusion of the *Śaṅkara Bhāṣya* worse confounded.

The above interpretation of Bra. Sū. III. 4.41-42 and the reasons for them would, I believe, amply show that (*āsanavat*) *tad uktam* in Sūtra III. 4.42 refers to the words "*sarvānnānumatiś ca prāṇātyaye*" in Bra. Sū. III. 4.28. It would be rather strange if by *tad uktam* the Sūtrakāra were to refer to any other work but his own. On the contrary it would be quite proper if in *all* the Sūtras which make use of the phrase *tad uktam*, the Sūtrakāra were to refer to what he himself has said in the portion of the Brahmasūtras that precedes those Sūtras with *tad uktam*. But this latter still remains to be proved. Here I could do nothing more than offer a possible solution for *tad uktam* in only one of such Sūtras.

P. M. MODI

On the Economic Geography of Kālidāsa

It is not our endeavour here to propose any new indentification of the places occurring in Kālidāsa's works, but to show how the poet's description of flora and fauna of the different provinces of India are accurate.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto IV, Kālidāsa describes in detail the achievements and military expeditions of the 'warlike son' of Dilīpa.

Kālidāsa says that Raghu on his victorious march reached the sea-shore on the eastern side of India which was darkened by exuberant growth of palm-trees.¹ This evidently refers to the palm-trees found in abundance on the sea-shore.

In connection with the people of Suhma² the poet speaks of them as having defended themselves by the adoption of the policy of canes.³ It seems to be a reference to canes, the natural product of this sea-bordering district of the east.

He says that the inhabitants of Vaṅga⁴ (eastern Bengal) were great experts in the art of navigation.⁵ Bengal, as a matter of fact, possesses a network of rivers constantly replenished by the copious waters of the rains. The people of this province are by their natural inclinations devoted to the art of navigation. Even, to-day, the people of eastern Bengal enjoy the reputation of being expert sailors.

1 प्राप तालीवनश्याममुपकरं महोदधेः ।—*Raghu.*, IV. 34.

2 सुद्व was situated to the west of Vaṅga, its capital being ताम्रलिप्त called also तामलिप्त, दामलिप्त, ताम्रलिप्ती, तमालिनी (Cf. हेमचन्द्र IV. 45). In times of महाभारत it seems to have included Western Midnapur only, as it is separately mentioned after ताम्रलिप्त (*MBb.*, II, 30, 24, 26), but afterwards its extent was greater. नीलकरंठ explains सुद्व by Rāḍha (*Mbb.*, II, 30, 16) which is undoubtedly the Western Bengal.

3 आत्मा संरक्षितः सुद्वैवृत्तिमाश्रित्य वैतसीम् ।—*Raghu.*, IV 35.

4 It was also known as Samatāṭa or 'Plains.'

5 वज्रानुत्वाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् ।—*Raghu.*, IV.

Kālidāsa refers in this connection to the fact that the paddy plants when re-sown yield a rich harvest.⁶ He describes village girls singing songs in the shade of sugar cane plants.⁷

Kālidāsa mentions paddy as the product of Bengal. The climate and soil of this province are suitable for the product of rice, and as a matter of fact, paddy plants grow here in large quantity.

Raghu marched from the east to the south through Utkal (Orissa) and reached the country of Kalinga⁸ where his brave warriors drank the sweet juice of cocoanut.⁹ The king of this country had a large number of elephants forming a part of his army.¹⁰ Orissa and the country around it still abounds in elephants.

Cocoanut generally grows in abundance on the sea-shore and this was the case with the country of Kalinga¹¹ also. Even to-day on the south sea-side of India cocoanuts are found in large quantities.

The poet mentions that Raghu went from Kalinga to the southern countries through the sea-shore of Eastern Ghats and there he found the trees of betelnut with their fruits.¹² Areca or betelnut also is such a product which finds its favourable growth like palm-

6 आपादपत्रप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघून् ।
फलैः संवर्धयामासुहृत्वातप्रतिरोपिताः ।—*Raghu.*, IV. 37.

7 इच्छुच्छायानिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्तुर्युषोदयम् ।
आकुमारकथोद्धातं शालिगोप्यो जगुर्यशः ॥ *Raghu.*, IV. 20.

8 उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ ।—*Raghu.*, IV. 38.

9 नारिकेलासर्वं योधाः शाद्ववं च पपुर्यशः ।—*Raghu.*, IV. 42.

10 (गजसाधनः) *Raghu.*, IV. 40.

11 Kalinga extended from the south of Utkala to the mouths of the Godavari. It did not extend beyond the Godavari, as its mouths are said to be in the possession of the Andhras. In the days of Daṇḍin its capital Kalinganagara was at some distance from the sea-coast, as he says, the king of Kalinga when taken captive by the neighbouring king of Andhra went out to pass some days at the sea-side.

12 ततो वेलातटेनैव फलवत्पूगमालिना ।
अगस्याचरितामाशामनाशास्यजयो ययौ—*Raghu.*, IV. 44.

tree mainly on the sea-shore. Even to-day the sea-shores of the Coromandal-Coast and Ceylon are famous for their product of betel-nut and cardamom, etc.

The southern part of India is mentioned by Kālidāsa as the home of pepper and cardamom,¹³ these being favourable products of the valley of the mountain Malaya (modern Nilgiris) the favourable haunt of green pigeons.¹⁴ The poet also mentions the sandal trees¹⁵ of this locality. These facts are amply attested by the economic geography of that part of the country. When this victorious hero marched further southwards the Pāṇḍyan king of that country offered him presents of the best of pearls collected from that part of the sea where the river Tāmraparṇī falls into it.¹⁶ By mentioning this fact our poet refers to the ancient practice of pearl-fishery which is still going on in the same manner near the port of Tuticorin below Tanjore. The sea at the mouth of the river is still considered to be one of the most important centres of pearl-fishery in the world which yields—as we are told by the experts—the most genuine and perfect specimens of these precious objects.

As regards the mountain chain of Southern India. This prince of Sanskrit poets mentions two mountains—Malaya and Dardura—which, he says, resemble the breasts of a woman.¹⁷ We believe that this simile of Kālidāsa is quite appropriate owing to the height of these in the middle. Even in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* Malaya and Dardura are spoken of together. Hence with the identification of Malaya with the Nilgiris, it is but natural to suppose that Dardura meant that portion of the Ghats which forms the southern boundary

13 *Raghu.*, IV, 47.

14 *Ibid.*, 46.

15 *Ibid.*, 48.

16 ताम्रपर्णीसमेतस्य मुक्तासारं महोदधेः ।

ते निपत्य ददुस्तस्मै यशः स्वमिव सञ्चितम् ॥—*Raghu.*, IV, 50.

17 *Ibid.*, IV, 51.

of Mysore. The mountain Sahya (Western Ghats) is described like the hip of a lady.¹⁸ This is testified by the shape of the Sahya mountain where it meets the Eastern Ghats about the Nilgiris.

The south-western part of India then comes for treatment at the hands of our poet. Kerala (modern Mālābār) abounds in date-palm and Tamāla trees.¹⁹ The charming country even to-day captivates the heart of every traveller who happens to visit that part of southern India by its luxuriant tall, green palm and Tamāla trees.

After conquering the farthest southern countries of India the hero of our poet turns his attention to the Persians. There, he could not bear the flush caused by the wine in the lotus-faces of Yavana women.²⁰ This seems to be a reference to the wine made by Persian women of grapes growing in that country. Kālidāsa adds that the country is surrounded on all sides by the beautiful bowers of vines.²¹

The western people are said to have fought with Raghu with their cavalry. In fact, this region is still famous for its superior breed of horses.²² In the neighbourhood of this region on the north-western side in Kamboja²³ Kālidāsa has mentioned the growth of अक्षोट trees which were overpressed by the fastening chains of Raghu's elephants.²¹ Even to-day the best walnut trees grow in this very part of our country.

18 *Raghu.*, IV, 52.

19 *Ibid.*, 54, 56, 57.

20 यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।—*Raghu.*, IV, 60

21 विनयन्ते स्म तद्योधाः मधुभिर्विजयश्रमम् ।

आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ।—*Raghu.*, IV, 65.

22 *Ibid.*, IV, 62.

23 गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षोटैः सार्धमानताः । *Raghu.*, IV, 69.

24 In the *Sabhā Parvan*, the Kambojas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna along with the Daradas after the subjugation of Balkh (27. 22-3). As the Daradas now inhabit the valley of the Gilgit and Balkh is separated by the Hindu Kush, it is but natural to suppose that the Kambojas inhabited this mountain and its adjoining country.

Turning from the north-west countries of India our poet describes the victory of Rāghu in the Himalayan regions. A very good piece of geographical information is furnished by Kālidāsa when he mentions that Rāghu's armies took rest on those stone slabs which were made fragrant by the contact of the march of musk-deer.²⁵ Deer having musk in their navel are commonly found only in the interior parts of the Himalayas and even to-day the best musk comes from Nepal where these musk-deer are found in large numbers.

Kālidāsa mentions two main gifts of the Himalayas to the Indian people, viz., teak and cedar.²⁶ Himalayan regions abound in these two trees. The Himalayas are regarded as the home of teak trees. They abound also in the wild bamboos and birch trees²⁷ whose bark was in ancient times used as a writing material.

The power of observation of our poet was so keen that even the minutest things like the little phosphorescent herbs of the Himalayas did not escape his notice.²⁸ It is one of the special features of the Himalayas that they abound in phosphorescent herbs which glow during night. The expert botanists of modern times have noticed the presence in the Himalayas of such self-glowing phosphorescent plants

Now after crossing the Himalayan regions Rāghu crossed the river Lauhitya (the modern Brahmaputra) and came into the country of Prāgjyotiṣa²⁹ (the modern Assam). Here two things are parti-

25 *Raghu.*, IV, 74.

26 *Ibid.*, IV, 75, 76.

27 भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभृताः कीचकध्वनिहेतवः ।—*Raghu.*, IV

28 आसन्नोषधयो नेतुर्नक्तमस्नेहदीपिकाः ।—*Raghu.*, IV, 75.

Cf. भवन्ति यत्नोषधयो रजन्याम्—*Kumār.*, I, 10.

29 प्रारज्योतिष is identified with the eastern-most part of India comprising the Eastern Assam, the people of which country under the leadership of their king

cularly mentioned by our poet, and these are black Aguru trees³⁰ and mighty, wild, rutting elephants.³¹ The forests of modern Assam still abound in the elephantine breed.

KRISHNADEVA UPADHYAYA

Bhagadatta played a conspicuous part in the Bhārata war, which explains the name thus—

अत्रैव हि स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्राङ् नक्षत्रं ससर्ज ह ।

ततः प्राग्ज्योतिषाख्येयं पुरी शकपुरीसमा ।

Local tradition identifies Prāgjyotiṣapura with the modern Gauhati.

30 तद्गजालानतां प्राप्तैः सह कालागुरुद्रुमैः ।—*Raghu.*, IV, 81.

31 तमीशः कामरूपाणामत्याखण्डलविक्रमम् ।

भेजे भिन्नकट्टैर्नागैरन्यानुपरुरोध यैः ।—*Raghu.*, IV, 83.

The Date of Kṛtyaratnākara

(A rare work on Dharmasāstra by Mudākara Sūri)

The Government MSS. collection at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona contains a rare Ms.¹ of *Kṛtyaratnākara*, composed by Mudākara Sūri. This is the only ms. of the work recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*.² It begins as follows:—

नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥

कुतुकिनि परिवारे जानकीशान

... श्यामलेनामुनेति ।

स्मितमधुरमुदधन् मैथिली दृक्चकोरी

चुलुकितमुखचन्द्रः पातु मां रामचन्द्रः ॥१॥

जातो विजेता जगतीपतीनां प्रयागभूमीवलयाधिनाथः ।

अशेषराजन्यकुलावतंसे व(व)घेलवंशे नृपवीरसिंहः ॥२॥

अजनि सुजनमुख्यो गोपनाख्यस्त्रिपाठी

प्रतिपदनिजनिष्ठापूतवासिष्ठवंशः ।

विमलविविधविद्याकैरवस्तोवसोमो

नयविनयविधिज्ञस्तस्य राज्ञः पुरोधः ॥३॥

गौरीवल्लभपादपद्मयुगलीवन्दारुमौलिर्गुरो-

र्क्षात्वा मैथिलदाक्षिणात्यरचितान् भूयो निबन्धानपि ।

निर्बन्धेन विविच्य वाक्यनिचयं मन्वादिनानास्मृतेः

सूनुस्तस्य मुदाकरो वितनुते श्रीकृत्यरत्नाकरं ॥४॥

माताख्यातमरुन्धतीव दधती सक्ता सतीनां व्रते

मुक्ताश्रीरिति नामधेयविधिता यस्यान्नपूर्णाकृतिः ।

भ्राता वेदविचारचारुचरितो यस्याग्रजः सुन्दरः

पत्नी भक्तिपरायणोज्ज्वलकुला लक्ष्मीश्च लक्ष्मीरिव ॥५॥

सोऽयं भ्रातुः प्रथमतनयं लोकनाथं सुबोधं

यत्नादध्यापयितुमखिलस्मार्त्तसिद्धान्तसारान् ।

उद्धृत्यामुं विषदवचसा सन्निबन्धान्तरेभ्यः

संक्षेपेण स्वयमिह कृती निर्मिमीते निबन्धम् ॥६॥

1 No. 42 of 1881-82.

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 115a.

The above verses contain some information about the author of *Kṛtyaratnākara*. Mudākara Sūri is said to be the son of Gopana Tripāṭhī (गोपनाख्यस्त्रिपाठी v. 3). His mother's name was Muktaśrī (v.5). His father was a priest (पुरोधाः) at the court of king Virasiṃha of the Baghel dynasty. He belonged to the family of Vasiṣṭha (वसिष्ठवंशः) and his surname was Tripāṭhī. The following verse also gives his pedigree:—

मुक्ताश्री जननी यस्य त्रिपाठी गोपनः पिता ।

तेनायं निर्मितो ग्रन्थः श्रीमुदाकरसूरिणा ॥

Prof. P. V. Kane remarks 'मुदाकरसूरि author of कृत्तरत्नाकर, earlier than 1700 A.D., as it is mentioned in रामनिबन्ध of क्षेमराम" (*Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, vol. I, p. 723). This date *viz.*, 'earlier than 1700 A.D.' ascribed to Mudākara Sūri by Prof. Kane can be pushed back still further. From v.2 it appears that Mudākara or at least his father received the patronage of king Virasiṃha of the Baghel dynasty. King Virasiṃha ruled from A.D. 1500-1540." It is, therefore, probable that Mudākara Sūri must have composed his work between 1500 and 1540. More reliable evidence is furnished by the Ms. itself, which bears a date on fol. 387b. The date recorded is Saṃvat 1617 (= A.D. 1561). The date recorded appears to be the date of the copy and if my presumption is correct Mudākara Sūri must have flourished before A.D. 1561.

M. M. PATKAR

3 See Prof. Har Dutt Sharma's article "Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them" published in *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 48. "Virasiṃha assisted Rana Saṅgha against Babar at the battle of Kanwah (March, 1527) with four thousand horse" (Vide, Notes on History of the Rewa State, supplied to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, B.O.R. Institute, Poona, by the late Diwan Bahadur Jankiprasad, Adviser to the Maharaja of Rewa).

REVIEWS

THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF SPIRITS By Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. Second edition, revised and enlarged. London. Luzac & Co., 1936. Pp. xi + 114.

The welcome which was accorded to the first edition of this little work, when it appeared in 1923, will readily be continued to it on its reappearance in an extended form. The Preta doctrine is a curious offshoot of Buddhist belief, chiefly useful in this regard as showing how eager Buddhists were to make use of popular faiths in order to inculcate, in forms suitable for the ordinary man, the moral doctrines of Buddhism. To trace the development of the Preta belief is not wholly easy. The Epic evidence, however, as set out by Professor Hopkins, suggests that the Pretas are the newly dead, cast out from the gods and men alike. If, however, their descendants pay them attention, then in time they become recognised as the honoured dead, the Pitrs, and become honoured by all in that aspect. Food is what must be given to them. In the teaching of the Buddhists as shown in the *Petavatthu* there is but faint trace of the duty of children towards parents. The doctrine of liberality has been generalised. The melancholy fate of the Pretas appeals to all Buddhists who seek to succour these unhappy spirits, and at the same time to provide for their own future welfare by generous gifts. But as material things, food, drinks and clothing cannot reach the departed spirits direct, the priestly-preceptors stress the importance that the gifts be bestowed on suitable earthly recipients, above all to the *Bhikkhus* and the Buddhist *Samgha*. Gifts to them, or at least to a lay adherent, alone possess the transcendent power of alleviating the sufferings of the Pretas. The idea appeals to priestcraft of all times and places, and we need not seek to enquire too deeply into the process of transfer.

Philosophically, of course, it is difficult to fit the Preta doctrine into any rational system. Nor does Buddhism even in the later

scholasticism succeed in explaining why some persons have to pass through the experience of the Pretaloka before being reborn again on earth. All these beliefs remain side by side, inextricably confused, but available for edification and instruction. We are indebted to Dr. Law for placing at our disposal and that of students of comparative religion and anthropology all that is of interest in this phase of Buddhist thought, and for bringing it into connexion with Brahmanical ideas. There are, as usual, few matters open to criticism in his careful and thoughtful writing. Many of us, however, will not accept the view that the Tirokuddha discourse must have been current among the Buddhists in the third century B.C. because it is known to the *Kathāvattṭṭu*, for the antiquity of that work is far from being above suspicion. Indeed it is held to be late by many who do not share my own view of the comparatively late date of the main body of the Pāli tradition. Secondly, as the book is not written exclusively for scholars or experts in Pāli philology it would have been helpful to explain at the outset that, while the Sanskrit words *Pitr* and *Preta* have completely different origins, their transformations in Pāli led inevitably to confusion of sense. Thus we have beside *peta-visaya* the form *petti-visaya*, which reflects *pitrya-visaya*, but doubtless not without help from *peta*.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHĀLUKYAS, by Ranjit Sing Satyasraya, Calcutta, 1937.

The object of the book is to discuss various problems throwing light on the origin of the Cālukyas, who established numerous settlements in Gujarat, Deccan, and Andhra. The author agrees with some previous writers on the subject that there is nothing to establish the Gurjara Origin of the Cālukyas. The early records even do not recognise that there was a *tribe* named Gurjara. The fact that there were two countries of the name Gurjara does not

prove the existence of a Gurjara tribe. The people who lives there were called Gurjaras. There were more than one Kālañjar, Pratiṣṭhāna, Valabhi, Kauśāmbi, Suhma, Kośala, Vikramapura, etc. They do not prove the existence of some tribes bearing those names or they do not indicate the land-marks of some tribal movements. Evidence is not, however, lacking to prove that some people migrating to a new country called it after the name of their mother country.

The author deserves the credit for noticing in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* that there was a sage named Celaka, Cauruka or Cauluka. According to him the Cālukyās or the Caulukyās were descendants of this sage. He has ably developed his point. His work is a real contribution to the subject. Its value is enhanced by the author's penetrating analysis of the original sources and discriminating criticisms of the existing view. The book is not, however, free from errors. The author, relying on the old monographs on the Cālukyās, lays down that Kalyāṇi was founded by Someśvara I, and Mūlarāja I ascended the throne of Gujarat in 961 A.D. Some epigraphic records, lately discovered, prove that Jayasiṃha I, father of Someśvara I, founded Kalyāṇi, and Mūlarāja ascended the throne in 942 A.D. The story of the fire origin of the Paramāras is first met with in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (997-1000 A.D.) and not in Pūrṇapāla's inscription (1042 AD.) as is supposed by the author. The author remarks—"we do not as well know wherefrom the mighty Taila II himself ruled" (p. 101). An inscription definitely settles that Taila II ruled from Mānyakheta. Taila II, before his accession to the throne of Mānyakheta, was a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, ruling in Taravadi thousand division.

PĀṆINI AND THE VEDA: Studies in the early history of linguistic science in India by Dr. Paul Thieme, Globe Press, Allahabad, 1935. Royal Octavo, pp. XV + 132.

The unique position which Pāṇini holds among the ancient grammarians of India and elsewhere is well-known to students of Indo-Aryan philology. But it is a matter of regret that we know so little of his history and a knowledge of which would have made his work much clearer to modern students. Terms like *chandas*, *mantra*, *ṛk*, *yajus*, *brāhmaṇa* and *nigama* used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī have been interpreted and misinterpreted much to the discredit of Pāṇini as also to obscuring the history of linguistic studies in ancient India. Hence it is most gratifying to see Dr. Paul Thieme making a fresh attempt to find out the exact sense in which Pāṇini used these terms. It is with genuine pleasure that we can say that Dr. Thieme's attempt is praiseworthy and considerably successful. Though one may disagree with him in a few minor details, his present study on 'Pāṇini and the Veda' will be considered a useful contribution on the subject. In this study he has given a detailed interpretation of Pāṇini's Vedic rules, which must be confronted with the facts of the Saṃhitās and has shown that Pāṇini unlike what Whitney opined was most careful in his terminology. By means of this interpretation he has been able to define all the terms mentioned above, except one (*nigama*). This gives us more or less a correct idea of Pāṇini's knowledge of the extant Vedic literature.

Along with the principal topic Dr. Thieme has discussed subsidiary ones, such as, Pāṇini and the home of the *White Yajur-Veda*, the home of Pāṇini's language, Pāṇini and the Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya, arrangement of the Śiva sūtras, the form of beginning and ending the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the original shape of this text. He has brought in for discussion many interesting topics, and one can remark with pleasure that the author's studies on these subjects are thorough and penetrating.

With these general remarks there are, however, some points which may be briefly touched here.

(i) Dr. Thieme's view about the nature of the Prātiśākhya as expressed in pp. 51f., 60ff. seems to be sound, but his description of Atharva Prātiśākhya as a grammar (pp. 95, 124) is misleading. Though the Prātiśākhya now and then discuss grammatical matters they are not actual grammars but manuals of phonetics. The idea that each *sambhitā* has a Prātiśākhya of its own (p. 62) is not warranted by facts (see the present writer's paper, Prātiśākhya and Vedic śākhās, *IHQ.*, vol XI, 1935, pp. 761ff.).

(ii) Dr. Thieme's view about the text-history of the Prātiśākhya (p. xv) applies to the Taitt. Prātiśākhya as well. Some of its chapters appear like late additions. As regards the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya, I think it belongs to a special class of its own. In its present form it may be said to be a late work and a curious jumble of early and late materials. Recent attempts to prove that Pāṇini quoted from the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya have proved a failure. Such a hypothesis must start with making an independent enquiry about the antiquity of the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya. None of the advocates of this hypothesis has however done this and hence we need not take them seriously.

In any case Dr. Thieme deserves our congratulation for his excellent study on Pāṇini and allied topics.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON HINDI by Ambica Prasad Vajpeyi. Published by the University of Calcutta. Demy Octavo. Pp. 213.

From the time of the conquest of some parts of Northern India by the Turks and the Mongols all of whom were culturally Persians or Persianized people our country became subject though not quite directly to certain amount of Persian influences in its cultural life. This influence was of varying character in many aspects of the

cultural life, and it took different trends in different parts of this vast country. A complete historical description of all these would be very interesting and helpful for the students of the history of medieval India. But the subject is too vast and many-sided to be attempted by any single scholar and it may be for this reason why no one has yet attempted it. Hence it is with genuine pleasure that we welcome Pandit Ambica Prasad Vajpeyi's small volume named the Persian Influence on Hindi. In this volume Pandit Vajpeyi has very briefly touched the various aspects of the influence of Persian on the Hindi literature. Along with this he has treated in greater details the influence of the Persian language on Hindi. It consists mainly of a collection of Persian and Perso-Arabic loan words in Hindi. Over 2500 such words which Pandit Vajpeyi has given in *Urschrift* and *Umschrift* have greatly added to the usefulness of the book. As a good number of these words occur in some form or other in other North Indian modern languages, Pandit Vajpeyi has earned the gratitude of the students of languages by this work of his.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN by K. B. Dongray. pp. 158. Gwalior.

This monograph, which at the first sight appears to be a handbook written for travellers, is really a *vade mecum* of Ujjain for scholars interested in its political, cultural and religious history. Ujjain is undoubtedly an ancient city which played an important rôle in the history of India, but unfortunately the materials for its pre-Buddhist history, as the author points out (in p. 2), are too meagre, and that also embedded in legends and mythology. Considering its antiquity and importance it is not improbable that one day it will be revealed that Ujjain belongs to the days of Mohenjodaro

as Paithan is going to be to-day. Its history begins with the Haihayas, the *Purānas* as also the *Aitr. Br.* (viii. 14) attributing its foundation to the Sept of the Yadu family—probably the Satvats and the Bhojas. Our author skips over the Jaina and Buddhist evidences and passes on to the Epics and the subsequent literature though he says in the introduction (p. 1) that “Jainism and Buddhism, though born elsewhere, received their garbs at Ujjain.” Ujjain with its neighbourhood was indeed the scene of the split of the Jaina church into two branches, and the home of the Pali school of Buddhism; the Theravāda and the Pali literature which found its safety in Ceylon. King Pradyota of Ujjain is claimed by both the Jainas and Buddhists as their adherent; this fact shows how important was this kingdom in the career of these two sister religions. Our author has in chap. II brought together from the Epics, the Dharmaśāstras, Pāṇini and the Greek writers the materials throwing light on the history of the city. He is on a firmer ground in the following chapter (III), in which he tells us of the career of Ujjain from Aśoka to Bhoja. In this chapter he has depended mostly on the researches made a few decades ago and as such he is at times not quite up to date. Chapter IV carries on the history of the city from Jayasiṃha (1060 A.D.) to Muhammad Shah (1732 A.D.) and chapter V from Subedar Ranoji (1732) to Māharaja Madhav Rao (1925), chapter VI giving a résumé of the preceding chapters. All these chapters are written in a very lucid style and offer an interesting reading. Then he enters into the vexed question of fixing the dates of Śaka and Saṃvat eras, giving mostly the opinion of various scholars, but he does not refer to the opinion of Sten Konow and other scholars who have written on the subject very recently.

Though Kālidāsa may have a close connection with Ujjain, we consider chapter VIII as a digression which the author should have avoided. The same remark applies to chapter X, though we must

record our appreciation of the author's knowledge of the history of Indian religions and his presentation of the same within a small compass. Chapter XI deals with Ujjain as a seat of astronomical studies while chap. XII gives the gist of the Sanskrit dramas, scenes of which were laid at Ujjain and its neighbourhood. Both the chapters are interesting to read and break the monotony of a historical monograph. Chaps. XIII and XIV contain an account of the shrines and sacred spots and places of architectural and archaeological interests in and around Ujjain so indispensable to the curious tourists. The practice of holding every twelfth year a religious congress attended mainly by the five classes of devotees reminds one strongly not only of the Buddhist Councils but also points to the remaining traces of the pseudo-Buddhist cults. As we have said the book contains a mass of information not only relating to Ujjain alone but to the whole of Malwa or Avanti. With the career of this province are connected the most brilliant periods of Indian history and as such the book is not a monograph on Ujjain but a political and cultural history of India. We wish the author had improved the get-up of the book, taken recourse to the modern method of transliteration and the practice of giving in the footnotes the sources of his information. In any case we commend the book not only to the curious travellers but to all students of Indian culture.

N. DUTT

GORAKHNĀTH AND MEDIAEVAL HINDU MYSTICISM including text and translation of Machhendra (*sic*) Gorakh goṣṭhī padas and ślokas of Gorakh: ślokas of Charpatnath by Dr. Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Lahore, 1937. Pp. 150.

It has been rightly observed that, "a great deal of the religious, social and literary life of Northern India will have thrown light on it when we come to know the story of the origin of the Nāthapanth, and about the personality of Gorakhnāth" (S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 120). It is for this reason any attempt to explore the history and doctrine of Gorakhnāth, overlaid so much with legends and folklore, is welcome and the book under review raised in us a great expectation. We are however sorry to record that after going through the whole volume we are disappointed. The treatment of the subject is scrappy and superficial and betrays a general lack of method. Of the 150 pages of the work preface, foreword, contents, bibliography and index etc. take up 28 pages and translation, some passages attributed to Gorakh cover 27 pages and references to various works as well as quotations from them take up 17 pages. Glossary of 110 Yogic technical terms and quotations from vernacular works relating to Gorakhnāth's doctrine cover 44 pages, therefore treatment of the subject proper covers only 44 pages. It is scarcely possible to do justice to such a subject within such a narrow compass. The author has also not taken proper care in preparing this work, *e.g.*, he does not seem to have consulted the *Gorakṣaviṅjaya*, a late mediaeval Bengali work on Gorakhnāth. Scanty extracts given from this work are taken from a popular Hindi monthly which quoted from *Gorakṣaviṅjaya*. In his quotations too he is not very accurate *e.g.*, he says that "Dr. Bagchi concludes that Matsyendra *must have lived* about 900," whereas Dr. Bagchi says that "We may.....conclude that Matsyendranātha *probably flourished** towards the beginning of

* Italics in the above quotation are mine. Reviewer.

the 10th century A.D.....” (Introduction to *the Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 32).

His description of works mentioned in the bibliography is far from adequate. In most cases it omits the year of publication or the name of publishers and other relevant details. All this makes it very difficult for the reader to check the statements of the author whenever there may arise any occasion for doubt. The readers of this work should use very cautiously the translation of some unpublished works included in it. In spite of the defects pointed out, we are bound to say that the patience and labour with which he has collected materials are praiseworthy.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute

vol. V, part ii (July, 1937)

- T. K. KRISHNA MENON.—*Malabar Temples*.
- C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Early Tamil Studies and Missionary Effort*.
- M. B. EMENEAU.—*Ritual Games of the Kotas*. Games connected with some of the ceremonial festivities observed by the Kotas of the Nilgiris, a tribe of artisans and agriculturists are being described in this continued paper.
- V. K. RAGHUNANDANA MENON.—*Kerala Paintings*.
- KERALA VARMA.—*The Appurtenances of Kathakali*. The purpose of the paper is to show that *Kathakali*, a peculiar dramatic art prevalent in Kerala contains distinct pre-Aryan elements.

Calcutta Review, July, 1937

- S. K. BANERJI.—*Alāuddīn Khālījī as seen in his Monuments*. The belief that Alāuddīn was selfish and ruthless in dealings with his subjects and unorthodox in his religious views is contradicted by the evidences of the records found on monuments erected by the Sultān: The founding of Sirī, digging of tanks and construction of mosques show that he was a public-spirited ruler and his inscriptions reveal that he was very pious and bigoted in his religious policy.

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. I, no. 1

- S. K. BELVALKAR.—*Dr̥ṣṭāntas in the Brahmasūtras*. Dr̥ṣṭāntas or illustrative examples adduced in the *Brahmasūtra* have been analysed in the article and shown to have occurred in increasing frequency in the later and more controversial portions of the *Sūtra*.
- A. COOMARASWAMY.—*Vedic Exemplarism*.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.—*Nouns of the a-Declension in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*. Peculiarities of the noun forms of the a-declension in the masculine and neuter genders have been shown chiefly from the texts of the *Saddharmapundarīka* and the *Lalitavistara*.

JEAN PRZYLUKSI.—*Les Aśvin et la Grande Déesse*.

BARON A. VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN.—*The Emperor Ch'ien-lung and the Larger Śūramgamasūtra*. In an imperial Introduction to the Larger *Śūramgamasūtra* issued in 1770 A.C. Ch'ien-lung asserts the authenticity of the Sūtra.

Indian Culture, vol. IV, no. 1 (July, 1937)

K. K. BASU.—*The Ismāel Ādil Shāh of Bijapur*. The discussion in the paper based on the *Busatin-us-sālātin* centres round the story of Ādil Shāh's conflict with Kamāl Khān and Amir Barid.

S. K. DE.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal-Vaiṣṇavism*. In this sixth instalment of the continued discourse on Jīva Gosvāmin's *Sandarbhās* the contents of the *Prītisandarbhā* are explained. The object of this *Sandarbhā* is to show that the intense feeling of *prīti-bhakti*, a blissful supersensuous sentiment brings happiness and helps the realisation of the Bhagavat.

SANT LAL KATARE.—*The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī and their Political Relations with the Contemporary Northern States*.

S. K. BANERJI.—*Some of the Women Relations of Bābur*. Activities of five cultured women who rendered assistance in the political endeavours of Bābur are related. Among these women were Bābur's wife, grandmother, sister and daughter.

KESHAV APPA PADHYE.—*Buddhism as depicted in Ancient Sanskrit Dramas*. Dramas of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Śūdraka, Śrī Harṣa and Viśākhadatta have been laid under contribution to show condition of Buddhism prevailing at the time of those authors.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA.—*The Padma Purāna*. The contents of the different Sections of the *Padma-pūrāna* have been analysed and dates assigned to them.

B. M. BARUA.—*Bodh-Gayā Sculptures*.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Origin of the Kadambas*. Traditions indicate that Mayūra was the progenitor of the Kadambas and that the family-name had an accidental connection with the Kadamba tree. The writer is inclined to think that the Kadambas were originally Brāhmaṇas who migrated from the north to South India, took service under the Śātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kuntala country.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,

vol. X, parts 1-4 (1936-1937)

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*The Sailodbhava Dynasty*. The rule of the Śailodbhava kings, who were in their early years feudatories at first of the Māna dynasty and then of Śaśāṅka, began about the middle of the 6th century A.C. continuing at least to the end of the 10th century. The territory occupied by the Śailodbhavas was called Koṅgoda Maṇḍala situated in the South near the Chilka Lake. The names of kings belonging to the dynasty have been given in the paper from different inscriptions and their approximate dates shown.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO.—*Conjeeveram Inscription of the Telugu Cola King Jaṭācola Bhīma*. Broken pieces of an inscribed plate found scattered in different parts of a temple at Conjeeveram were so long believed to have been fragments of a record of the Cola king Rājarāja I. The present writer reads the inscription afresh and suggests that the hero of the *praśasti* was Jaṭācola Bhīma also known as Cola Triṇetra who was a rival of Rājarāja I. It has been conjectured that the record was on a victory pillar (jayastambha) planted at Kāñcīpura in commemoration of Bhīma's conquest over the Vaidumba ruler of the city.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Animal Names.*

GURTI VENKAT RAO.—*Krishna Deva Rāya and the Portuguese.*

This is an account of the friendly relations that the Portuguese of Goa had with the Rāyas of Vijayanagara in the 1st quarter of the 16th century A.C.

N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA.—*Karṇāta.* Kaṇṇa Viṣaya or Karṇāta, a small district lying at the foot of the Śrīśaila mountain was the original home of the Śātakarṇis. Later on, the name of the district was applied to the whole of the Andhra kingdom when it came under the sway of the Śātakarṇi rulers. Again, with the territorial reduction of the Śātakarṇi possessions, the use of the name of Karṇāta came to be restricted to the Canarese country only.

K. R. SUBRAHMANIAN.—*Parvata.* Śrī Parvata is the ancient name of a place where the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is situated in the Guntur district in Madras. The site is identified with the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li and Po-lo-yu mentioned respectively by Hiuen Tsang and Fa-hian.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The First Stage in the Extension of the Catholic Church in the Tamil Country from St. Xavier to Nobili.*

K. RAGHAVACHARYULU.—*The Term Andhra and Early References thereto.* References to the Andhras in the early literature and the Edict of Aśoka indicate that they were ruling over a portion of the Deccan, south of the Vindhya since the Mauryan period or even earlier.

G. RAMDAS.—*The Date of the Kambakāya Copper-plate Grant of Devendravarman.* The year 603 of the Gaṅga era (= Śaka year 874 = 952 A.C.) is regarded as the date of the grant.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO.—*A Note on the Date of the Kambakāya Grant of Devendravarman.* This writer reads in the grant a mention of the Śaka year 1003 (= 1081-2 A.C.) as its date.

- P. SREENIVASACHAR.—*Polipādu Grant of Kṛṣṇadevarāya*. The inscription recording the grant of the village Polipādu in the year 1510 A.C. is edited here.
- MANDA NARASIMHAM.—*Dhavalapeta Copper-plate Grant of Umāvarman*. Umāvarman who calls himself Mahārāja issued this grant from Nagara identified with Mukhalingam situated near Parlakimedi in Ganjam. No details can be known about this king though two more records of him have already been brought to light.
- M. GOVINDA PAI.—*Genealogy and Chronology of Western Gaṅgas: From Mārasimha to Rakkasa Gaṅga II*.
- V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*On the Term Śātavāhana*. Śāttan, a synonym of Śātavāhana mentioned in Tamil literature is a god of the Pākhaṇḍa sect. It has been conjectured by the writer of this note that the Śātakarṇi Andhras were votaries of the Śāttan cult and adopted the name of the diety Śātavāhana as their family title.
- S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*The Cola Rājarāja I and the Eastern Cālukya Alliance*.
- V. S. RAMACHANDRAMURTY.—*Genealogy of the Viṣṇukundins*.
- R. SUBBA RAO.—*Correspondence between the Hon'ble East India Company and the Kandregula Family in the 18th Century*.
- TEKUMALLA ACHYUTA.—*Andhra Literature in the Vijayanagara Empire*.
- Journal of the Benares Hindu University**, vol. I. no. 2 (1937)
- RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI.—*Harsa as Author and Patron of Letters*.
- A. S. ALTEKAR.—*History of Benares*. The paper discusses the history of the holy city during the Muslim rule from 1194 A.C. to 1707 A.C..
- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*The One and the Many—an Interpretation in the Light of the Organistic Conception in Indian Philosophy*.
- PRAN NATH.—*Sumero-Egyptian Origin of the R̥gveda*.

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- SRI RAM SHARMA.—*The Organisation of Public Services during the Mughal Period (1526 to 1707 A.D.)*.
- MANILAL PATEL.—*The Gāthās of Zarathuśtra: Yasna Hā 29*. The subject-matter of the study in this paper is eleven stanzas of *Yāsna Hā 29*. The text has been provided with English translation and critical notes.
- A BANERJI-SASTRI.—*The Aya Months*. The words *ayasa* and *ajasa* occurring respectively in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription and Kalawan Copper-plate inscription have been given a new interpretation here as representing *āryasya* meaning sacred and qualifying in one case *aśādasa* and in the other *śravanasa*. That the months of Aśādha and Śrāvāṇa have special sanctity has been shown from evidences of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain works.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,

vol. X, pt. 1 (July, 1937)

- VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Ten Inscriptions from Mathurā*. Ten short epigraphs published here are mostly of a dedicatory nature and have the characteristics of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā.
- NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Shujauddaula of Oudh in the Eyes of a Contemporary English Governor*. It has been shown from the extracts from letters of Verelst, Governor of Fort William (1767-69) that Shujauddaula was a successful administrator and not so despicable in character as he is generally depicted to be.
- S. K. BANERJI.—*The Qutb Minar—its Architecture and History*.
- KSETRESH CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Religious Suicide at Prayāga*.
- B. C. LAW.—*Sacred Places of the Vaiṣṇavas*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. VI, part 1 (July, 1937)

- H. D. SANKALI.—*Inscriptions of Gujarat: An Epigraphic Survey.* This discussion on the inscriptions of the Mauryas, Kṣatrapas, Traikūṭakas, Gurjaras of Broach, Western Cālukyas, Cāhamānas, Paramāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Maitrakas of Valabhī and Caulukyās (Solaṅkis) of Anhilvāḍa, who ruled over one or the other part of Gujarat in the period between *circa* 300 B.C. and 1200 A.C. includes reviews of the material, size, script, style, subject-matter, age and emblems of the epigraphs.
- P. K. GODE.—*Keshaubhat, a Poona Banker of the Peshwa Period and his Relations with the Peshwa and Damāji Gaikwad.*

Karnataka Historical Review, vol. IV, nos. 1 and 2

(January-July, 1937)

- H. HERAS.—*Karṇāṭaka and Mohenjo Daro.* Some inscriptions on the seals found at Mohenjo Daro contain, according to the reading of the writer of this paper, references to the people of Karṇāṭaka. The fact that plural forms used in the inscriptions have definite Kannaḍa characteristics and a sign inscribed on the seals is still depicted on the walls of the houses of the Liṅgayats of the Kannaḍa country points to the associations of Karṇāṭaka and Mohenjo Daro.
- C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*A Great Contribution of Vijayanagara to the Tamil Country.* The paper deals with the conquest of the Madura Sultanate as also the reconstruction of the great temples of Madura and Srirangam by Kampana Uḍaiyar of Vijayanagara in the last quarter of the 14th century. Kampana's exploits helped the restoration of Hindu culture in the Tamil Country.
- S. M. KATRE.—*A Muslim Contribution to Apabhraṃśa.* A manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is an Apabhraṃśa poem of 216 verses composed by one Abdul Rahman. This poem bearing the title *Sandēśarāsaka* purports

to be a message from a love-lorn woman to her lover residing at a distant place.

JARASIMHA SASTRI DEVEDU.—*Karnāṭaka Folklore*.

K. K. BASU.—*The Early Life of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur*.

R. N. SALETORÉ.—*Town-planning in the Vijayanagara Empire*.

V. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTY.—*The Historical Importance of the Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha*. The *Pratāparudrayaśobbhūṣana*, a work on poetics written in the 13th century A.C. by Vidyānātha, the court-poet of the Kākatiya ruler Pratāparudra, supplies evidences from which information about the religion, social condition and foreign relations of the Kākatiyas can be gathered.

B. A. SALETORÉ.—*Delhi Sultans as Patrons of Jaina Gurus of Karnāṭaka*. The discussion in the paper centres round two renowned Jain teachers, Simhakīrti and Viśālakīrti who were honoured respectively by Muḥammad Tughlaq and Sikandar Sūr of Delhi.

NARAYANA RAO B. KALMDANI & ANANTA RAO P. KARMARKAR.—*The Haridāsa Movement in Karnāṭaka*. The Bhakti cult propagated by the Dāsakūṭa sect is being explained and its characteristics and achievements described in this continued article.

Modern Review, September, 1937

ADRIS BANERJĪ.—*Sivaneri: The Birth-place of Sivaji*. This is a description of Sivaneri or Śivanagarī, a castle, now in ruins, on the top of a hill of the same name situated near Junnar. The great Sivaji was born in this place.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,

Vol. XXVIII, no. 1. (July, 1937)

P. C. DHARMA.—*Social Life in the Rāmāyana*. The article deals with food and drink as mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Sandhi*.

N. K. VENKATESAM PANTĀLU.—*Devas and Asuras*. Passages from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmana* are quoted to show that the Devas and Asuras though originally of the same stock became gradually divided into two distinct and opposing groups on account of their differences in moral qualities and spiritual tendencies and practices.

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Doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghika School of Buddhism

The doctrines of the several schools of Buddhism are given succinctly by Vasumitra in his treatise on the Schools.¹ This treatise has been rendered from Chinese into English by Mr. Masuda who, with the aid of Chinese commentaries, has not only presented the doctrines in an intelligible form, but has added notes which are exceedingly valuable for the comprehension of the doctrines. He occasionally refers to the *Kathāvattu* but it has not been possible for him to utilise fully this highly important work for elucidating the doctrines.

The *Kathāvattu* not only elucidates and corroborates Vasumitra's statements but also furnishes us with a few additional informations relating to the doctrines of several schools. The close, sometimes even verbatim, agreement between the *Kathāvattu* and Vasumitra's treatise about the doctrines of the schools enables us to state that both the work must be old and authentic and should be regarded as authoritative as far as the doctrines of the schools are concerned. In Vasumitra's treatise and the *Kathāvattu* we can expect only those doctrines which were matters of controversy. It seems that Vasumitra who was a Sarvāstivādin recorded only those

¹ Transl. from Chinese by J. Masuda in the *Asia Major*, vol. II, 1925, henceforth referred to as Masuda. There are two other translations of the Tibetan version of this work, one by Prof. M. Walleser entitled *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* (Heidelberg, 1927) and other a much earlier one by Wassiljew.

doctrines which he considered as contrary to those of his own school while the compiler of the *Kathāvattbu* mentioned only those which he regarded as heresies from the standpoint of a Theravādin. In the present paper we propose to present the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas with its subdivisions as are to be found in Vasumitra's treatise and the *Kathāvattbu*.

The Mahāsaṅghika group

The Mahāsaṅghikas are the earliest to secede from the original school which came later on to be distinguished as the Theravādins (or in Sanskrit Sthaviravādins). The secession happened in the Second Buddhist Council at Vesāli. The cause of the secession is given in the various accounts of the Council as certain differences of opinion in the interpretation of ten Vinaya rules. These differences might have appeared serious to the Vinayists (*Vinayadharas*), but to us they do not appear to be of much consequence. In view of the various doctrinal opinions attributed to them by Vasumitra and corroborated by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvattbu*, it is apparent that the Buddhist monks were already divided into two groups, who may well be described as Westerners and Easterners² long before the Second Council, and the dispute regarding the interpretation of the Vinaya rules was made only an occasion to set a seal to the separation that had already taken place.

The Mahāsaṅghikas again became sub-divided into several sects, of which Vasumitra takes notice of the Ekavyavahārika, Lokottaravāda,³ Kaukkūṭika, Bahuśrutiya, Prajñaptivāda, and the Śaila Schools,³ while the *Kathāvattbu* deals, according to the testimony of Buddhaghosa, with the heresies of the Andhakas or the Śaila Schools,

2 Westerners were the monks of Avanti, Kosambi, etc. while the Easterners were those of Vesāli and its neighbourhood. See *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 2.

3 Caityaśaila, Aparasāila and Uttaraśaila.—Masuda, p. 38. These correspond to Pubbaseliya, Aparaseliya and Uttarāpathaka of the *Kathāvattbu* (henceforth abbreviated as *Kv.*).

including the Uttarāpathakas, Vetulyakas, and Rājagirikas, Siddhatthikas, and Hetuvādas. In the following treatment of ours, the Mahāsaṅghikas include all their sub-sects, as we do not think it worth while to distinguish the doctrines of one sub-sect from those of another.

THE DOCTRINES

1. *Is Buddha human?*

In Vasumitra's treatise the Buddhas are described as *lokottara* (supramundane), and as such he is made of *anāsrava dharmas*⁴ (pure qualities without sleep or dream which are concomitants of *sāsrava dharmas*. Buddhas have unlimited *rūpakāyas* (material bodies), powers (*balas*), length of life (*āyu*), etc.

In the *Kathāvatthu* (XVII. 1 & 2) the above doctrines are attributed to the Vetulyakas, according to whom the Buddha does not live in the world of men neither should he be located anywhere and it is his created form (*abhinimmito jino*) that delivered the religious discourses. The Theravādins account for this heresy by saying that it is due to the literal but wrong interpretation of the passage: *Bhagavā loke jāto loke sambuddho lokam abhibbuyya vibarati anupalitto lokenā ti* (Buddha, born and enlightened in this world, overcame this world and remained untouched by the things of the world—*Sam. Nik.*, iii. 140). This is supplemented by further discussions in the *Kvu.*, (XVIII 1, 2 & XXI. 6) relating to the heresies also attribute to the Vetulyakas, viz., *Na vattabham*,

4 Masuda renders it as "no sāsrava dharmas." The rendering, I would prefer, is "anāsrava dharmas," i.e. Buddhas are embodiment of anāsrava dharmas, viz., silaskandha, samādhisik., prajñāsik., vimuktisik. and vimuktijñānadarśanasik. not of rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra and viññāṇa which are sāsrava dharmas. See my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hinayāna* (henceforth indicated as *Aspects*), p. 108.

“*Buddho Bbagavā manussaloke atthāsī*” *ti* (It should not be said that Buddha lived in the world of men—XVIII. 1); *Sabbā disā Buddhā tiṭṭhantī ti* (Buddhas exist in all corners of the world—XXII. 6) and *Abbinimmitena desito ti* (the discourses are delivered by created forms—XVIII. 2). These show that according to the opponents of the Theravādins the Buddha is omnipresent and as such is beyond the possibility of location in any particular direction or sphere and that all the preaching of Buddhism has been done by the apparitional images of Buddha.

Buddhaghosa with his usual naïvety understood the Vetulyakas as holding the opinion that Buddha remained always in the Tusita heaven, where he was before he came to this world. The discussions in the *Kathāvatthu* as also the terse statements of Vasumitra leave no room for doubt about the fact that the Mahāsaṅghikas (specially their offshoots,—the Vetulyakas and the Lokottaravādins) regarded Buddha as transcendental. Mr. Masuda suggests that the *Sambhogakāya* of Buddha is referred to in the heresies, but the time of emergence of the conception of *sambhogakāya* is still a matter of controversy.⁵ From the discussion in the *Kathāvatthu* (XXI. 5) concerning “*atthi Buddhānaṃ Buddhehi bhīnāṭirekatā ti* (whether Buddhas mutually differ?) it seems that the *Andhakas* (another offshoot of the Mahāsaṅghikas) were still concerned with the *Sambhogakāya* and had not yet arrived at the conception of the *Dharmakāya*. Buddhaghosa says that the *Andhakas* hold that Buddhas differ from one another in some qualities other than attainments like *satipatthāna*, *sammāppadhāna*, etc., the orthodox school

5 Masuda's opinion, however, can be supported by the fact that in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 169) Buddha's *kāya* is equated to *niṣyandakāya* rendered into Chinese by *pao sheng* which is also the rendering of *Sambhogakāya*, see my *Aspects*, pp. 117, 120.

6 *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 168: लोकानुवर्तनो बुद्धा अनुवर्तन्ति लौकिकी ।
प्रज्ञसिमनुवर्तन्ति यथा लोकोत्तरामपि ॥

holding that Buddhas may differ in respect of *sarīra* (body), *āyu* (length of life) and *pabbāva* (radiance) but not in regard to the attainments mentioned above. The discussion in the *Kvu.* (XVIII. 3) that Buddhas can have no *karuṇā* (compassion), an opinion attributed to the *Uttarāpathakas*, tends to show that the conception of *Śūnyatā* or *Dharmakāya* was being evolved among the *Uttarāpathakas*. The opinion that the Buddha's body is made of *anāsava dharma*s also lends support to the above view. In the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 167-8) the conception of *lokottara* Buddha appears thus:—Transcendental (*lokottara*) are the practices of Bhagavān, and so are his *kuśalamūlas*, his eating, drinking and such other daily actions. He follows the ways of the world just as much as he follows the transcendental ways. He makes a show of standing, walking and other *iriyāpathas*, but he never gets tired. He washes his feet or body though there is no dirt to wash; he cleanses his teeth though his mouth smells like a lotus;⁷ he eats though he has no hunger, and so forth. These are all due to his being an embodiment of the effects of good actions.⁸ There is nothing in common between Him and the beings of the world. Everything of the great *ṛṣi* is transcendental including his advent into the world.⁹

If the transcendence of Buddha be admitted, then it follows as a matter of course that his length of life would be unlimited and that he could not be subject to sleep or dream, as he could have no fatigue, and one who is without sleep and ever awake has nothing to do with dream. It is worth noting here that even in the Pāli *suttas* like the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*¹⁰ there are hints to the effect that a

7 Cf. *Kvu.* XVIII. 4: Buddhassa Bhagavato uccārapassāvo ativiya aññe gandhajāte adhigaṇhātīti—opinion of some *Andhakas* and *Uttarāpathakas*.

8 *Mtu.*, I, p. 169: बुद्धानां शुभनिष्यन्दानां एषा लोकानुवर्तना । cf. *Laṅkā*, pp. 28, 34: निष्यन्दबुद्धा ।

9 *Mtu.*, I, p. 159.

10 *Diḅa*, II, p. 103: yassa kassaci cattāro iddhipādā bhāvītā—so ākaṅkhamāno kammaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvaśesaṃ vā.

Buddha, if he wishes, can extend his life-limit up to a *Kalpa* or the end of a *Kalpa* thus revealing that the transcendental conception has taken roots in the minds of the Buddhists at a very early date.

In the *Kathāvatthu*¹¹ the discussion resting with the topic: *Buddhassa Bhagavato vohāro lokuttaro ti* reveals that the Andhakas, to whom the above opinion is ascribed, held that Buddha's actions (*vohāro*) are *lokuttara* and that they are treated as *lokiya* (mundane) and *lokuttaro* (supramundane) according as the object of the action is *lokiya* or *lokuttara*. Mr. Shwe Zan Aung prefers to confine the sense of the word "*vohāro*" to "speech", and we think there is good reason for it.¹² In Vasumitra's treatise an opinion of this nature is attributed to the Mahāsaṅghikas in contrast to the Sarvāstivādins, viz., the *sūtras* (or discourses) preached by the Buddha are all perfect in themselves (*nītārtha*). Buddhas speak of nothing but *dharmā* (doctrines), as such their teaching is concerned only with *paramārthasatya* (*paramatthasacca*), i.e., not with *saṃvṛtisatya* (*sammutisacca*).¹³ The *paramārthasatya* cannot be normally expressed by words. It can be explained only by silence or at the utmost by an exclamation—which idea, I think, is expressed in Vasumitra's treatise by the sentences: "the Buddha can expound all the doctrines with a single utterance and that there is nothing which is not in conformity with the truth in what has been preached by the World-honoured one."¹⁴ In the *Upāyakauśalyaparivarta* of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* it has been shown that for training up deluded beings in his doctrines, Buddha does take recourse to various expedients which are false, i.e., unreal (*saṃvṛti* or *sammuti*), and that through such

11 *Ku.*, II, 10.

12 Cf. *M.V.*, p. 494. व्यवहारमनाश्रित्य परमार्थो न देश्यते ।

13 *Paramārtha-satya* means absolute truth while *saṃvṛti-satya* means the so-called truths as used in every day usage by the people in general. For detailed treatment see my *Aspects*, pp. 216 ff.

14 *Asia Major*, II, p. 19.

teachings the deluded beings can be led to the truth—*paramārtha*. So it follows that all his teachings collected in the *Piṭakas* are merely *samvṛti* or *sammuti* (unreal) and hence they are not his real teachings, which are repeatedly described in Pāli and Sanskrit texts as *pratyāt-mavedanīya* or *paccattam veditabbo viññūhi*¹⁵ (realisable within one's own self only).

According to the Mahāsaṅghikas, Vasumitra says, Buddhas have both *kṣayajñāna* and *anutpādayjñāna* always present in their mind, the Sarvāstivāda holding that all Arhats may have *kṣayajñāna* but a few only have *anutpādayjñāna*;¹⁶ the Theravādins, however, do not make such a distinction.

Among the other attributes of this *lokottara* Buddha, Vasumitra's treatise speaks of his powers (*balas*) as unlimited while the *Mahāvastu*¹⁷ of his five eyes (*cakṣus*)¹⁸ as uncommon (*asādhāraṇa*) and excelling those of *Pratyekabuddhas*, *Arhats* and others. This particular topic—*tathāgatabalaṃ sāvakasādhāraṇam ti* has been taken up for discussion in the *Kathāvattu* (III. 1), but strangely enough the position taken by the compiler of the *Kathāvattu* is not that of a Theravādin but of a Lokottaravādin Mahāsaṅghika as against the Andhakas, *i.e.*, the Śāila schools. In Vasumitra's treatise this topic appears in a slightly different form.

The Theravādins do not regard Buddha as *lokottara* but attribute to him almost all the powers and qualities of a *lokottara* Buddha and this discussion reveals one of such instances. The ten special *balas* (powers) of a Tathāgata appear not only in the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 159-160) but also in old Pāli works like the *Majjhima Nikāya*

15 *Aspects*, p. 198.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 106 fn. 1.

17 By eyes, the text means all the five, *viz.*, *māṃsacakṣu*, *divyac.*, *prajñāc.*, *dharmac.*, and *buddhac.*

18 Masuda, pp. 21, 42.

(a) *Kṣayajñāna* means cognisance of the fact that all the *āsavas* are destroyed.

(b) *Anutpādayjñāna* means cognisance of the fact that one will not be reborn again. Cf. *Kośa*, VI, 67; *Atthasālinī*, p. 54.

(i, pp. 69 ff.).¹⁹ The contention of the Aṅdhakas is that there is a certain degree of difference between the Buddhas and the Arhats regarding the acquisition of the ten *balas*, and as such, Buddhas and Arhats are not on the same level (*asādhāraṇam*). In the *Mahāvastu* and the Pāli works this view is accepted with this reservation that Buddhas are *sarvākārājña*, i.e., they possess a complete and detailed knowledge of everything, while an Arhat can at the utmost have sectional knowledge.²⁰ The Pāli school, i.e., the Thera-

19 The ten *balas* are,

(*Mahāvastu*)

pp. 159-160.

1. स्थानास्थानं वेत्ति
2. सर्वत्रगामिनीं च प्रतिपदं वेत्ति
3. नानाघातुकं लोकं विदन्ति
4. अधिमुक्तिनानात्वं वेत्ति
5. परपुरुषचरितकुशलानि वेत्ति
6. कर्मबलं प्रतिजानन्ति शुभाशुभम् ।
7. क्लेशव्यवदानं वेत्ति
ध्यानसमापत्तिं वेत्ति
8. पूर्वनिवासं वेत्ति
9. परिशुद्धदिव्यनयना भवन्ति
10. सर्वक्लेशविनाशं प्राप्नोन्ति

(*Kathāvattu and Majjhima Nikāya*)

1. *Tḥānāṭbānaṃ jānāti*
2. *Sabbatthagāminipatipadam jānāti.*
3. *Anekadhātum nānādhātum lokam jānāti.*
4. *Sattānaṃ nānādhimuttikataṃ jānāti.*
5. *Parasattānaṃ parapuggalānaṃ indriya-paropariyattaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti.*
6. *Atitānāgatāpaccuppannānaṃ hetuso vipākaṃ jānāti.*
7. *jhānavimokkhasamādhisamāpattinaṃ saṅkilesaṃ vodānaṃ voṭṭhānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti.*
8. *anekavibhitaṃ pubbenivāsaṃ anussarati.*
9. *dibbena cakkhunā satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne etc.*
10. *āsavaṇaṃ khaḃyā anāsavaṇaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abbiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati.*

20 Cf. *Kvu. Cy.*, p. 62: *Tḥānāṭhānādini hi sāvakā padesena jānanti; Tathāgatā nippadesena iṭi. Tāni uddesato sādāhāraṇāni; niddesato asādāhāraṇāni—niddesato sabbākāraṇisayatam samdhāya paṭikkhipati.* Cf. *Mtu.*, I, p. 158:

बोधिमूलमुपगम्य चाप्राप्तायां सर्वाकारज्ञतायां पंचचक्षुः समन्वागता भवन्ति । Cf. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, ch. I.

vādins hold that as far as *vimutti* is concerned there is no difference between a Buddha and an Arhat, and that Buddhas are superior to the Arhats only on account of the fact that the former are promulgators of a new law while the Arhats are only followers of the same.²¹

II. *Are Bodhisattvas average beings?*

If, according to the Mahāsaṅghikas, Buddhas are *lokottara*, and if the Buddhas we *puthujjanas* know of, are only created forms of the real Buddha, the Bodhisattvas also cannot be average human beings—they must also be supramundane. In Vasumitra's treatise the following account of the Bodhisattvas is given: The Bodhisattvas do not pass through the embryonic stages. They assume the form of white elephants when they enter their mothers' wombs and come out of the same by the right side. The above opinion is the natural outcome of the legendary belief that came to be woven round the person of the great man about a century after his actual existence. In the *Lalitavistara*,²² the Bodhisattva is placed not only in a crystal casket put within the womb but while in that state he is said to be preaching his *dharmā* to the heavenly beings that flocked around him. The stories of the white elephant seen by Māyā in a dream at the time of her conception and the birth of the Bodhisattva by bursting through the right side of the mother's womb are too well-known to need any comment. The incorporation of these legends in the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas shows that the Bodhisattva conception of the Mahāyānists was yet in the course of development.

The only doctrine that can be described as Mahāyānic is that Bodhisattvas take birth out of their own free will in any form of existence for imparting Buddhist dharmas to the sentient beings of

²¹ This argument is adduced in the *Kvu*. See also *Sam. Nik.*, III, p. 66.

²² *Lalitavistara*, ch. VI, p. 73 (of A.S.B. edition).

that particular form of existence²³—an idea well illustrated in the *Jātakas*, and developed in the later Mahāyāna works like the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. This topic has been taken up for discussion in the *Kathāvatthu* (XXIII. 3): *Bodhisatto issariyakāmakārikabetu vinipātaṃ gacchatī ti*—but the arguments put forward completely ignore the standpoint of the Mahāsaṅghikas and attempt to show the untenability of the opponent's proposition by treating the Bodhisattva as nothing but an average human adept toiling along the path towards the attainment of *bodhi*.

In the *niyāmokkantikathā* (*Kvu.*, IV. 8, XII. 5, 6 XIII. 4) the same attitude is taken by the Theravādins. By *niyāma*, the Theravādins understand *sammattaniyamo* and *micchattaniyamo*, the former being the practice of *brahmacariya* (purity in conduct) and *ariyamagga* (path of sanctification) including, for the Bodhisattvas, the fulfilment of *pāramis*, leading to *nibbāna* (i.e., *samyaktva* or *sammatta*), and the latter the commission of heinous crimes (*anantariyakamma*) leading to hell (i.e., *mithyātva* or *micchatta*), all other practices being looked upon as *aniyata* (un-predestined).²⁴ In the sense as expressed above any Śrāvaka can be a *sammattaniyāmo* and he need not be a *bodhisattva*. The Theravādins do not recognise the *bodhisattvas* as superior in attainments to the Śrāvakas, and in the matter of *brahmacariya* and practice of *ariyamagga* they do not want to make any distinction between a Śrāvaka and a *Bodhisattva*.

In the *Laṅkāvatāra* and Asaṅga's *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and such other Mahāyāna works however it is repeatedly stated that a person by the development of *bodhicitta* becomes a *niyata* *Bodhisattva*, i.e., through the fulfilment of *pāramis* and practice of the various forms of asceticism he is to become ultimately a Buddha. Siddhārtha

²³ Masuda, p. 21.

²⁴ *Kvu.*, pp. 78, 143: *Ime dve niyame tthapetvā añño niyamo nāma natthi.*

Gautama, in one of his previous births as the Jotipāla-māṇava, did, as a matter of fact, develop bodhicitta at the time of Kassapa Buddha and then through several births, he fulfilled the pāramis and took recourse to all possible *sādhana*s, whether Buddhistic or non-Buddhistic and ultimately attained perfection. He even became disciples of Āḷāra Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputta whose doctrines are treated as heresies in the *Brahmajāla* and other *suttas*. In the Mahāyāna texts emphasis is laid more on bodhicitta than on brahmachariya and ariyamagga. In the *Kathāvatthu* discussion, the Mahāyānic sense of *niyata* is ignored and the Theravāda sense of *sammattaniyāma* is kept in view. In the *Kathāvatthu* (XIII. 4) it is argued that to speak of a *niyata śrāvaka* or *bodhisattva* to have become a *sammatta*²⁵ carries no sense. The difference of opinion really rests on the interpretation given to the word *niyata* in Mahāyāna texts as against that given by the *Kathāvatthu* writer and commentator. In spite of the above interpretation of *niyāma* and attitude of the Theravādins they contend that Gautama Buddha in his bodhisattva existence did not become a disciple (śrāvaka) of Kassapa Buddha. In support of their contention they cited the passage: *na me ācariyo atthi, sadiso me na vijjati* etc. The Andhakas, strangely enough, took the opposite view and asserted that he did become a śrāvaka of Kassapa Buddha and cited the passage from the *Majjhima Nikāya* (ii, p. 54): *Kassapo, abhaṃ Ānanda bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ acarim sambodhāyāti* etc.²⁶

According to the Theravādins, the Bodhisattvas as a class of beings as envisaged in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and *Laṅkāvatāra* do not exist. The individual, who happens to become the Buddha, is called a bodhisattva in his previous existence just to distinguish him as a being superior to an average one, but by calling him a bodhisattva

²⁵ *Na niyatassa niyamokkamaṇaṃ tasmā asādhakaṃ ti. Ibid.*

²⁶ *Evu., p. 288.*

the Theravādins do not attribute to him any special virtues unattainable by a śrāvaka. The Mahāsaṅghikas or the Andhakas do not subscribe to the above view. According to them an individual from the moment he develops *bodhicitta* becomes a *bodhisatta* and is destined (*niyata*) to become a Buddha and follows a career which is quite different from that of a *Śrāvaka*. The career of the former is marked more by love and compassion for the suffering beings than by path-culture while that of the latter has more of path-culture and *sādhana* than exercise of *mettā* and *karuṇā*.

III. *Are Arhats fully emancipated?*

According to Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinīta-deva, the secession of the Mahāsaṅghikas from the Theravādins was due to the five points of Mahādeva. These five points relate to the qualities attainable by an Arhat. According to the Theravādins only one who is fully emancipated is called an Arhat,—he is *anupatto sadattho vītarāgo vītaloso vītamoho khīṇāsavo ohitabhāro katakaraṇīyo nāparam itthattāyā ti* (in possession of the excellent goal free from attachment, hatred and delusion, in short, all impurities, relieved of burden of khandhas, accomplished in all that is to be done and devoid of any further existence). He has further acquired the clear vision about the origin and destruction of things, got rid of all doubts (*kaṅkhā*) about the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, non-existence of soul and the theory of causation, seen things for himself without the help of others (*na paravitāraṇā*)²⁷ and attained *bodhi* which however is *catumaggañāna*²⁸ and not *sabbaññutañāna*—the *bodhi* of the Buddhas.²⁹ The Theravādins do not admit the failings which are attributed to the Arhats by the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Bahuśrutīyas,

27 See *infra*.

28 The *catumaggas* are *sotāpatti*, *sakadāgāmi*, *anāgāmi* and *arhatta*.

29 See *Kvu. A.*, p. 76.

the Śāila schools and the Haimavatas. The failings are thus enumerated in Vasumitra's treatise:

- (1) Arhats can be tempted by others;
- (2) They have still ignorance;
- (3) They have still doubt;
- (4) They gain knowledge through others' (help).³⁰

In the *Kathāvattbu* (II, 1-5) all the above statements are taken up for discussion and appear thus:

- (i) *Atthi arabato rāgo?* (II. 1).³¹
- (ii) *Atthi arabato aññāṇan*³² *ti?* (II. 2).
- (iii) *Atthi arabato kaṅkḁā ti?* (II. 3)
- (iv) *Atthi arabato paravitāraṇā ti?* (II. 4).³³

The Theravādins emphatically deny that an Arhat who is free from attachment *vītarāgo* can be subject to temptation. The opponents, as shown in the *Kvu.*, draw subtle distinction between a *Sadhammakusala-arhat* and a *Paradhammakusala-arhat*, the former, according to the commentator is a *Paññāvimutto* and the latter an *Ubbatobbhāgavimutto*, and that the knowledge of the former is confined to his own personal attainments while that of the latter is extended to other's attainments besides his own. In the Pāli texts the *Ubbatobbhāgavimutto* is not regarded as superior to the *Paññāvimutto*, the only distinction made between the two is that the former has *samathābbhinivesa* and realisation of eight vimokkhas

30 Masuda, pp. 24, 36, 38, 53; cf. *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 413-423. For the 5th point see *infra*.

31 In the text the wording is "atthi arabato asucisukkavisatṭhi?" It perhaps refers to an instance of the Māra gods having removed *asucisukka* of an arhat. The commentator remarks that the impostors passing as arhats may have *asucisukkavisatṭhi* and upon that the contention of the Śāila schools is based. The Theravādins take their stand upon the fact that an arhat cannot have *rāga* and hence they cannot commit *asucisukkavisatṭhi*?

32 *Aññāṇan* is not the same as *avijjā*.

33 For the discussion "Parihāyati arahā arahattā ti" (I. 2), see *infra*.

while the latter has *vipassanābhiniवेश* and realisation of only four *jhānas*³⁴ but as far as the question of *rāga* or *āsava*s is concerned both the classes of Arhats must be regarded as completely free from them, hence the subtle distinction drawn by the opponents is of no avail according to the Theravādins.

The next two points, viz., that an arhat may have ignorance (i.e. *aññāṇa* and not *avijjā*) and doubt (*kaṅkḥā* or *vimati*) are also vehemently opposed by the Theravādins on the ground that one cannot be an arhat unless he gets rid of *avijjā* and *vicikicchā* and develops perfect vision free from impurities (*virajam vītamalam dhammacakkhum*) after having dispersed all his doubts (*kaṅkḥā vapayanti sabbā*).

The opponents, as presented in the *Kvu.*, in this case also draw a distinction between a Sadhammakusala-arhat and a Paṛadhammakusala-arhat, saying that both the classes of arhats may not have *avijjā* in regard to the truths, the theory of causation, etc. or *vicikicchā* about Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha or absence of soul, but the former may have *aññāṇa* and *kaṅkḥā*, say, as regards the name and family of an unknown man or woman or a tree. It should be noted here the opponents do not mean *sabbaññutaññāṇa* (omniscience) but just *paradhammaññāṇa*—an intellectual power attained by the Ubhatobhāgavimutta-arhats, by which they can know many things outside himself. Arguing in this way the opponents maintain that a section of the arhats, i.e., the Paññāvimuttas or Sadhammakusala-arhats have ignorance (*aññāṇa*) relating to things or qualities other than those belonging to himself.

The same arguments and counter-arguments are applied in the next discussion relating to *atthi arabato paravitāraṇā?* The word *paravitāraṇā* perplexed our translator Mr. Shwe Zan Aung.³⁵ The

34 See my *Aspects*, pp. 250, 276; See *Majjhima*, I, p. 477 and *Manorathapūraṇi*, III, p. 188; *Puggala-paññatti*.

35 "Excelled by others." See *Points of the Controversy*, p. 119. Buddhaghosa

discussion in the *Kvu.* reveals that the word means that an arhat develops faith in the Triratna or acquires knowledge of the truths, etc. not by himself but through the instruction of his preceptor³⁶ in whom he had firm faith. The Theravādins oppose the contention of the opponents, saying that an arhat is *vitamoba* and is possessed of *dharmacakkhu* and so he does not require *paravitāraṇā*. The opponents as before contend that a sa-dhammakusala-arhat requires *paravitāraṇā* while a para-dhammakusala-arhat does not.

Another statement of Vasumitra relating to the Arhats, namely, "one who is *kṛtakṛtyaḥ* (= Pāli: *katakarāṇīyo*) does not take any dharma to himself i.e. has no attachment for worldly things" is echoed, I think, in the *Kvu.* (XVII. 1 & XXII. 2) in these terms: *atthi arabato puññopacayo ti?* and *arabā kusalacitto parinibbāyati ti.* The Theravādins agreeing with the Mahāsaṅghikas contend that the citta of Arhats goes beyond *pāpa* and *puṇya*, *kusala* and *akusala*, *kriyā* and *vipāka*, hence, to speak of them as acquiring merits or demerits is absurd. The opponents, the Andhakas, however, contend that the Arhats perform many good deeds, e.g., making gifts, worshipping caityas and so forth, and remain always self-possessed (*sato sampajāno*) even at the time of his parinibbāna, and so he does collect merits and passes away with *kusalacitta*.

Neither the above discussions in the *Kaibāvattbu* nor the terse statements of Vasumitra help us much in finding out the real difference between the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Theravādins about the position of an Arhat. The Mahāyāna works³⁸ point out the distinction thus: Arhats, who are perfect Śrāvakas, get rid of only *kleśāvaraṇa*, i.e., the veil of impurities consisting of *rāga*, *dosa*,

writes: *yasmā yesaṃ tāni vatthuni pare vitaraṇti pakāsentī ācikkhanti tasmā tesam atthi paravitāraṇā ti.*

³⁶ Cf. Masuda, p. 24: "gain spiritual perception by the help of others (lit. enlightenment through the other)."

³⁷ In Sanskrit *Pratyātmavedāniya*.

³⁸ See *Aspects*, p.

moha, silabbataparāmāsa, and vicikicchā but not of *jñeyāvaraṇa*, i.e., the veil which conceals the truth—the veil which can only be removed by realising the Dharma-sūnyatā or Tathatā.³⁹ It is the Buddha alone who is perfectly emancipated having both *kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa* removed. That the Mahāsaṅghikas appear to be groping to get at this clear distinction will be evident from two other topics discussed in the *Kvu.* but not referred to in Vasumitra's treatise. The topics are,—*atthi kiñci saññojanam appahāya parinibbānan ti?* (XXII. 1) or *arabhattappattiti?* (XXI. 3). To these the Mahāsaṅghikas replied in the affirmative, saying that an arhat is *nikkilesa* (free from impurities) and does attain parinibbāna or arhatta but as he is not cognizant of all that is *Buddhavisaya* (domain of Buddha's knowledge), it must be admitted that some saññojanas are left in him, which, evidently point to the *jñeyāvaraṇa*.⁴⁰

39 For details, see *Aspects*, pp. 35 ff.

40 There are a few subsidiary discussions in the *Katbhāvattbu* relating to Arhats. These are given below briefly:—

- VI. 1. Householders cannot become Arhats—*Theravādins*.
But householders like Yasa, Uttiyo, Setu became Arhats—*Uttarāpathakas*.
- IV. 2. No one is born as Arhats—*Therav*.
But there are Upahacca (uppajja)-parinibbāyī Arhats—*Uttarāp*.
- IV. 3. All dharmas of Arhats are not anāsava, e.g. their physical body etc.—*Therav*.
But Arhats are anāsavā (free from āsavas)—*Uttarāp*.
- IV. 4. In the Arhat stage, only arhattaphala is acquired—*Therav*.
But all the phalas are possessed by the Arhats—*Uttarāp*.
- IV. 5. An Arhat is chaḷupckkho—*Therav*.
Rather Arahā chahi upekkhāhi samannāgato—*Uttarāp*.
- IV. 10. All saññojanas are gradually destroyed and not by Arhattamagga alone—*Therav*.
But by the destruction of all saññojanas one becomes an Arhat—*Andhakas*.
- XVII. 2. Arhats may have untimely death as arahatghātaka is mentioned in *Buddhivacanas*—*Therav*.

IV. *Can there be retrogression of Arhats, Srotaāpannas and other Phalasthas?*

The following views regarding the possibility of retrogression of Arhats, Srotaāpannas and other phalasthas are attributed in Vasumitra's treatise⁴¹ to the Mahāsaṅghikas and some of their sub-sects:

- (i) From the gotrabhūmidharma there is in all stages the possibility of retrogression.
- (ii) A Srotaāpanna has a chance of retrogression while an Arhat has not.

The above two views are discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* under the topic: *Paribhāyati arabhā arabhattā ti?* (I. 2).

It will be observed that the *Kvu.* differs from Vasumitra in regard to the opinion of the Mahāsaṅghikas about the retrogression of Arhats and Srotaāpannas. According to the Mahāsaṅghikas, the *Kvu.* says, an Arhat has retrogression while a Srotaāpanna has not, while Vasumitra takes a contrary view, as above (ii). Vasumitra says that the former opinion is held by the Sarvāstivādins and other schools. Buddhaghosa⁴² points out that this opinion is held by one section of the Mahāsaṅghikas and not all, and so Vasumitra may have in view the views "of that section, according to whom the Arhats may retrogress but the Srotaāpannas do not." The Theravādins admit *paṭtaparibhāni* (loss of what is attained) of those adepts who have

But as one cannot become an Arhat before the karmic effects are exhausted, an Arhat cannot have untimely death—*Rājagirikas* and *Siddhattikas*.

XXII. 3. Arhats do not die when in imperturbable meditation but devoid of *kriyācitta*—*Therav.*

But did not Gautama Buddha pass away immediately after arising from the 4th jhāna—*Uttarāp.*

It should be noted that most of the differences of opinion quoted above are more technical than actual and that may be a reason for Vasumitra's passing over them.

⁴¹ Masuda, p. 27.

⁴² *Kvu. A.*, p. 35: Sammitiyā Vajjiputtīyā Sabbatthivādīno ekacce ca Mahāsaṅghikā arahato paribhāni icchati.

attained only *lokiyasamāpatti* and not *arabattādisāmaññaphala* while the opponents speak of retrogression of the latter also, but confine it only to those arhats who are *samayavimuttas*. The basis of this contention of the opponents is a passage of the *Āṅg. Nik.* (iii. 173), in which Buddha says that five *ārāmatā* (indulgences) viz., in *kamma* (deed), *bhassa* (desultory talks), *niddā* (sleep) and *saṅganikā* (frequenting societies) lead to the fall of a *samayavimutta-bhikkhu*.⁴³ Buddha-ghosa infers from the discussion that the opponents assert that the arhats retrogress up to the *Sotāpattiphala* but no further and that the retrogression happens only in *Kāma*bhava and not in *Rūpārūpabhava*, and that also is confined only to the *mudindriya* or *samayavimutta* arhats.

The *Kathāvatthu* refers to another cause for the fall of an arhat, viz., (i) *kammābetu arabā arabattā paribhāyati* (an opinion of the *Pubbaseliyas* and *Sammitiyas*). It means that the fall of an Arhat is sometimes due to deeds of his previous lives, e.g., of having calumniated an arhat. Perhaps this controversy refers to some stories of the life of an Arhat. It also warns the opponents particularly the *Pubba* and *Apara-seliyas* and *Uttarāpathakas* about impostors passing as an Arhat and committing *abrahmacariya* offences (vide *Kvu.*, II. 1 & XXIII. 2).

All the schools advocating the view that arhats retrogress hold, as stated in the *Kvu.*, that the *Sotāpannas* have no retrogression. This, however, contradicts the statement of *Vasumitra*.⁴⁴ All these schools accept that a *sotāpanno* is *niyatō sambodhiparāyaṇo* and hence is not subject to retrogression, but a *sakadāgāmi* or an *anāgāmi* may retrogress but not further than the *sotāpanna* stage, for some of adepts in these stages may have *anusaya* which may develop into

43 I.e. a *mudindriya* arhat. According to the Theravādins: *avasippatto jhānalābhī samayavimutto*. *Vasippatto jhānalābhī c'eva sabbe ca ariyapuggalā ariyevimokkhe asamayavimutto ti sammitthānaṃ*. *Kvu. A.*, p. 38.

44 See *Masuda*, II, p. 27.

pariyuṭṭhāna and thus bring about the fall—an argument which will be discussed next in connection with the Aṭṭhamakas. In regard to these two stages the *Kvu.* corroborates Vasumitra's statement (no. ii).

Regarding the *srotaāpannaṣ*, Vasumitra further states that

- (1) they are capable of knowing their own nature (*svabhāva*) through their *citta* and *caitasika* dharmas;
- (2) they can also attain the *dhyāna*;
- (3) they are liable to commit all sorts of offences except the five *anantarīyas* (i.e. matricide, patricide etc.).

In the *Kvu.* we do not come across any controversy relating to the first two topics. This silence may be interpreted as that the Theravādins accepted the two views. As regards the third topic, we may take into consideration the controversy: "*Ditṭhisampanno puggalo sañcicca pāṇam jīvitaṃ voropeyyā ti?*" (see *infra*). A *sotāpanna* is a person with right view (*ditṭhisampanno*), hence, according to the Theravādins, he cannot commit killing (*pāṇātipāta*) or such other offences, not to speak of the five extreme offences like matricide or patricide. Vasumitra perhaps speaks of the opinion of that section of the Mahāsaṅghikas¹⁵ who contemplate the retrogression of the *sotāpannas* while the *Kvu.* refers very likely to the opinion of the other section, according to whom the *sotāpannas* do not retrogress.

There are in Vasumitra's treatise two other statements, which also relate to the *Srotaāpannas*. They are,—

- (i) When one enters into the *samyakatva-niyama*, one may be said to destroy all *samyojanas*.¹⁶
- (ii) None of the *dharmāyatanas*¹⁷ can be known or understood: they can be attained (only by those Aryan *pudgaṅas* above the *darśanamārga*).

45 They are the *Andhakas*.

46 The three *samyojanas* are *silabbataparāmāsa*, *vicikicchā*, *micchādiṭṭhi*.

47 The *Dharmāyatanas* are *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, and *samskāra*—See *Abhi. Kośa*,

The *Kvu.* contributes no discussion on the above two points. The Theravādins also cannot but subscribe to these views.

V (a). *Do the Aṭṭhamakas have anusaya and pariyutṭhāna?*

Relating to the Aṭṭhamakas, Vasumitra says that according to the Mahāsaṅghikas—

(i) "In the eighth stage (aṣṭamaka-bhūmi) one can remain for a long time."

In the *Kvu.* (III. 5) the identical problem is discussed in these words:

(i) *Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa ditṭhipariyutṭhānaṃ pabīnaṃ ti?*

Mr. Masuda's comment on the first view seems to be wide of the mark if not peurile, though he quotes *Shu-chi* as his authority. The discussion in the *Kathāvatthu* clears up the view thus. According to the Andhakas, an adept who is in the eighth stage i.e., sotāpatti-maggaṭṭha and not yet sotāpanna gets rid of ditṭhipariyutṭhāna, silabbata-p. and vicikicchā-p. but not ditṭhi-anusayo, silabbata-a., and vicikicchā-a.,⁴⁸ i.e., the anusayas may become active (uppajjissati) if they receive an impulse. The Andhakas by drawing this distinction between pariyutṭhāna and anusaya hold that an aṭṭhamaka may not get rid of the three *anusayas* and consequently remain away from the sotāpanna stage for a long time.⁴⁹

The *Kathāvatthu* also discusses the following two allied views attributed to the Pubbaseliyas and the Uttarāpathakas:

(i) *Ditṭhisampanno puggalo sañcicca pānaṃ jīvitā voro-peyyā ti? XII. 7* (Pubbaseliyas).

(ii) *Ditṭhisampannassa puggalassa pabīnā duggatī ti? XII. 8* (Uttarāpathakas).

⁴⁸ *Anusaya* means that which lies in the mind in a latent state with the possibility of its coming into appearance if it receives an effective impulse, while *pariyutṭhāna* means its actual appearance in the mind without however a corresponding response in the outer world.

⁴⁹ Aṭṭhamakas puggalas have saddhā but not saddhīndriya—Andhaka.

By the first view the Pubbasēliyas mean that a person by having *sammādiṭṭhi* does not get rid of *dosa* (hatred), hence he can commit the sin of killing—a view wholly rejected by the Theravādins. By the second view the Uttarāpathakas assert that a person with *sammādiṭṭhi* cannot be reborn in a lower form of existence; the Theravādins point out that it may be so, but he may have *tanhā* (desire) for objects and beings belonging to the lower forms of existences.

V (b). *Are anuśaya and paryavasthāna associated with mind or not?*

There are in Vasumitra two statements relating to *anuśaya* and *paryavasthāna*, which will clear up the above problem further.—

(i) “*Anuśayaś* (dormant passions or latent bias) are neither *citta* nor *caitasika dharmas*: and again they never become the object of thought (*anālambana*).”

(ii) “*Anuśaya* is different from *paryavasthāna* (pervading passion) and *paryavasthāna* is different from *anuśaya*. It must be said that the *anuśaya* does not combine (*samprayujj*) with the *citta* whereas the *paryavasthāna* does.”

Relating to the above topics, the *Kvu.* has,

(i) *Anusayā anārammaṇā ti?* (IX. 4)

(ii) *Anusayā avyākatā ti* (XI. 1)

(iii) *Añño kāmarāgānusayo aññaṃ kāmarāgapariyutṭhānan ti?*
(XIV. 5)

(iv) *Pariyutṭhānaṃ cittavippayuttan ti?* (XIV. 6)

Mr. Masuda offers the following interpretation from the '*Shu-chi*: The *anuśayas* are really *bījas* (germs inborn in the mind) of *rāga* and other passions. They remain dormant unless excited by the corresponding impulse. They remain always in the mind, even in *kusalacitta*, so they are dissociated from the mind and do not require any object (*ālambana*) for support. When the *anuśaya* is excited by a suitable impulse, it becomes *paryavasthāna* (*pari-*

yuṭṭhāna) and as such becomes a mental function (caitasika), and then only it becomes an impurity and clogs the way to spiritual progress. The interpretation given above is corroborated by the *Kvu. A.*⁵⁰ The Theravādins however do not distinguish between kāmarāgānusaya and kāmarāgapariyuṭṭhāna and maintain that as the anusayas are included in the Saṃkhārakkhandha, they are all sārammaṇa. But according to the Andhakas some saṃkhāras are sārammaṇa (with basis) and some are anārammaṇa (without basis),⁵¹ but not so are the remaining four khandhas. The Andhakas further maintain that as a puthujjana having kusālvvyākata-citta is sometimes described as “sānusayo ti” when their anusayas are without any ārammaṇa, it must be admitted that anusayas may be anārammaṇā.

From the above discussion it is apparent that the anusayas, according to the Andhakas, are avyākata⁵² i.e. neither good nor bad, and consequently they are citta-vippayutta, and also causeless (ahetuka). The Andhakas in the third discussion assert that anusayas are different from pariyuṭṭhānas, but in the fourth the *Kvu.* makes the Andhakas contend that pariyuṭṭhānas are also citta-vippayuttas, which, however, appear to be contradictory. Vasumitra says that the pariyuṭṭhānas according to the Mahāsaṅghikas are cittasampayuttas, so we must dismiss the statement of the *Kvu.* as unwarranted.

“The world in its variety originates out of actions (*karma*) which accumulate on account of *anusayas*. In the absence of *anusayas*, karma is not capable of producing a new existence (*punarbhava*). Consequently the root of *bhava* or rebirth is *karma*, in other words,

⁵⁰ *Kvu. A.*, p. 117: Tattha yesaṃ anusayā nāma cittavippayuttā ahētukā avyākata ten' eva anārammaṇā 'ti laddhi seyyathā pi Andhakānañ c' eva ekaccānañ ca Uttarāpathakānaṃ.

⁵¹ *Kvu.*, p. 407: Saṃkhārakkhandho ekadeso sārammaṇo, ekadeso anārammaṇo.

⁵² The Andhakas, it seems, looked upon the anusayas as vipākacitta and treated the same as avyākata cf. *Dhammasaṅgani*.

anuśaya.” With these words Vasubandhu opens the fifth book of *Kośa*. (See *Kośa*, V, p. 1).

The Sarvāstivādins like the Theravādins regard *anuśaya*, *pariyavasthāna* and *kleśa* as same, the only distinction being that *anuśaya* is the subtle, while *pariyavasthāna* the manifest, state of *rāga*, etc.

The *Kośa* too deals with the problem under discussion, *viz.*, whether or not *anuśaya* (e.g. *kāmarāgānusaya*) is a dharma by itself dissociated from mind, the *prāpti* of *kāmarāga*, etc.? The answer of the Sarvāstivādins is in the negative as that of the Theravādins. The former quote as their authority the *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra*, in which *anuśaya* is shown to be associated with mind (*cittasamprayukta*). They assert that *anuśayas* are *kleśas*, and hence they cannot but be *citta-samprayuktas*.

In this connection the *Kośa* refers to the opinion of the Sautrāntikas, who hold that *anuśaya* is different from *kleśa* inasmuch as it is neither associated with, nor dissociated from, mind because it is not a *dravya* apart; it is a *śakti* left in certain individuals by the previously existing *kleśas* and has the power of reproducing further *kleśas*. According to the Sautrāntikas, *kleśa* when non-manifest is *anuśaya* and when manifest, an act, it is *pariyavasthāna* (*Kośa*, V, p. 7).⁵³

VI. Can the Aṭṭhamakas have Saddhindriya?

Vasumitra does not mention this view among the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas but it is stated in the *Kvu.* that according to the Andhakas, *aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa natthi saddhindriyan ti* (III. 6), i.e., the aṭṭhamakas may develop *saddhā*, *viriya*, etc. but do not acquire *saddhindriya*, *viriyindriya* etc., a distinction which the Theravādins are not prepared to admit. The Andhakas mean that *saddhindriya* or *viriyindriya*, etc. is a faculty forming a part of

⁵³ For exhaustive treatment of *Anuśayas*, see La Vallée Poussin's *Abhidharmakośa*, V.

the mind while saddhā or viriya etc. is only a passing phase of the mind.

VII. *Is there worldly samyagdr̥ṣṭi and samyak-śraddhendriya?*

Along with the above we may discuss the allied topic worded thus in Vasumitra's treatise,—

(i) There is neither laukikasamyagdr̥ṣṭi (worldly right view) nor laukikaśraddhendriya (worldly faculty of faith).

The corresponding passages of the *Kvu.* are,—

(i) *Natthi puthujjanassa ñāṇan ti?* (XX, 2);⁵⁴ and

(ii) *Natthi lokiyam saddhindriyan ti?* (XIX. 8).⁵⁵

The argument of the Theravādins is that a layman may have paññā and saddhā of a kind which may be different from those of an adept, but paññā and saddhā that he possesses do develop into paññindriya and saddhindriya. It may be that the layman's paññā or ñāṇam is confined to dāna, sīla, cāga, etc., i.e. lokiya affairs and does not extend to the comprehension of lokuttara subjects like truths, maggas and phalas, hence according to the Theravādins there may be lokiya paññindriya and saddhindriya.

VII. (a) *Is utterance of dukkha possible in meditation; and*

(b) *Does it help perception of the truths?*

The two statements of Vasumitra (i) "The path is realized by utterances" and (ii) "Even in the state of samāhita one can utter words" to which corresponds "*samāpannassa atthi vacibhedo ti*" of the *Kathāvatthu* are explained by Buddhaghosa thus: According to the Śāila schools an adept while in the first jhāna (meditation) and on the point of attainment of the Sotāpattimagga in some cases gives out an exclamation like "aho dukkhan ti."⁵⁶ This, the

54 Attributed to the Hetuvādās only.

55 Attributed in the Cy. to the Hetuvādās and Mahiśāsakas and they mean all the five indriyas, saddhā, viriya, satī, samādhi and paññā.

56 Cf. *Yasapabbajjā*: Upaddutaṃ vo upassatthaṃ vo.

adherents of the Śāila schools account for by saying that in the first jhāna, there is *vitakkavicāra*, and because of *vitakkavicāra* there is *vacisaṃkhārā*⁵⁷ i.e., discussion and discriminating thoughts cause vocal activity, hence there is the possibility of a meditator in the first jhāna uttering the word 'dukkha'. The Theravādins contend that as all physical activities of a meditator are set at complete rest, his giving out an exclamation is an impossibility.⁵⁸

Along with the above we should take into consideration the other three doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas presented thus in Vasu-
mitra's treatise,—

- (i) The words of suffering can help (the process of realization of the path);
- (ii) Suffering leads a man to the path;
- (iii) Suffering also is (a kind of) food (āhāra); and
- (iv) Through prajñā suffering is destroyed and final beatitude is obtained.

The corresponding expressions in the *Kathāvatthu* are as follows:—

(i) "Idaṃ dukkhan ti" vācam bhāsato "idaṃ dukkhan ti" nānaṃ pavattatī ti? (XI. 4).

(ii) *Dukkabhāro maggaṅgaṃ maggaparīyāpannan ti?* (II. 6).

Both these statements repeat in a slightly different form what has been stated by Vasu-
mitra. The Andhakas and the Śāilas hold that when a meditator realises within his innermost heart that the world is full of suffering and is not worth living, an exclamation like

57 Cf. *Kvu.*, IX, 9: Opinion of the Pubbaseliyas: Sabbaso vitakkayato vicārayato vitakkavipphāro saddo ti? The Cy. on it is: Yasmā vitakkavicārā vacisaṃkhārā 'ti vuttā tasmā sabbaso vitakkayato vicārayato antamaso manodhātup-pavattikale pi vitakkavipphāro saddo yevā ti. Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 301.

58 Cf. *Kvu.*, XVIII, 8: Samāpanno saddaṃ suṇāti ti. As it has been said by Buddha that sound is a hindrance to the first jhāna and that one rises from the first jhāna by an external sound, the Pubbaseliyas inferred therefrom that one in meditation hears sound. Cf. the instance of Mahāmogallāna in the *MPS*.

“aho vata dukkham”⁵⁹ spurts out of his mouth and then and there his insight (ñāṇa) penetrates into the first truth “idaṃ dukkhan ti”, and as a result, he attains (*pariyāpuṇāti*) the Sotāpattimagga. So “dukkha” may be called an “āhāra” in respect of the realisation of the path as also an “aṅga” (limb) of the Sotāpattimagga.

The fourth doctrine mentioned above is, as Mr. Masuda explains, that *dukkha* can be removed not by means of the observance of moral precepts (śīlas) and practice of meditation (samādhi) but by the knowledge of the truth, causal law, and *anatta* of the things of the world. It is the basic teaching of Theravāda, hence no reference is made to it in the *Kvu*.

VIII. *Do Indriyas (organs of sense) perceive?*

The following opinions are attributed by Vasumitra to the Mahāsaṅghikas:

- (i) “Beings of the Rūpa and Arūpadhātu possess all the six sense-perceptions (ṣaḍvijñānas);⁶⁰
- (ii) The five vijñānas conduce both to attachment (*sarāga*) and freedom from attachment (*virāga*); and
- (iii) The rūpendriyas (organs of sense) are nothing but lumps of flesh: the eyes do not see colours, the ears do not hear sounds, the nose does not smell odours, the tongue does not taste flavour, and the body does not feel touch.”

The *Kvu*. deals with these topics thus:

- (i) *Salāyataniko attabhāvo rūpadhātuyā ti?* (VIII. 7)
- (ii) *Pañcaviññānasamaṅgissa atthi maggabbhāvanū ti?* (X. 3).
- (iii) *Pañcaviññānā. kusalā pi akusalā pi ti?* (X. 4).
- (iv) *Pañc’ evāyatanā kāmā ti?* (VIII. 4).
- (v) *Cakkhunā rūpaṃ passatī ti? ...pe...kayena phoṭṭhabbam phusatī ti?* (XVIII. 9).

59 See fn. 1 above.

60 Or ṣaḍvijñānakāya or the group of six sense-perceptions.

In the discussion relating to the six āyatanas (spheres of the organs of sense), the *Kvu.* shows that the Mahāsaṅghikas took literally the expression: *rūpī manomayo sabbāṅgapaccāṅgī abhinindriyoti* and assert that there are in the rūpadhātu all the six indriyas and āyatanas with this difference from the Kāmadhātu, that out of the six āyatanas, three, viz., ghāna, rasa and phoṭṭhabba do not exist but their *nimittas* or the subtlest forms exist.⁶¹ In the Abhidhamma texts it is stated that the denizens of the Rūpadhātu have five khandhas and six (and not twelve) āyatanas while those in the Arūpadhātu have four khandhas and two āyatanas (manāyatana and dhammāyatana only).⁶²

As regards the second point, the Mahāsaṅghikas on the basis of the statement of Bhagavā, “Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā nimittaggāhī hoti...pe...na nimittaggāhī hoti...pe...sotena saddaṃ sutvā etc.,” contend that a person using the five sense-organs may practise *maggabhāvanā*, by not grasping the object seen or heard (nimittaggāhī) and directing his mind towards nibbāna. The Theravādins argue that if through pañcaviññāṇa one attains sotāpatti and other maggas, then the pañcaviññāṇa and magga would belong to the same category, but the former is *lokiya* and the latter *lokuttara*, the former is *savatthuko* (have an object as basis) and the latter is *avattuko* (without any basis). In this way the Theravādins argue that through the exercise of the five viññāṇas one does not attain nibbāna.

The opposite statement, viz., that through the use of five viññāṇas a person may engender rāga (attachment) is self-evident though the Theravādins would not admit that pañcaviññāṇas are *sābbhogā* (X. 5). In the discussion (VIII. 4) whether the five āyatanas are associated with desires (kāma), the Theravādins acknowledge that

61 *Tibbāṅga*, p. 405: In Kāmadhātu there are cakkhāyatana and rūpāyatana, sotāyatana and saddāyatana, etc., in all, twelve āyatanas.

62 *Vibhāṅga*, pp. 405-7.

Buddha said that the five āyatanas may or may not be kāmagaṇas, and explained the same by saying that a person's organs of sense or the objects of the senses are not by themselves kāmagaṇas (associated with desires) but one, who has saṃkapparāga (desireful intention) and does not dissociate his mind from the objects of sense, is not expected to attain detachment from worldly objects.⁶³ The Mahāsaṅghikas, I think, hold the identical opinion though it is not so clearly expressed in Vasumitra, it is only the Sarvāstivādins who held the opinion that the five vijñānas conduce to sarāga and not to virāga (Masuda, p. 48).

Relating to the third point the *Kvu.* contradicts Vasumitra and says that it is the Mahāsaṅghikas who held the opposite view, viz., the eyes see colours, ears hear sounds etc. by conceiving a pasāda-cakkhu, a subtle eye, which has not got the power of āvajjana (reflect) like cakkhuvīññāṇa but possesses just the power of knowing (paṭijānāti) objects. In this case also, shall we account for the contradictions by saying that the opinion of 'ekacce mahāsaṅghikā' is represented by Vasumitra while the opinion of the 'aññe mahāsaṅghikā' is noticed in the *Kathāvatthu*.⁶⁴ The Theravādins and a section of the Mahāsaṅghikas hold that the eyes, ears etc. are mere material conveyers of perception, the cakkhuvīññāṇa, sotaviññāṇa, etc. being the actual percipients, in other words, eyes, ears etc. belong to the rūpa-khandha which is material, while cakkhuvīññāṇa, etc. belong to the viññāṇa-khandha, which makes a being aware of the things around him.

IX. *How many avyākatas are there?*

The opinion of the Mahāsaṅghikas that "there is nothing which is indeterminate" (avyākṛta) has been explained by Mr. Masuda as that the Mahāsaṅghikas admitted only two natures of things, good

63 Quoted in the *Kvu.*, p. 370 from the *Ang. Nik.*, III, 411.

64 See *infra*, p. 579.

or bad and not a third, neither good nor bad. This interpretation does not appear to be sound as in the Buddhist texts the three natures of things are accepted universally. The avyākatas also refer to those problems which Buddha left unanswered as any answer to them whether in the affirmative or in the negative would mislead the enquirer, or treated the question as absurd and unanswerable. These avyākata problems are always mentioned in a stereotyped form in all Buddhist texts whether Hinayāna or Mahāyāna.⁶⁵ Nāgārjuna has utilised these problems in his *Mādhyamika-kārikā* to establish the Mahāyānic conception of Śūnyatā. If we accept Vasumitra's statement as correct, we shall have to say that the Śūnyatā conception was known to the Mahāsaṅghikas, and so to them the so-called avyākata problems were not avyākata (inexplainable), but this way of looking at the statement of Vasumitra seems to me to be too far-fetched and so, I think, Vasumitra's statement is not complete. Perhaps it refers to the problem discussed in the *Kvu. : ditthigataṃ avyākatan ti?* (XIV. 8),—whether a person holding one of the unanswered views can be regarded as avyākata i.e. neither good nor bad. The answer of the Theravādins is that the holder of any one of the views is wrong, hence akusala and cannot be avyākata as supposed by the Andhakas and the Uttarāpathakas.

X. How many Asaṃskṛtadharmas are there ?

In the Pāli texts, as also in the *Abhidharmakośa* (of the Sarvāstivādins) the three asaṃskṛtas are, (i) Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha, (ii) Apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha and (iii) Ākāśa. The Mahāsaṅghikas increase them to nine by adding the four āruppas⁶⁶ and pratīyasamut-

65 Sassato loko, asassato loko; antavā loko, anantavā loko; taṃ jivaṃ taṃ sariraṃ, aññaṃ jivaṃ aññaṃ sariraṃ; hoti Tathāgato paraṃ marañā, na hoti Tathāgato paraṃ marañā; hoti ca na hoti ca Tathāgato paraṃ marañā, n'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato paraṃ marañā.

66 The four āruppas are—

(i) Ākāśānantāyatana;

pādāṅgikatva. Excepting the *nirodha* of two kinds, all other *asaṃskṛtas* of the Mahāsaṅghikas are not recognised as such by the Theravādins, whose argument is whether each of these *asaṃskṛtas* is of the same nature as *Nibbāna*, if not, they are *saṃskṛtas*. Strangely enough the *Kvu.* goes so far as to say that *ākāśa* is not *asaṃkhata*. The attitude taken in the *Kvu.* (VI. 2, 4, 6; XIX. 3, 4) is that *Nibbāna* is *tānaṃ lenaṃ accutaṃ amataṃ*, (escape, refuge, infallible and immortal) so each of the seven of *asaṃkhatas*, even every member of the formulæ of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, each of the four *phalas* must be *tānaṃ lenaṃ accutaṃ amataṃ*, otherwise they are *saṃkhatas* (constituted). The Mahāsaṅghikas interpret, as presented in the *Kvu.*, that the *asaṃkhata* is that which is unchangeable (*aneñja*) but not *tānaṃ lenaṃ*, etc. In regard to the causal law, they rely on Buddha's statement: *avijjā paccayā bhikkhave saṃkharā, uppādā va Tathāgatānaṃ anuppādā vā Tathāgatānaṃ tḥitā va sā dhātu dhammatṭhitatā dhammaniyāmatā idappaccayatā*, etc., and point out that by *asaṃkhata* they do not mean the links separately but the unchangeable law (a) of the origin a thing through a cause, and (b) of the unchangeable nature of *dhammas*, undisturbed by appearance (*uppāda*) or non-appearance (*anuppāda*) or staying (*tḥiti*). As for the *āryamārgāṅgikatva*, the *Kvu.* explains that *Pubbaseliyas* regard as *asaṃkhata* the fact of attainment (*patti*) of a *magga* or *phala* by the removal of certain mental impurities (*kilesa-pahānaṃ*) and not the *maggas* or *phalas* by themselves. This, *Vasumitrā* corroborates by using the term *mārgāṅgikatva* i.e. *prāpti* of a *mārga* and not simply *mārga*.⁶⁷ In the *Kvu.* there are a few other discussions relating to the *asaṃkhatas* to which we shall revert when dealing with the *Mahīsāsakas*.

- (ii) *Vijñānānantāyatana*;
- (iii) *Ākiñcanyāyatana*; and
- (iv) *Naivasamjñā-nāsamjñāyatana*.

67 In the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (I, p. 301) it is distinctly stated that *aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo* is *saṅkhato*.

The remaining three opinions of the Mahāsaṅghikas, viz.,

- (i) There is no intermediate state of existence (*antarābhava*),
- (ii) Phenomena exist neither in the past nor in the future, and
- (iii) The nature of mind is pure in its origin: it becomes impure when it is stained by *āgantukarajas* and *upakleśas*

are in accord with those of the Theravādins.⁶⁸ Both these schools do not admit that between death and rebirth there is any intervening period in which the subtle khandhas wait for the selection of the parents or the states of existences. The *Kvu.* says that the opinion of the opponents is formed through the miscomprehension of the meaning of the word 'antarāparinibbāyī.' We shall revert to this topic while dealing with the Sammitīyas, with whom, the commentator says, the Pubbaseliyas agreed.

As regards the opinion that the past and future exist—the cardinal doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins, to be dealt with next, both the Theravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas are emphatic in their protest against it.

The third point raises an important problem that is to say whether the mind at the beginning was pure or not. The Theravādins are decidedly of opinion that *pubbakoṭī* (beginning) and *aparakoṭī* (end) of beings is unknowable, and as such they have not gone into the question whether the mind is pure at any time before the attainment of *vimutti*. This doctrine of the Mahāsaṅghikas obtained its full development in the idealistic philosophy of Yogācāra in which the *Ālayavijñāna* is pointed out as the storehouse of pure consciousness which gets contaminated with worldly objects through the *indriyavijñānas* and mentally creates a world around it. It is by the removal of this mental creation that a person regains the *ālayavijñāna* in its pure original form and becomes an emancipated being—a Buddha.

68 Cf. *Aṭṭhasālini*, p. 68: Cittaṃ āgantukhehi upakkilesehi upakiliṭṭhaṃ.

*Doctrines mentioned in the Kathāvatthu and not in
Vasumitra's treatise*

The *Kathāvatthu* attributes to the Mahāsaṅghikas and their sub-sects a few other doctrines not noticed in Vasumitra's treatise. These are briefly as follows:—

- (i) Restraint (*saṃvara*) or unrestraint (*asaṃvara*) of the organs of sense should be treated as action (*kamma*). The Theravādins regard it as non-action, their contention being that an action should be defined as the actual functioning of the five organs of sense initiated by mind (*cetanā*). *Kvu.* XII. 1.
- (ii) All actions (*sabbam kammam*) are accompanied by results (*savipāka*). The Theravādins contend that as *cetanā* is the source of all actions,⁶⁹ and as there are *avyākata* (neither good nor bad) and *avipāka* (unaccompanied by any result) *cittas*,⁷⁰ there must be also *avyākata* and *avipāka kammam*, hence all actions are not necessarily accompanied by results.—*Kvu.* XII. 2.
- (iii) Sound and other āyatana (spheres of the organs of sense) are also results of actions (*kammaṣa katattā uppannam*). In short, all non-materials (*arūpadhammā*) are products of actions (*kammamutthānā*).—*Kvu.*, 3 & 4.

All the three views mentioned above should, I think, be attributed to that section of the Mahāsaṅghikas who hold that eyes see colours and so forth (see above p. 575). As Vasumitra does not take notice of the opinion of this section of the Mahāsaṅghikas, he had no occasion to refer to the above three views.

(To be continued)

NALINAKSHA DUTT

69 *Cetanāhaṃ kammam vadāmi*—*Atthas.*, p. 135.

70 See *Dhammasaṅgani*.

Gaudesvaracarya Jnanottama

Jñānottama commences the *maṅgalācarāṇa* to his commentary entitled *Candrikā* on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvarācārya, with salutation to the supreme God. In the first two verses, he has invoked the blessings of both the gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the third, he has made obeisance to Sureśvara, the author, whose work he was going to comment upon. In the fourth verse, he has compared his ownself to the god Nṛsiṃha (man-lion). He says that as Nṛsiṃha had, by laying bare the heart of the demon (Hiraṇyakaśipu) by his projecting nails, pleased Prahlāda, so let Jñānottama, who by his fine reasonings has exposed the heart of his opponents in dispute, please you (the readers). In the concluding verse, he says that Jñānottama, who has seen the end of all the philosophical systems, has written this *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi-viṛti*, while staying at the village of Maṅgala, in the country of Cola, bearing the name given by his father.¹ This last

1

ॐ नमः परब्रह्मणे ॥

विष्णोस्तत्परमं धाम द्योतमानं निजश्रिया ।
अनन्तामितमद्वैतमात्मभूतं पुनातु नः ॥१॥
तेजस्त्रैयम्बकं भूयाद्भूयसे श्रेयसे मम ।
यदाचामति निःशेषं भक्तानां भववारिधिम् ॥२॥
नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिगमिधया सुधया सुधियां व्यधात् ।
योऽमृतत्वं नमामस्तं सुरेश्वरसुधानिधिम् ॥३॥
तर्कोदग्रनखोद्भिन्नवादिद्वैत्यमुजान्तरः ।
प्रह्लादयतु नः शश्वद् ज्ञानोत्तममृगोत्तमः ॥४॥
चोलेषु मङ्गलमिति प्रथितार्थनाम्नि
ग्रामे वसन् पितृगुरोरभिधां दधानः ।
ज्ञानोत्तमः सकलदर्शनपारदृश्वा
नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिविद्युतिं कुरुते यथावत् ॥५॥ (Benares Sans. Series, 1564)

fact is corroborated by the colophon² of the work, which describes him as Śrī-mahopādhyāya-Jñānottamamiśra. At the end of his work he has eulogised his preceptor Satyabodhācārya.³ This Satyabodha seems to be the same as the preceptor of Devabodha, one of the early commentators of the *Mahābhārata*.⁴

Some details of Jñānottama are found in the introductory verses and the colophons of the *Tattvapradīpikā* of his disciple Citasukhamuni.⁵ The first and the fourth verses are in double *entendre*. They are applicable to god Nṛsiṃha, as well as to Jñānottama. Siṃhādrīcūḍāmaṇi, in the case of god Nṛsiṃha, refers to the image of this deity on the Siṃhādri or Siṃhācala near Waltair, where there is a temple of this god. In the case of Jñānottama, it probably refers to his *āśrama* or residence on the summit of this hill. In the second

2 इति श्रीमहोपाध्यायज्ञानोत्तममिश्रविरचितायां नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिचन्द्रिकायां
चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥४॥

3 पदकशतहतकुमारिलसौगतगुर्वक्षपादकणभक्षः ।
यमनियमनिलयधिषणो जयति श्रीसत्यबोधाचार्यः ॥१॥
यस्तुख्यातिविघातिवादिमिरं नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिस्फुटं
व्याख्याचन्द्रिकया विधूय सुधियां सदृष्टिमुन्मीलयन् ।
अन्तः संभृतशान्तवेदनसुधोद्धान्तः समुद्योतते
सर्वज्ञाश्रमचन्द्रमास्त्रिजगतीसर्वज्ञचूडामणिः ॥२॥

4 H. P. Sastri—*Des. Cat of Sans. Mss. in the ASB.*, V, No. 3397.

5 स्तम्भाभ्यन्तरगर्भभावनिगदव्याख्याततद्वैभवो
यः पाञ्चाननपाञ्चजन्यवपुषा व्यादिष्टविश्वात्मतः ।
प्रह्लादाभिहितार्थतत्क्षणमिलदृष्टप्रमाणं हरिः
सोऽव्याद्गः शरदिन्दुसुन्दरतनुः सिंहाद्रिचूडामणिः ॥१॥
ज्योतिर्यद्दक्षिणामूर्तिव्यासशंकरशब्दितम् ।
ज्ञानोत्तमाख्यं तद्वन्दे सत्यानन्दपदोदितम् ॥२॥
विप्रतिपत्तिव्रातध्वान्तध्वंसप्रगल्भवाचाला ।
क्रियते चित्तसुखमुनिना प्रत्यकृतस्त्वप्रदीपिका विदुषा ॥३॥
प्रमाणखनिर्भिन्नसहामोहामरारये ।
नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय स्वप्रकाशचिदात्मने ॥४॥

(Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1915).

verse, Jñānottama is also called Satyānanda, which seems to be his name in the ascetic-order. But this name does not seem ever to have come into prominence, for in the colophons,⁶ we find him described by his lay-name of Jñānottama, with the family surname of *Misra* dropped, and the ascetic epithets of *Paramabansa* and *Pari-urājakācārya* added. In the colophon he is described as *Gauḍeśvarācārya*.

Now let us ascertain the time of Gauḍeśvara, disciple of Jñānottama. No indication of the time can be traced in his *Candrikā*, except that he was later than Sureśvarācārya (c. 900 A.D.). The *Tattvapradīpikā* of Citsukha, however, helps us at least to find out a higher limit of his. The latest authority quoted by him is *Khaṇḍanakāra*.⁷ He is no other than Śrīharsa, the poet of the *Naiṣadhīya*. He was a contemporary of the kings, Vijayacandra and Jayacandra of Kanauj (c. 1154-1194 A.D.). So Citsukha could not have been earlier than the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. Mr. Tripathi has assigned him to c. 1200 A.D. and his pupil's pupil Amalānanda to 1247-60 A.D.⁸ In view of this, Jñānottama, the *guru* of Citsukha, has to be placed in the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

We find that the kings Vijayasena and his son Vallālasena ruled in Bengal about this time. So Gauḍeśvarācārya Jñānottama must have been the *ācārya* or spiritual guide of either or both of these lords of Gauḍa. The *Vallālacarita*⁹ supplies us with the information

6 इति श्रीगौडेश्वराचार्यपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यज्ञानोत्तमशिष्य-
श्रीचिन्मुखमुनिविरचितायां तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥४॥

7 *Tattvapradīpikā*, ch. II., p. 175.

8 *Tarkasamgraha*, Gaek. Edn., pp. xviii and xx. n. 1.

9 कदाचिद्वेदवेदाङ्गोपनिषद्मशास्त्रवित् ।
इतिहासपुराणानां वेत्ता लोकनमस्कृतः ॥६॥
मेधावी नयवान् वाग्मी महाराजगुरुस्मुनिः ।
योगेश्वरो महाप्राज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥१०॥

that a sage named Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri visited the court of Vallālasena, on his way back from Vadarikāśrama,¹⁰ a well-known *tīrtha* on the Himalayas. He is described as *Mabārāja-guru-muni*, i.e. 'the sage who was the spiritual guide of the king,' but a variant reading speaks of him as *Mabārāja-guru-guru*, i.e. 'the sage who was *guru* of the king's father.' This shows that Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri was the *guru* of Vallālasena as well as of his father Vijayasena. We have seen above that in the introductory verses of the *Tattvapradīpikā*, Jñānottama has been styled as *Siṃhādri-cūḍāmani*, which has been interpreted by the commentator as '*Siṃhagiryalamkārah Siṃhagiri-nivāsī-tyarthah* i.e. 'an ornament of Siṃhagiri (Siṃhācalam), an inhabitant of Siṃhagiri.' Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri in the *Vallālacarita*, probably means 'a Bhaṭṭa or a savant from Siṃhagiri.' If our interpretation is correct Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri becomes identical with Gauḍeśvarācārya Jñānottama. So this Siṃhagiri of the *Vallālacarita* is a historical person and not a fictitious one as has been supposed by some. There is ample evidence to show that the book was chiefly based on contemporary accounts. If it was a modern forgery, the author could not have made some egregious mistakes, which he had committed, when he depended on his own knowledge.

We meet with a Siṃhagiri in the list of teachers given in a manuscript of the *Gadyavallārī* by Nijātma-prakāśānandanātha Mallikārjuna Yogīndra.¹¹ Here Siṃhagiri is the sixth in spiritual descent from Śrī-Saṅkarācārya, as, 1. Saṅkarācārya, 2. Bodhavanācārya, 3. Jñānaghana, 4. Jñānottamaśiva, 5. Jñānagiri, 6. Siṃhagiri. We do

भट्टसिंहगिरिर्नाम शिष्यैः परिश्रुतस्तदा ।

उद्भासयन् दिशः सर्वाः श्रिया परमया ज्वलन् ॥११॥

वज्जालचरितम्, उत्तरखण्डम्, अष्टमोऽध्यायः । (Bib. Ind. Series).

10 The text has वदरिकाश्रमोद्देशं भ्रमन् (*Ibid.*, V. 12) i.e. travelling with the object of वदरिकाश्रम, but as we find that from the Court of Vallāla, he went to जगन्नाथपुरी, we think that the correct reading should be वदरिकाश्रमाद्देशं भ्रमन् ।

11 R. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sans. Mss.*, VII., No. 2261, pp. 17-19.

not know how far this list is reliable. Taking this as correct, it is difficult to make this Siṃhagiri a contemporary of Vijayasena and Vallālasena, in the middle of the twelfth century.

The king Vallālasena having expressed a desire to know about the origin of the four *Varnas*, *gotras* and *vaṃśas*, as well as of the mixed castes, Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri recited the *Vyāsa-purāṇa* to his royal disciple.¹² Here he is described as the son of Nārāyaṇa. Chapter XII of the second half of the *Vallālacarita* is a *verbatim* copy of the *Harivaṃśa*, ch. XXXI upto the last but two verses, with slight variations here and there. In the latter, the genealogy of the Aṅga kings ends with the grandson of Karṇa, but in the *Vallālacarita*, six more verses have been added,¹³ in which Vyāsa has been made to prophesy that in this line would be born Vīrasena, who would marry a Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa's daughter named Somaṭā. In his family will be born many powerful kings, who would conquer the seven *dvīpas*. Sāmantasena of this line would be ruling the sea-girt earth from the Vindhyas to the Setubandha. Then Siṃhagiri observes¹⁴ that from

12 *Vallālacaritam*, II, ch. 8.

- 13 पृथुसेनान्वये वीरो वीरसेनो भविष्यति ।
 गौडब्राह्मणकन्यां यः सोमटामुद्वहिष्यति ॥४८॥
 तदन्ववायजन्मानो राजानोऽमितपौरुषाः ।
 सप्तद्वीपपतीन् वीराः करिष्यन्ति वशानुगान् ॥४९॥
 तद्वंशे सामन्तसेनो भूत्वा पालयिता बली ।
 आविन्ध्यादासेतुबन्धाद्धरिणीं सागराम्बराम् ॥५०॥ (*Ibid.*, ch. 12).
- 14 तस्माद्धेमन्तसेनोऽभूद्वाजन् तव पितामहः ।
 धाम धान्नां महिन्नाश्च द्विषद्बलहुतासनः ॥५१॥
 तस्माद्विजयसेनोऽभूच्चोडगङ्गसखो नृपः ।
 योऽजयत् पृथिवीं कृतस्त्रां चतुःसागरमेखलाम् ॥५२॥
 तस्य पुत्रोऽसि बल्लाल सार्वभौममहीक्षितः ।
 प्रत्यर्थिपृथिवीपाला यस्य ते शरणं गताः ॥५३॥
 ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशः क्षत्रियपूर्वजः ।
 सेनवंशस्ततोजाती यस्मिज्जातोऽपि पाण्डवः ॥५४॥
 द्वेष्टि यः पाण्डवं (पौरवं ?) मूढो दुर्बुद्धिश्च विनिन्दति ।
 स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पच्यते नरके चिरम् ॥५५॥ (*Ibid.*)

this Sāmantasena was born Hemantasena, from him was born Vijayasena, who was a friend of Coḍa-Gaṅga. The present king Vallālasena is the son of this Vijayasena. The Sena dynasty, like the Pāṇḍavas, has descended from the same Brāhmaṇa family, which was the source of both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Whoever speaks ill of the Senas will for ever rot in the purgatory.

The son of Parāśara (Vyāsa), mentioned in the Deopārā Inscription of Vijayasena¹⁵ as having caused to flow the honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, in memory of the achievements of Virasena and other princes, is apparently no other than this Vyāsa of the *Vyāsa-purāṇa*. For Virasena of this description cannot be found in any other work of Vyāsa. The author appears to have composed it with some object in view, very likely to create a Paurāṇic authority for the lunar origin of the Senas, and also as a help to the establishment of the *varṇāśramadharma*. This was essentially necessary for Bengal with the advent of a Brāhmaṇic dynasty, after a long reign of Buddhist kings.

This *Vyāsa-purāṇa* must have been composed some time after Sāmantasena and before the Deopārā Inscription. Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Vallālacarita*, in which is embedded this *Vyāsa-purāṇa*, attributes the authorship of the *Purāṇa* to Siṃhagiri,¹⁶ which is not at all unlikely. His hand is clearly discernible in the reformation of castes in Bengal. Here in Bengal, like Southern India, only two *varṇas* are acknowledged, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras. The kings for the time being, of course, were always honourable exceptions. Vyāsa of this *Vyāsa-purāṇa* has supported the Śūdra connections of the Senas. He opines that a Kṣatriya is not degraded by having a Śūdra wife. He prescribes *anuloma* marriages for the Kṣatriya and says that the progeny of these marri-

15 *Bengal-Inscrps*, III, p. 50.

16 *Vallālacaritam*, II, p. 123

ages will always be Kṣatriya, but he denies this to the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas. He even supports the marriage of kings with the Brāhmaṇa girls, on the ground that nothing is wrong with the powerful, and cites Manu to say that a king should not be looked upon as a man, but a god in the form of a man.¹⁷

This ascetic from Southern India seems to have had influenced the religious faith of Vallālasena. It is said that this king before his initiation by Siṃhagiri, following the *pāṣaṇḍimata* (Tāntric Buddhism?), had connection with a daughter of a Caṇḍāla, and a dancing girl of the age of twelve, for the attainment of success (*siddhi*). But since his conversion to *Sanātana-mārga* by the Bhaṭṭa, he committed nothing repugnant to the virtuous. On the other hand, he performed many acts, which made him a beloved with the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁸ He built a monastery for Siṃhagiri in the neighbourhood of Pradyumneśvara (in the Rajshahi district of Bengal). He paved it with variegated stone-tiles and made beds and seats of burnt bricks. He furnished it with art galleries and libraries, supported by strong pillars; laid out beautiful gardens, with tanks full of sweet drinking water; set apart separate places for reading and exposition of śāstras, meditation and sacrifices. He built a *dharmasālā* for the ascetic and the traveller, and endowed it with

- 17 शूद्राभार्यस्य पातित्यं राजन्यस्य यदुच्यते ।
 नैतन्मम मतं ज्ञेयं सा तेनोन्नीयते यतः ॥५०॥
 पतेद् विप्रश्च वैशश्च शूद्रां कन्यामुदावहन् ।
 पातित्यं नास्ति क्षत्रस्य शूद्रदारोपसंग्रहात् ॥५१॥
 विप्रकन्याविवाहोऽपि कृतो राजर्षिभिः पुरा ।
 तेजीयसां न दोषाय बह्वैः सर्वभुजो यथा । ५२॥
 राजा नो नावमन्तव्यो नृबुद्ध्या मनुब्रवीत् ।
 महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥५३॥
 क्षत्राज्जातः क्षत्रियायां क्षत्रियः स्यान्न संशयः ।
 वैश्यायां च तथैव स्यात् शूद्रायामपि चैव हि ॥५६॥ (*Vallālacaritam*, ch. 13.)

18 *Ibid.*, ch. I. Vs. 5-7 and ch. VIII. V. 2.

extensive lands for the maintenance and supply of fuels and garments. He settled many Deccan Brāhmaṇas with furnished houses and gardens etc. and granted them lands recorded in copper-plate charters.¹⁹ A forefather of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, the author, was one of the donees.

Besides the commentary on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* and the *Vyāsa-purāṇa*, he, it appears, was the author of two other works. His disciple Citsukha, in his *Tattuapradīpikā*, writes:—“*evam hi Nyāyasudbhāyām = ārādhyāpadair-upapādītam &c.*”. The commentator Svarūpabhāgavata explains it as—“*ārādhyāpadāḥ svaguravaḥ Jñānasiddhikāraḥ/pāda-śavdaś ca pūjārthas tatpranītam ca Vedānta-prakaraṇam Nyāyasudbhā.*”²⁰ This shows that he wrote two other books, namely, *Jñānasudbhā* and *Jñānasiddhi*. We do not know if these works have been discovered yet. Besides Citsukha, we have come across another disciple of Jñānottama. He is Vijñānātman, the author of the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad-vivaraṇa*.²¹

From the court of Vallālasena, Jñānottama proceeded to Jagannāthapuri,²² probably on the way to his monastery on the Siṃhācalam. A Tamil inscription has been discovered here in the temple of Nṛsiṃhasvāmin. It is dated Śaka 1021 = 1099 A.D., when Kulottuṅga Cola I. was reigning.²³ This shows that Siṃhācalam had come under the Cola influence at least half a century before. So it is not at all unlikely that the Cola ascetic Jñānottama had his *āśrama* at this place.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

19 *Vallālacaritam*, ch. XXIV.

20 *Tattuapradīpikā*, ch. IV. p. 383.

21 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, VII., No. 2547, p. 301.

22 *Vallālacaritam*, II., ch. XXI, V. 5.

23 *Report of the Asst. Supdt. of Epigraphy for the year ending 30th June, 1900*, Madras, p. 10; Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, I, p. 246.

The Cultural Contact between Java and Bengal

The labours of a generation of Dutch, Indian and French scholars have brought together some valuable data regarding the cultural contact between Java and Bengal, and we are now in a position to take a stock of the influence of Bengal on the civilization of Indonesia. So far attention was given only to the influence of Southern India on Java, and not to the share of Bengal in the Hindu-Javanese culture-complex, until the publication of the Nālandā charter by Hirananda Shastri in 1924. Before this date we knew only two literary references, one in a Nepalese manuscript dating, at the latest, from 1015, and the other in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* from 1365. In 1926 Prof. Krom published his masterly treatise on *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (2nd ed., 1931), in which he critically examined the then existing data on Indo-Javanese relations and indicated the rôle played by Bengal and the university of Nālandā in the spread of Indian culture abroad. Two years later, in 1928, Dr. Bosch published the text of the Kelurak inscription, and this was hailed with the same enthusiasm as the publication of the Nālandā charter by Hirananda Shastri. The very next year Dr. Stutterheim published his "*A Javanese period in Sumatran History*," and the bold hypothesis framed therein took the world of scholars by surprise. The somewhat elaborate structure raised by Dr. Stutterheim on the basis of the Kalasan, Kelurak and Nālandā charters was however rudely shaken by the criticism of Bosch and Mus and, to a certain extent, by some new data published by the present writer. In the 18th Orientalists' congress at Leiden, September, 1931, Prof. Sylvain Lévi announced the result of his studies on the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata*, and this, coupled with my note on a Sanskrit grammar of Bengal in Java, now practically closes the list of positive documentary evidence in favour of cultural contact

between Java and Bengal. This is supplemented, to a certain extent, by the traditions which the Hindu-Javanese architectural and statuary art is found, on closer examination, to represent. Besides these data, there are some others of a dubious character, and although we should not lose sight of them, no emphasis need be laid on them until future researches define their exact character.

Bengal entered the arena of active colonial enterprise some time after Southern India. The oldest epigraphs of Java are written in Pallava-Grantha characters and they therefore testify to an influx of colonists from the Coromandel coast.¹ In the Canggal inscription of 732 A.D.,² discovered from the neighbourhood of Wukir in Kedu, reference is made to a fresh immigration into Java from Kuñjara-kuñja in Southern India. Its alphabets have great similarity with what Bühler calls the "Middle-Grantha" of Southern India, and thus a study of the palæography bears out the statement recorded in the inscription. A great change is however initiated by the foundation-charter of Kalasan, dated 778 A.D.³ It is incised in what Bosch calls the Pre-Nāgarī script, which is in sharp contrast with the alphabets so far used in the records of Western and Central Java. After Kalasan, we find the inscriptions of Kelurak,⁴ Ratu-Baka,⁵ Plaosan,⁶ Sajivan⁷, all of which have been written in the same kind of North Indian alphabet. It is therefore reasonable to hold that colonists from Northern India were predominant factors in the colonizing activities in the late-eighth century. But this does not, of course, mean that Southern India ceased to play any part in the Hinduization of the Archipelago. As a matter of fact, its contri-

1 The best account of these inscriptions is given by Dr. Vogel in *Publ. Oudh. Dienst*, I, pp. 15-35.

2 Kern, *Verspr. Geschr.* VII, p. 117 ff.; Chhabra, *JASBL* I, pp. 34ff.

3 The last revised edition is by Bosch in *Tijdschr. Bat Gen.*, 68 (1928) pp. 57ff.

4 Edited by Bosch in *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

6 Bosch, *Oudh. Verh.*, 1915, pp. 89-91.

7 Now lost.

bution to the culture of Indonesia is both undeniable and indelible throughout the course of the Hindu-Javanese period.

Now, a palæographic study of the Javanese "Pre-Nāgarī" inscriptions brings two important facts to light. It has been found on examination that this script, with minor variations, has also been used in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla,⁸ the Mungir and the Nālandā charters of Devapāla⁹ and in the Nepalese inscriptions between the 9th and 10th centuries. So far as the Kalasan inscription is concerned, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar remarked in 1887 that its execution is almost exactly like that of the record found at Ghosrāvan, near Nālandā in Magadha.¹⁰ It is clear therefore that Eastern Indian colonists took the leading part in the colonisation of Java after *c.* 778 A.D. It is also a remarkable fact, when we compare Javanese Pre-Nāgarī inscriptions with those of India belonging to the same family, that these records of Java not only do not betray any archaic form, but on the other hand present some characteristics which were just coming in use or were in an undeveloped state in Northern India.¹¹ This agreement may be attributed to the close cultural connexion that subsisted between India and Java during the period of the Śailendra-monarchs.

The Śailendra-period of Javanese history roughly covers one century, from *c.* 750-850 A.D. The first known ruler of the Śailendra-dynasty in Java is Paṇamkaraṇa. He is also mentioned in the Kedu-charter of 907.¹² On the basis of this inscription, the Kalasan, Kelurak and Nālandā charters, Dr. Stutterheim propounded his bold and novel theory in the brochure mentioned above. According to the Kalasan inscription, Paṇamkaraṇa founded the temple of Tārā in 778 A.D., and, since the Nālandā charter of the 39th year of Deva-

8 *E.I.*, IV, p. 243 ff.

9 *I.A.*, XXI, p. 253 ff.; *E.I.*, XVII, p. 310.

10 *I.A.*, XVII, p. 307.

11 *Tijdschr. Bat. Genoot.*, 68 (1928) pp. 13-14.

12 *Ibid.*, LXVII, pp. 172 ff.

pāla attests that Princess Tārā, daughter of Dharmasetu (*sic*),¹³ was married to the Śailendra-king Samarāgravīra, Dr. Stutterheim proceeds to identify this Samarāgravīra with Paṇamkaraṇa on the assumption that queen Tārā referred to the goddess. He has also raised a number of other points, but these fall outside the scope of the present paper. It must be admitted that the thesis of Dr. Stutterheim rests on a very weak foundation. Apart from the distance of date which separates the Kalasan inscription from the Nālandā charter—the distance of about a century which must be bridged by two generations of rulers—the identification of Paṇamkaraṇa with Samarāgravīra on the basis of the name Tārā is least satisfactory.¹⁴

From the view-point of cultural contact between Java and Bengal, the Kelurak inscription of 782 A.D., discovered from Kelurak in the north of Caṇḍi Loro-Jonggrang of Prambanan, is of great importance. It has been incised on a stone, but the script is neither elegant nor distinct. The record opens with a salutation to the Three Jewels. Some laudatory verses are then devoted to the four Īśvaras and Lokeśa. It has been stated thereafter that king Indra, one of whose titles is perhaps *vairi-vairavīramardana*, was a great conqueror and an ornament of the Śailendra-dynasty. Reference is then made to a preceptor of Gaudīdvīpa who, it may be presumed, is identical with Kumāraghoṣa mentioned in a later verse. It was Kumāraghoṣa who installed the image of Mañjuśrī in 704 Śaka. The poet states thereafter that Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha on the one hand, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara on the other are present in this image of Mañjuśrī. Thus, this is the first evidence of the compromise between Javanese Buddhism and Brahmanism, which gradually led to the development of the Śiva-Buddha cult. The inscription is particularly important from the religious point of

13 N. G. Majumdar reads Varmasetu, and that is the correct reading.

14 See my note on Dharmasetu in *Journ. Greater Ind. Soc.*, III, pp. 110-11.

view. In verse 7 it has been explicitly stated that the head of the Sailendra-king Indra "was purified with the dust of the lotus-feet of the *guru* of the land of Gauḍī." The Sailendra monarchs were votaries of the Mahāyānist faith, and it may therefore be presumed that the *guru* of Indra belonged to the Mahāyāna school of thought.

The visit of this *guru* to Java may be presumed to have given a great impetus to Mahāyāna Buddhism, which had already acquired a footing in Malayu (Sumatra) in the preceding century. We learn from Tāranāth, a late historian of Indian Buddhism, that Dharmapāla, an inhabitant of Kāñcī, after teaching for 30 years at the Buddhist University of Nālandā, proceeded to Suvarṇadvīpa, which is most probably Sumatra, and taught there.¹⁵ Now, this Dharmapāla flourished in the middle of the seventh century, and is said to have been the disciple of the famous logician Dignāga. It is generally held that the spread of Mahāyāna in Indonesia should be attributed to his activities in Sumatra. It is also noteworthy that in later Javanese Mahāyāna, which is so closely connected with Sumatran, Dignāga is again cited as an authority in the domain of Yoga.¹⁶ Grounds can also be adduced to show that the Buddhism of Barabudur or of Indonesia was of the Tantric form known as Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna or Tantrayāna. According to the general view of scholars, this cult developed in Bengal towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. If that is so, the rapidity with which this Tantric cult penetrated into Sumatra and thence spread in Java is a remarkable testimony to the activities of missionaries and colonists from Eastern India. In the time of the Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions, *i.e.*, in the last quarter of the eighth century, we are already in the midst of full-fledged Tantric Mahāyāna. In bringing about this state of affairs, influences were probably exer-

15 Schiefner, *Tāranāth*, p. 161. In *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, 65, p. 559, Bosch disbelieves the story.

16 *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan* (ed. Kats, 1910), p. 45.

cised by (1) Dharmapāla, (2) the Nālandā University, (3) native and Chinese scholars of catholic views, (4) the Buddhist Śailendra and Pāla monarchs, and (5) missionaries from Bengal.

If Bengal exercised her influence on the cultural life of Java from eighth century onwards, it can surely be expected that the art-traditions of Eastern India would also leave their impress on contemporary Javanese art. It is therefore necessary to take a brief notice of the history of early Javanese art. The oldest forms of the Hindu-Javanese art are found on the plateau of Diëng, and these are mainly the specimens of temple architecture. Scholars are unanimous on the point that this art is of Hindu origin, but the prototype of this art is not yet to be found in India, although some forms of it recall the characteristics of the art of South-India and Bengal. The art of the Diëng-plateau also presents some novel features and these may be attributed to indigenous influence.¹⁷ We may best explain the character of this art after Prof. Krom: "an art originating from India whose execution was undertaken by the Hindu-Javans."¹⁸ But when we compare this art of the Diëng-plateau with that of Central Java under the Śailendras, a change is noticeable. An advanced technique, a grander and daring plan of construction and ornamentation mark out the Śailendra-monuments from the products of the first phase of the Hindu-Javanese art in the Diëng-plateau. Now which factor or factors gave such a rich expression to the Śailendra-art of Central Java, to the monuments like Barabudur, Caṅḍi Mendut, Caṅḍi Sewu, Caṅḍi Sari, Caṅḍi Kalasan and others: and to the contemporary, but less assuming Śaivite temples of various places in Central Java? Although these may be considered, in the

17. With the weakening of the Indian influence, Indonesian features come to the forefront, as can be seen in later East-Javanese temples, such as Caṅḍi Jago, Singhasari, Panataran etc.

18. The observations on the art of Java are to a certain extent, based upon the publications of Prof. Krom.

main, the products of the existing Hindu-Javanese art—with which the Śailendra-art presents so many points of agreement—there also appears to be an influence radiating from the contemporary art-traditions of Eastern India, both on statuary as well as on architectural art. The absence of adequate materials in Eastern-India suitable for comparison does not however permit us to ascertain the character of this influence on the Hindu-Javanese architectural art, but, in the domain of statuary art, the influence of Eastern-India, dominated by the traditions of the school of Nālandā, can be more definitely traced, as has been done by Dr. Bernet Kempers in his able monograph on *the Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese art*. It should not however be forgotten that the newly discovered temples of Mahasthan and Paharpur in Bengal bear a remote resemblance to that miracle of the Hindu-Javanese art, Barabudur, and striking affinity to the Central-Javanese monument of Caṅḍi Sewu. But, as the above-mentioned Bengali temples date from a considerably earlier time, great stress cannot be laid on this point.

The ships represented on the reliefs of Barabudur were supposed to represent the types of Bengal, and testified to the brisk commercial intercourse between Java and Bengal. Prof. Krom and others have however pointed out that the same kind of ships is also portrayed in other places of India, e.g., Ajanta, and so there is no specific reason to regard them as Bengali types. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the Slendro-scale in Javanese music is also thought by some to be derived from Bengal, but the opinion is opposed by others.

Prof. Sylvain Lévi, while first announcing in 1931 that some verses from the *Veṅṣaṃhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa were borrowed into the Old-Javanese *Mabābbārata*, also remarked that this fact may be significant from the view-point of contact between Java and Bengal as well as from the view-point of the origin of the Javanese stage. In his excellent monograph *Over den oorsprong van de Javaansche*

tooneel, Dr. Rassers has also tried to show that some Ur-Indian rituals of the Wayang are to be discovered in the ceremonies of the male-house. I have always been sceptical about the Bengali, for that matter, Indian origin of the shadow-plays, mainly on the ground that the technical terms of the Javanese shadow-plays are *exclusively* Javanese and that these shadow-plays have never been popular in India, perhaps they were unknown in Bengal. If at least one or two technical terms were of Indian origin, we could have indeed postulated that the remaining terms were also brought over from India, and that they were Javanized to meet the peculiar needs of the Javanese stage. In postulating Indian (or Bengali) origin for the Javanese drama, the *total absence* of the technical terms of Sanskrit dramaturgy must be explained, the more so, as the shadow-plays developed during the time of close cultural contact between India and Java. We may also mention in this connexion that in later Javanese wayang-literature, reference has been made to the kings of Golconda, Tanjore, Gujerat, Bengal, etc., but these references do not appear to bear any particular value.

The quotation from the *Veṅṛisambhāra* does not necessarily prove *direct* cultural contact between Java and Bengal, because the Sanskrit work might have reached the Javanese redactor of the *Mahābhārata* from any other part of India, where it was popular. The quotation, at any rate, is a proof of the cultural influence of Bengal. But an evidence of direct contact is furnished by a Nepalese manuscript dating, at the latest, from 1015, wherein we find a representation of Dīpaṅkara in Yavadvīpa.¹⁹ This Dīpaṅkara was born in East-Bengal in 980, and studied for 12 years in Suvarṇadvīpa, which is most probably Sumatra, under the celebrated Buddhist scholar Dharmakīrti. It may be presumed that the visit of Dīpaṅkara was

19 Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* I, pp. 79, 189 and pl. II, 2.

not an isolated phenomenon, and that there were other scholars visiting Java and Bengal. Although the date of Dīpaṅkara's visit to Java cannot be precisely determined, it probably took place in the first quarter of the 11th century: I tentatively suggest that the date lies within 1011 and 1015. For about a century, we do not get any indication regarding the contact between Java and Bengal, but the veil of obscurity seems to be lifted once again in the twelfth century. In the archæological publications of Dr. Brandes, we come across some Tr̥ṇavindu-images, with inscriptions on the name of the seer. The inscriptions have been incised, in my opinion, in the Bengali script of the 12th century, and they therefore testify to direct cultural contact between Java and Bengal.

It is again in the fourteenth century that we catch a glimpse of the Gauda people. The kingdom of Majapahit had then attained a position of international influence, and it was then ruled over by its most celebrated king, Hayam Wuruk. Prapañca, the court-poet of this king, wrote in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (83:4): "There came unceasingly, in large numbers, people from all lands, such as Jambudvīpa, Kamboja, China, Yavana, Campā, Karṇāṭaka.....Gauda, and Siam. They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained." Jambudvīpa is, of course, India; the special reference to Gauda and Karṇāṭaka therefore suggests closer contact of Java with those two parts of India. To the Javans, India was really a splendid country, the land *par excellence*, as the author of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* puts it (83:2). This picture holds true for the year 1365, the date of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.

The copper-plate no. 3, of Sekar, Bajanegara, contains a different datum on the cultural contact between Java and Bengal. The plate was issued after 1365 and contains some interesting informations on the second face. Thus we come to learn that Nādendra, the superintendent of the Buddhist institutions, had finished his study of the

grammar of Candra (*Cāndravyākaraṇa*). I have elsewhere²ⁿ pointed out that this grammar was written by Candragomin, an inhabitant of Varendrī or North Bengal, and that the work was widely studied in Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. The copper-plate mentioned above proves that this grammar was also studied in Java, at least in the second half of the fourteenth century. In view of the earlier contact between Java and Bengal, it is premature to assign the penetration of this grammar into Java to any particular epoch. The work might have also travelled to Java along with the scholars of other provinces of India; in that case, *direct* cultural contact between Java and Bengal would not be proved. In any case, the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of Bengal makes a distinct contribution to the culture-history of Java.

In the domain of Indo-Javanese folk-lore, I have come across a story which is widely known in Bengal. It describes how a jackal entered into a deadly feud with a crocodile. On one occasion while the jackal was crossing a river, the crocodile, who was seeking for an opportunity to wreck his vengeance, caught the jackal's leg within his jaws and was about to smash it. The jackal smartly reminded the crocodile that it was merely a stick and not a leg, as he had supposed. When the foolish crocodile loosened his grip, the jackal leaped ashore. Now, some time afterwards, when the crocodile was basking by the side of a river, the jackal was constrained to pass by that way. To know if the crocodile was wide awake, the jackal began to speak aloud: "If the crocodile be alive, he must remain motionless; if he is dead, as he appears to be, he must move his tail and limbs." The crocodile preferred to show off himself as a dead creature and began to bestir himself. The jackal escaped.

This story is exactly paralleled, both in names as well as in details, by a tale preserved in the Pāli Jātakas, (*Samsumāra-jātaka* and

the Kañcil-group of stories. This Kañcil-group of stories was widely prevalent among the Javans, Malays, Achenese, Bataks, Filipinos, Dayaks, Cams, Cambodians, Sangirese, Lampongese, etc. It is therefore difficult to say whether the story spread among those people in the wake of Bengal maritime activity, or it penetrated into Bengal from outside. Considering all points of view, we regard the story to be a contribution of Bengal, but we retain our doubt about its Austric origin.²¹

We propose to close our survey with a brief remark on two forms of Bengali palæography. It is sometimes held²² that the medial forms of the vowels, *e* and *o*, as used in Bengali, being in sharp contrast to the Western variety of the Nāgarī script, are to be considered as distinct Bengali types and that their occurrence in the epigraphy of Greater India betrays the influence of Bengal. I wish I could accept this opinion, but an examination of the epigraphy of Southern India shows that the so-called Bengali medials, *e* and *o*, were prevalent there long before they penetrated into the inscriptions of Bengal. I do not intend to cite instances here, as they have been fully discussed by me elsewhere,²³ but I wish to emphasise once again that the occurrence of these two medials in the epigraphy of Java, Campā and Cambodge indicates the influence of Southern India and not of Bengal.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

²¹ For details see my *Indian influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* pp. 381-82. Cf. also pp. 345, 351, 368.

²² B. R. Chatterji, *Indian cultural influences in Cambodia*, pp. 112 ff.

²³ *Journ. Greater Ind. Soc.*, I, pp. 54-57.

Folklore and Paurāṇic Tradition about the Origin of god Jagannātha

In the present day god Jagannātha at Puri ranks foremost among the Hindu gods. His origin being traced to the king Indradyumna of the Upaniṣad period,¹ a hoary antiquity has been assigned to Him in the traditions, local and Paurāṇic, which are often open to the charge of incredibility. Therefore, a thorough investigation as to His antiquity has long been in demand. But as the data furnished by the archaeological discovery are inadequate so far, the antiquarians have no other alternative than to reconcile the different traditions with caution in reconstructing such a history.

Folklore

The story of the origin of god Jagannātha is very popular in Orissa, derived from the Oriya poem *Deula-tolā* (construction of the temple) recited by a particular class of beggars. The date of this poem has not so far been determined. It narrates that Indradyumna, the king of a certain province in India, commissioned his Brahmin priest Vidyāpati to find out a god capable of bestowing salvation on his worshipper. Vidyāpati left his home, wandered over many countries and at last reached Puri then free from Aryan contact. A Śabara named Viśvāvasu was living there. Vidyāpati was fatigued and forced to ask for food and shelter of one who was an untouchable. Viśvāvasu gladly received him as a guest and employed his young daughter to look after his comfort.

Entertained by the Śabara girl, Vidyāpati spent some days at Puri. In the meantime he noticed his host going out every day in the morning and returning home after sun set. One day he asked

¹ In the *Maitrī Upa.*, a king named Indradyumna is mentioned. His story is related in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana P. ch. 64).

the girl where her father had been going every day. In reply she narrated that the naval portion of the body of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, which had remained unburnt in the pyre at Dvārakā, was carried by a tide into the sea. A remote ancestor of her father saved it from the sea and came here with it. On the top of the hill called Nilagiri (blue hill) he installed the remains, called it Nila-Mādhava and used to worship it. Handed down from generation to generation that duty of performing the worship devolved on her father and he went every day to perform it. Then Vidyāpati expressed his eagerness to visit Nilagiri and was told that except the worshipper nobody was allowed to go thither.

After a few days the girl fell in love with Vidyāpati. The Brahmin agreed to marry her, if her father escorted him to Nilagiri. The father consented to do so if the Brahmin would travel blindfold, opening his eyes only at the destination. Vidyāpati had to agree to the conditions, but in order to mark out the way so that afterwards he might escort the king Indradyumna there, he decided to carry some mustard seeds in the corner of his cloth in such a manner that they would drop down one by one on his way to Nilagiri; these seeds would sprout and point out the way.

Then Vidyāpati accompanied Viśvāvasu to Nilagiri the next day. On arrival at the destination his eyes were uncovered and he was surprised at the sight of the lustrous god Nila-Mādhava (blue Mādhava). Thereafter he returned and married the Śabara girl. After some time he took leave of her and proceeded to his native land.

Vidyāpati reached the court of Indradyumna and narrated what he had seen at Nilagiri. Then the king became eager to pay his homage to the god Nila-Mādhava and proceeded with Vidyāpati towards Puri. They arrived at the place of Viśvāvasu who knowing the approach of the king concealed the god before his arrival. Thence the king and Vidyāpati proceeded to Nilagiri, led by mus-

tard plants. On arrival at the destination to his utter disappointment the king found Nilagiri devoid of the god. Thereupon he enquired of Viśvāvasu and was told that the god had disappeared as he did not like to show his person to the king sinful as he was. Then Indradyumna resolved to practise austerities to wipe off his sins. A few days after the practice of austerities he heard a voice from the air asking him to give up the austere practice, make the image of the god of the *Nimba* (*Melia Azadirecta*) wood floating in the sea and worship it for salvation. Then the king looked around and found a log of the *Nimba*-wood floating in the sea. He brought it into the land and searched for a carpenter. The god appeared before him in the guise of a carpenter and promised to undertake the work; but he wanted to execute the work in a house the doors of which must remain closed for twenty-one days from the commencement of the work.

Arrangements were made and the work commenced in a house with the doors closed. Fifteen days after, the king opened the doors, eager to see the progress and he found four half-done images. At that moment the carpenter disappeared as the doors were opened before the expiry of the stipulated period. The king repented for his imprudent act and was advised by a voice from the air to enshrine these images and worship them. Thereafter he built a temple on Nilagiri and went to heaven to invite Brahmā, the god of the Hindu triad, to sanctify it. After his departure the temple was buried under a heap of sand. A *Rājā*, named Gāla-Mādhava, happened to pass over that buried temple, riding on a horse. As the horse tumbled down the *Rājā* dismounted and found that the horse's hoofs had struck against the top of a buried temple. He unearthed and claimed it as his own.

Indradyumna returned with Brahmā after hundreds of years and found the temple in the possession of Gāla-Mādhava. When he put in his claim to the temple, Gāla-Mādhava demanded proof in his

favour. Thereupon a Kāka (crow), named Bhūṣaṇḍa, who lived a long age on account of the practice of austerities supported Indradyumna's claim and Gāla-Mādhava gave up the possession of the temple. Then Brahmā sanctified it and enshrined the half-done images in it. Subsequently Indradyumna appointed as priests of the temple the sons born to Vidyāpati by the Śabara girl.

The above story has been recorded also in the Oriya *Mahābhārata* by Śāralā Dāsa who flourished in the 1st half of the 15th century A.C. The story disclosed by the *Deula-tolā* is fully in agreement with that given in the *Mahābhārata*, except the point that in the former story neither the residence nor the country of Indradyumna is specified while in the latter one he is described as a king residing at Yājapura (modern Jajpur) in Orissa. It should be mentioned here that the Oriya *Mahābhārata* contains abundance of evidences to testify to the national bias of its author and as such the specification of Indradyumna's residence seems to be one of them.

An Oriya poem entitled *Dārubrahma-gītā* (story of the wooden god) by Jagannātha Dāsa of the 16th century A.C. mentions that the Pāṇḍavas carried the body of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa from *Dvārakā* to Puri and burnt it there on the holy spot called Yamanika or Yamnika. The whole body was consumed by fire, except its naval portion which, in lustre, resembled the glowing fire and surpassed millions of suns. While searching for a game at Nilagiri one Vasu came across this remains and recognised it as Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, as he noticed the marks of conch and discus on it. He picked it up, and concealed it in a hole in the *Bata* (*Ficus Indica*) tree. Then he used to worship it every day. One day he found his god dividing himself into two. Then Indradyumna came and the god disappeared, telling Vasu that he (the god) wished royal comfort and as such his image would be worshipped by Indradyumna. After some time the wooden images were installed.

The aforesaid work mentions also that the measurement of the

god was 12 fingers (about 9 inches) both in length and breadth.² But the god to which this measurement refers is not specified. The measurement of the present wooden gods in the Puri temple is more than that mentioned above. It seems probable therefore that the measurement in question refers to the god worshipped by Vasu.

Paurāṇic Traditions

Puri is mentioned in the Purāṇas as Puruṣottama-kṣetra (holy seat of the exalted Being, Puruṣottama being the another name of the god Jagannātha. It is included among the sacred places enumerated in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*.³ Its glories are enumerated in the *Nārada-Purāṇa*.⁴ In this *Purāṇa* occurs the statement that the god Viṣṇu made of a sapphire is concealed under sand at Puri.⁵

The *Padma-Purāṇa* deals neither with the erection of the temple nor with the installation of the images. It simply narrates that Ratnagrīva, the king of Kāñci, heard the glory of Puruṣottama from a Brahmin. Thereafter he visited Puruṣottama where he found the god worshipped by the Bhillas. On enquiry he learned that while wandering at Nilagiri to collect the Jambu fruits, Pṛthu, a Kirāta boy, noticed a temple covered with the wild plants. He brought this discovery to the notice of the Bhillas who subsequently came and brought the temple into view after clearing the jungle. The *Padma-Purāṇa* thus gives an account of restoration of the temple from its dilapidating position in an abandoned area.⁶

The *Brahma-Purāṇa* mentions that the god Puruṣottama was

2 द्वादश आङ्गुल ये जान । प्रभुङ्क श्रीअङ्ग घटण ॥
प्रति होइव एहिरूपे । कहिलि शुन तु स्वरूपे ॥

3 Second Section (*Bibliotheca Indica*), ch. XXX.

4 Second Section (*Venkateshwar*), ch. LV.

5 *Ibid.*, V. 32; इन्द्रनीलमणिविष्णु यत्रास्ते बालुकावृतः

6 *Pātāla khaṇḍa (Vangavasi)*, ch. IX-XII; (*Venkateshwar*) ch. XVIII-XIX.

installed by Indradyumna, the king of Avanti.⁷ It omits the story of restoration of the temple. Again the Brahmin priest Vidyāpati is not mentioned in it.

The *Skanda-Purāna* gives an exhaustive account of Jagannātha the outline of which is the same as that of the local tradition.⁸ It represents Indradyumna as the king of Ujjayini in the Mālava country and assigns his date to the golden age.⁹ Vidyāpati is said to have proceeded to Nilagiri; but the story of mustard seeds which is common to numerous folklores of the world is omitted. Again the story of restoration of the temple revealed by the local tradition appears in this *Purāna* in a slightly altered form. It relates that while Indradyumna went to heaven to invite Brahmā, a *Rājā*, named Gāla, enshrined an image of Mādhava in the temple built by Indradyumna. Another smaller temple was built and the god Mādhava was removed into it by Indradyumna.¹⁰

The following statements occurring in this *Purāna* are also worthy of notice:—

- (a) The sage Mārkaṇḍa was advised by Viṣṇu himself to go to Puruṣottama and see the god Govinda (Viṣṇu) lying on a leaf on the top of the *Kalpa-vata* (the tree granting the wishes of its supplicants).¹¹
- (b) At Puruṣottama there is a holy place which was overgrown with the *Kuśa* grass in ancient times and is occupied now by the god Kapoteśa (Śiva).¹²
- (c) Indradyumna, the king of Mālava, was cordially received by the king of Orissa.¹³
- (d) The god Nīla-Mādhava was made of a lustrous sapphire measuring 81 fingers.¹⁴

7 *Vaṅgavāsī*, ch. XLIV-XLV; Venkateshwar, ch. XLI-XLVIII.

8 *Vaṅgavāsī*, *Viṣṇukhaṇḍa*, *Puruṣottama-māhātmya*.

9 *Ibid.*, ch. IV, 65.

10 *Ibid.*, ch. XXVI, 5 & 6.

11 *Ibid.*, ch. II, 29.

12 *Ibid.*, ch. XIII, 8.

13 *Ibid.*, ch. XI, 111-115.

14 *Ibid.*, ch. VIII, 8 and 77.

- (e) The wooden images were made and deified at the Guṇḍicā temple where an image of man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu (Nṛsiṃha) had been installed by Indradyumna.¹⁵
- (f) On the full-moon day of Jyaiṣṭha the wooden images appeared at Puruṣottama at the time of Indradyumna.¹⁶

Time of Interpolation of Tradition in the Purāṇas

An abridged form of *Puruṣottama-māhātmya* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* is extant in Orissa. This abridged work professes to have borrowed the details of Puruṣottama from the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. One Narasiṃha Ācārya refers in his work *Ācāra-pradīpa* to this abridged work.¹⁷ As the author of the former work flourished in the 15th century A.C.,¹⁸ the latter one referred to by him can be supposed to have existed in Orissa in the 14th century A.C. In that case, the interpolation of the accounts of Puruṣottama in the *Skanda-Purāṇa* was made before the 14th century A.C.

In the copper-plate records of the Gaṅga kings of the 13th and 14th centuries A.C.¹⁹ the king Gaṅgeśvaradeva (A.C. 1076-1147) is invariably mentioned as the builder of the Jagannātha temple, while the erection of the same temple has been attributed to the king Indradyumna in the *Skanda* and *Brahma-Purāṇas*. If the interpolation of the story of Jagannātha had been made during the Gaṅga sovereignty in Orissa, the erection of the temple would have been attributed to Gaṅgeśvaradeva and not to Indradyumna. For, at that time the Gaṅga kings would not have tolerated a statement which was in conflict with that of their own inscriptions. On the contrary, they would have tolerated if there had existed a dilapidated temple, built by Indradyumna, which was rebuilt afterwards by Gaṅgeśvaradeva. But in that case, the rebuilder, who was a famous

¹⁵ *Vaṅgavāsī, Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, Puruṣottama-māhātmya*, ch. XIX, 34-38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. XIX, 3-17.

¹⁷ *JASB.*, vol. LXVI, (1897, no. 4), p. 333.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIV, (1895), p. 139; *Ibid.*, vol. LXV, (1896), p. 240.

king, must have been referred to in the *Purāṇas*, if the interpolation had taken place when his name remained within the memory of the people.

The Govindapura inscription of 1137-38 A. C. mentions that Manoratha, a learned Brahmin of the Gaya district, went to Puri on pilgrimage and gave away there his wealth in charity on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.²⁰ That when he went there the present temple had not come into existence and Jagannātha was installed in a dilapidated temple, will be proved on a later occasion. If the sacredness of Puri had not been recognised in the *Purāṇas* before the present temple was erected, a learned Brahmin would not have gone there at that time from a far off place to squander his wealth.

That Puri as a sacred place of the Hindus came into existence in the 7th century A.C. can be gleaned from the accounts of Yuan Chwang. The Chinese pilgrim describes:—

“Near the shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country (*i.e.* Orissa) was the city Che-li-ta-lo, above 20 li in circuit, which was thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images. Far away, 20,000 li distant in the south Seng-ka-lo (Ceylon) country, and from this place on calm nights one could see the brilliant light

20 *E.I.*, vol. II, p. 190.

गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं भगवयो ह्यः प्रतिग्रपदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसोलसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितै-
स्तोत्रियै पिहितस्य पर्वणिविधौ साहय्यमापन्नं ॥

“Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown Manoratha went to the sacred city of Puruṣottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of a lunar eclipse of the bright moon; and gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon at the full-moon time.

issuing from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's Tooth-relic in that country.²¹

The above description is quite applicable to Puri and Che-li-ta-lo seems to be Chinese representation of Kṣetra (religious centre). As Fang-chih renders *Che-li-ta-lo* as *Chiao-hsing-che* which may mean "having religious observance", its identification with Puri made by Cunningham is tenable. There can be no doubt therefore that Puri was recognised as a holy place in the 7th century A.C.

The pilgrim says nothing about the religious cult prevalent at Che-li-ta-lo; nor he mentions whether its monasteries belonged to Buddhism or Hinduism. The pilgrim was a Buddhist. Had Che-li-ta-lo been a Buddhist centre he would have mentioned it as such in his accounts as he did in the case of Puṣpagiri in Orissa. But as the case has been otherwise, it should be supposed that Puri was a religious centre of the Hindus. This supposition is confirmed by the term *Kṣetra* which is never applied to a Buddhist centre.

It can be gleaned from the *Slokas* referring to the temple of Jagannātha found in the copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga kings that Gaṅgeśvaradeva reconstructed the temple of Jagannātha which was in a dilapidated condition. The *Slokas* concerning this statement read:—

पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षसखिलं नाभिस्तुसर्वादिशः
श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्द्रयुगलं मूर्धापि च द्यौरसौ ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षम-
स्तस्येत्याद्यनृपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेथ गङ्गेश्वरः ॥
लक्ष्मीजन्मग्रहं पयोनिधिरसौ संभावितस्यस्थिति-
र्णोधान्नि श्वशुरस्य पूज्यत इति क्षीराब्धिवासाद्भुवं ।
निर्विण्णः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदितस्तद्वासलाभाद्रमा-
प्येतद्भुत्तुं गृहं वरं पितृगृहात्प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता ॥

"What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a god as Puruṣottama, whose feet are the earth, whose naval the

entire world, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon and whose head that heaven (above)? The task which was hitherto neglected by the previous kings, was fulfilled by Gaṅgeśvaradeva.”

“The ocean is the birth-place of Lakṣmī, so looking upon it as his father-in-law’s house (the ocean) Viṣṇu dwelt there with some delicacy, though he got full adoration. So the god Puruṣottama was glad to get the new house, and Lakṣmī, too, gladly preferred living in her husband’s new house to living in her father’s house.”

The statement that the task of erecting the temple was neglected by previous kings, points to the fact that there had existed the god, apparently in a dilapidated temple. Again the statement that the goddess Lakṣmī quitted her father’s house and lived in her husband’s, indicates that the temple of Jagannātha and that of Lakṣmī were built simultaneously. But Lakṣmī is not mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. It is probable therefore that the interpolation had been made in the *Skanda-Purāṇa* before the supremacy of the Gaṅgas prevailed in Orissa.

Needless to say that the interpolators must put into writing the oral tradition which was current in the locality of Jagannātha at the time of interpolation, say in the 11th century A.C. at the earliest. Prior to its interpolation the story must have undergone changes.

Though the historical facts in the tradition seem to have been veiled by legends and mythology, yet they can be disentangled with the help of the data furnished by the archæological discovery and as such the historical importance of the traditions should not be underrated.

The Gāṃabhojaka in the Buddhist Birth-stories

The Jātakas contain interesting references to the duties and powers of the *gāṃabhojaka* or the *gāṃika* who played an important part in India's rural economy from the earliest times. These few but weighty remarks pieced together, lead to certain broad probabilities which ill accord with the theory given currency in some quarters that he was a typical product of the free institutions and corporate life of the ancient village system.

The headman frequently appears in the rôle of an absentee landlord who dwells in a town not necessarily in close proximity and periodically visits his village zemindary. In the *paccupannavatthus* Anāthapiṇḍika often goes to supervise the affairs of his village leaving his house at Sāvatti (I. 365, 412). Sometimes the absentee lord is preoccupied with mercantile pursuits and the village is an additional source of income possibly unearned, where he goes only to realise his dues traversing a long journey on cart (I. 413, V. 164). Sometimes he makes the journey for collecting debts accompanied by his wife (II. 341, III. 107). In one case he is seen attaching a cart of a defaulter in satisfaction for what was due to him (III. 66).

Wherefrom was the ownership derived? The earliest trace of this type of landlord villages is found in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* where it is told in connexion with the performance of certain sacrifices by a person hankering after a village (*grāmakāma*) how the gods concerned 'bestow him creatures led by the noses' (II.1.1.2) how they 'present his relations to him and make the folk dependent on him' (ibid. 1.3.2) and how they enable him to hold the mind of his peers (ibid. 3.9.2.). These cryptic expressions mean, if anything, that the village lordships acquired in the first instance by individual exertion, afterwards received the seal of royal confirmation. The Jātakas belie throughout the tradition embodied in the

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that land must not be given away by a king even on the plea of a sacrificial fee (XIII. 7, 15). The recipients of royal bounties are not always Brāhmaṇas and the donations of villages are almost invariably accompanied by the conventional phrase "yielding a hundred thousand a year" (*satasabassuttānaka* I.420; III.229; V.350, 371). In the Mahāummaga Jātaka, Bodhisatta on his way from Uttarapañcāla to Videha sends men to receive the revenue of the eighty Kāsi villages which king Culani had given him (VI. 463). The grantee in this and similar occasions when he is a town-dweller appears to be out of touch with village administration except so far as is necessary for collection of revenues. It is likely that he obtained not the *administration*¹ but the revenues of the village, *i.e.*, benefits without responsibility; and as the big money-lender he asserted his furtive power still further in his rural preserves not always with happy results. Instances of pious men like Anātha-piṇḍika are fortuitous and there is little reason to believe that his charitable acts were dictated by any customary obligation implicit in ownership.

The headman is not necessarily, rather rarely, the mainspring of the gāma's corporate life and collectivist enterprise. In this respect he differs from the *jetthakas* of the industrial gāmas or of the trade-guilds. In the Kulāvaka Jātaka Bodhisatta is the moving spirit of the sturdy gāma life and the headman is put to the thought

1 In the *Dīgha Nikāya* there is a stock passage which seems to indicate *prima facie* that the royal fiefs carried with them administrative power. "Now at that time so and so the Brāhmaṇa was dwelling at such and such place, a place teeming with life with much grassland and woodland and water and corn, on a royal domain granted him by so and so the king as a royal gift *with power over it as if he were the king*" (*rājabhoggaṃ raññā dīnaṃ rājadāyaṃ brahma-deyyaṃ*, III. i. 1; IV. i. 1; XII. i. 1). The fief from the description seems to be not a settled village but a large tract of irrigated and cultivated soil with fenland and pasture fit for animal farming; and the concluding phrase permits the interpretation that the usufructuary right and titular ownership of the king were transferred to the assignee along with the land.

when these men used to get drunk and commit murder and so forth, I used to make a lot of money out of them not only in the price of their drinks but also by the fines and dues they paid (*abam pubbe etesu suram pivantesu paṇātipātādini karontesu cātikahāpana divasena c'eva daṇḍabalivasena ca dhanam labhāmi*); and he brought a complaint to the king against Bodhisatta on false charges (I.199ff).

These few words read with the allusion to a pious headman in another place who stopped the sale of strong drink in his estate (IV.115) lead to a strong presumption that the headman either himself maintained breweries in the village—those crime-centres and plague-spots of rural life, or he enjoyed the excise dues thereon whether within or outside the revenue transferred by royal assignment. The fines undoubtedly went to his pocket. For he adjudicated rural cases. To a question why a certain headman had fallen from better days a king replies: “That village headman used once to deal justice indifferently, so that men were pleased and delighted with him; and in their delight they gave him many a present (*babupannākāram ābarimsu*). This is what made him handsome, rich and honoured. Now he loves to take bribes (*pana lañcavittako hutvā*), and his judgment is not fair; so he is poor, miserable and jaundiced. If he judges once again with righteousness he will be again as he was before. He knows not that there are kings in the land. Tell him that he must use justice in giving judgment (*dhammena attam vinicchinitum* II.309).

There is a sharp demarcation between the legitimate dues and the illegal gratifications of the headman. But a judge who can accept presents from litigants without any sense of wrong, must be prone to count these tips among his dues as much as the judicial fines and to allow his decisions to be bought all the more when they are not assisted by a jury or a folk moot of any *sort*² and when there

2 The village affairs discussed in the public hall bore on civic amenities, co-operative labour and state of crops but there is no authority to assume that they

appears to have been no appeal against them. The vaunted prerogative of interference claimed by the king was certainly no common occurrence in those days of disorder and insecurity, of decentralised government and undeveloped communication.³ It was asserted only on grave issues or when the king's revenue was at stake.

Without doubt the headman was a big man of opulence and position whose wrongs could not be held in check by any lesser authority than the king. In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* referred to above we find him for once heavily chastised by the king for falsely bringing grave charges of treason against the whole body of villagers. He has power to prohibit slaughter of animals for sacrifice within his area (IV.115). He dares to commit adultery with a *gabapati's* wife and when caught and thrashed by the husband, none other than Bodhisatta would have ventured on similar method of exacting 'damages', he expostulated saying 'I am the headman' (*gāmahojako' mbiti* II.135). Elsewhere a headman conspires with brigands to carry off the taxes collected for the king: and here for the second time we see him feel the heavy hand of an overlord (I.354).

included judicial matters except in the republics. In the foregoing passage the headman's justice is undivided. Kauṭilya's ordinance of a fine of 24 paṇas for a headman who expels from a village anyone except a thief and an adulterer (*Arthashastra* III. X) presumes untrammelled exercise by the headman of his judicial powers. There is no sufficient data for the assumption that in Maurya times he carried on the village administration and judicial business in consultation with the *grāmauyddhas* or elders. For this view see Thomas in *Cambridge History of Ancient India*, vol. 1 and Ray Choudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*: 3rd Edition, p. 199.

3 The evidence of the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* and of the *Gāmani Canda Jātaka* just quoted leads a scholar to think that "administration of justice was one of the essential links that bound the scattered villages to the central organisation of the state" and that in this matter final authority rested with the king. He relies further on the custom referred to in the latter by which any one could challenge a disputant to come to the king's officer by picking up a potsherd or stone. But the village concerned is not a *bhogagāma*. Such central control in normal administration of justice in rural areas under influential lords goes against the cumulative evidence of the *Jātakas* and the possibilities of the times. See B. C. Sen in *Journal of Letters* vol. XX, p. 107.

The last instance implies the existence of another kind of headman besides the one who enjoyed the village revenue from royal grant, a semi-official entrusted with the collection and despatch of the king's share of produce. Whether he was king's nominee or elected by the rural constituency or whether he held a hereditary post is impossible to ascertain beyond dispute. That the zemindaries were hereditary admits of no doubt. In the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka "headship of a single village" (*ekagāṃabhojanam*) is spoken of in contrast with the "Office of Commander-in-chief and similar posts" (*Senāpatitthānādini* V. 484) the suggestion being that the head was a king's officer. There is no example in the birth stories or any contemporary evidence to warrant the conclusion that he was the "elected chief of the village community."⁴ That he stood in certain relations with the king is attested by many passages (IV.310). As noticed above he could seek justice in king's court whenever there was trouble in his affairs. It is probable that he discharged certain vague undefined functions as an intermediary between the king and the freeholders.

Thus the headman is a 'persona grata' with the king as with his tenants. He is apparently the sole and final judge of the small village causes. He collects the king's tithe and sends it to the treasury unless the revenue is assigned to him by royal writ. The judicial fees and fines and the returns of liquor houses or excise dues are among his perquisites. He is the agricultural bank 'par excellence'. He may have had other incomes lawful or otherwise⁵ for his assets are in cases gauged at eighty crores. In one of these he is described as a landowner (*asitikoṭivibhavo kutumbika*, IV.370). In another he is the King's chaplain and hoards up the sum apart

4 For this view see Fick's *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit*, pp. 105-6.

5 The words *gāṃabhojaka* and *gāṃabhojana* suggest not usufructuary title over land but enjoyment of all possible revenue derivable from the village.

from his office (*purohitatthānena sādḍhim asītikotiḍhanam chaddetoā*, IV. 484)—presumably from the 'revenue village' (*bbogagāmaṃ*) which he visits from time to time (IV. 473). The landholder Sujāta at Benares lodges in his park and ministers to five hundred ascetics (V. 465) and the multimillionaire Anāthapiṇḍika frequently beats the record. Giving due allowance for the tendency of folktales towards exaggeration these figures show that the landlord might occasionally rise to the topmost rung of economic ladder and rank with the plutocracy of Brāhmaṇa and Setṭhi magnates who basked in the sunshine of court and whose wealth is often estimated in the same fabulous figures.

Whether absorbed in the luxuries and money transactions of urban-life or settled in his rural estate, the headman has little to do with the communal life of the village and he owes no responsibility either to the king or to a village council for rural welfare. In the numerous famine scenes we invariably miss him. Once only he is found giving an old ox to hungry cultivators under the grip of scarcity on condition of repayment after two months from the next harvest (II.135) and this must be regarded as part of his ordinary lending business than of a benevolent distribution of *dole*.⁶

In the Vedic texts village headmen (*grāmani*, *grāmika*) are styled Rājakarṭṭ and Ratnin aiding in the consecration of the king among certain other functionaries and are consulted by the king along with the ministers. The Mahāvagga gives the important reference that the *gāmikas* of Bimbisāra, 80,000 in number, used to be summoned in a great assembly (V.I.1ff). In those days when kingship had not yet outgrown the tribal stage, the village chiefs were communal representatives and exerted a wholesome check on

6 Kauṭilya exhorts villagers to accompany the *grāmika* by turns whenever he "has to travel on account of any business of the whole village." From evidences already adduced it may be argued '*a fortiori*' that this business was personal (*i.e.* related to his own income) rather than corporate and administrative (*Arthśāstra*, III.X).

royal absolutism. But later records which synchronise with the growth of a centralised monarchy fortified by a bureaucratic machine, strike a different note. The periodical assemblies of *gāmikas* seem to have fallen into disuse with the rise of Maurya imperialism: they gradually sank down from the headship of autonomous villages to sleeping landowners with irresponsible powers and vested privileges or were transformed into king's officers and absorbed into an official hierarchy. The Jātakas exhibit the headman in both these capacities. Even in later Upaniṣadic literature we find the king appointing *adhikṛtas* over *grāmas*;⁷ such appointment tallies with the conception of civil polity and paramount sovereignty implied in the honorific 'Samrāt'. In the Arthaśāstra, the *grāmabbṛtakas* are king's servants and the *grāmikas* are subordinate to the *gopas*, *sthānikas* and still higher officers. The bureaucratic system is perfected in the law-codes (*Āpastamba* II. 26. 4-5; *Viṣṇu* III. 7-15; *Yājñavalkya* I. 337) and *Manu* lays down a detailed official gradation. The *grāmikas* appointed by the king are not to take cognizance of crimes and decide according to their free will but report all cases to lords of ten villages, they in turn to the next superior officers and so on (VII. 115-117). In the *Sukranītisāra* the headman is a king's deputy (ii. 343) "intoxicated by drinking the vanity of office" (ii. 227). In the Śaka and Gupta inscription as well, side by side with land charters issued to royal favourites, the *grāmikas*, *bhojakas* etc. are found fitted in an elaborate framework of civil administration. Thus the upholder of popular rights and duties who loomed large in Vedic and early Buddhist social economy is no longer the representative of free village corporations and fades out into a leisurely landlord or is stereotyped into an official automaton.

ATINDRA NATH BOSE

⁷ *Praśna-Upaniṣad*, III. 4. Quoted in Ray Choudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*. 4th Edition p. 141. f.n. 4.

'Alivardī as Deputy Governor of Bihar

Bihar annexed to the Bengal Subah

Fortune smiled upon 'Alivardī brightly after a change in the government of Bihar during the *subahdārship* of Shujā'ud-dīn. Fakhr-ud-daulah, who had succeeded Naṣrat Yār Khān as the Governor of Bihar in 1727 A.D., held that post for about five years.¹ But he was uneducated, arrogant, proud, and self-indulgent and could not, therefore, discharge his duties properly. He was foolish enough to quarrel with Shaikh 'Abdullah, a man of considerable influence in Bihar being employed by every Governor, either as his deputy or as the chief farmer of the revenues.² Further, he insulted Khāwjah Mu'taṣim, who had been living a retired religious life at Azimabad (Patna). This was an unwise provocation as the latter went to Delhi and reported it to his brother Samsam-ud-daulah Khān-i-Daurān, through whose influence Fakhr-ud-daulah³ was dismissed. Bihar was then annexed to the Bengal Subah and automatically placed under Nawāb Shujā'ud-dīn. It remained since then as apanage of the Bengal government till 1912.

'Alivardī as Deputy Governor of Bihar

Shujā'ud-dīn did not think it advisable to keep the entire charge of Bihar and Bengal under himself, nor did he find any one among his kinsmen fit for being entrusted with the government of Bihar.⁴

1 Siyār (N. K. Press Ed.), II, p. 469.

2 *Ibid.*

3. There is a mosque called after him Fakhr-ud-daulah's mosque on the main road, about 6 miles east of Golā, in Patna City. It was built in 1788 A.D., perhaps by his wife who is called Begām Ṣāhebā in the inscription on the mosque, but her name is not mentioned. It was completely wrecked in the earthquake of January 1934 and was rebuilt from its foundation in 1935 at the cost of the Nawāb Bahadur of Murshidabad. The cupolas of the present structure retain the same chastity of design as those of the original building.

4 Yusuf, f. 6.

His proposal for the appointment of his son Sarfārāz as the Deputy Governor of Bihar was opposed by his consort Zebunnisā, who did not like to remain separated from her only son. She did not also support the appointment of Taqī Khān, half-brother of Sarfārāz.⁵ Considering that the administration of Bihar required a strong man at the helm of its affairs, Shujā'ud-dīn turned his choice upon 'Alivardī. This was approved by all the members of his Council⁶ and also by Zebunnisā. She summoned 'Alivardī before the gate of the female apartment and had a rich khela't (dress) put on his body through her son Sarfārāz⁷ and gave him a *firman* for the Government of Bihar.⁸ After this investiture, 'Alivardī was called before Shujā'ud-dīn, who also on his own part gave him an elephant, a sword, a dagger, an embroidered head-dress along with other presents and a patent for the Deputy Governorship of Bihar.⁹

Birth of Mirzā Muḥammad (Sirāj-ud-daulah)

A few days before 'Alivardī received this new appointment, his youngest daughter Aminā Begam, married to his youngest nephew Zainuddīn Aḥmad Khān, had given birth to a son. 'Alivardī had no son of his own; he named his grandson Mirzā Muḥammad (later on called Nawāb Sirāj-ud-daulah), made him an object of special favour and affection, as his birth was synchronous with his elevation to that high post.¹⁰ Having obtained permission to take with him his two sons-in-law, his newly born grandson and several other relatives,¹¹ 'Alivardī started

5 *Ibid.*; Siyār, II, p. 472.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Kbulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh*:

8 Yusuf, f. 6. This shows the influence of Zebunnisā in Shujā'ud-dīn's government. Instances of women taking part in administration were not rare in the history of India during this period. Vide my 'Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah', Vol. I, pp. 35-38.

9 Yusuf, f. 7; Siyār, II, p. 472. 10 *Ibid.* 11 *Ibid.*, *Kbulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh*.

for 'Azimabad (Patna) in 1733¹² with five thousand soldiers in infantry and cavalry.¹³ After his stay there for full one year,¹⁴ he was summoned to Murshidabad by Shujā'ud-dīn, who had then procured for him from the Imperial Court of Delhi the title of Mahabat Jang, the rank of a *pānchbāzāri mansabdār*, and the honour of possessing a fringed *pālki* (palanquin), a standard and a kettledrum.¹⁵ Those honours being duly bestowed upon him, he came back to 'Azimabad as soon as possible.¹⁶

Bihar administration not an easy task

Bihar administration was not a very easy task at that time, especially because the weak government of Fakhr-ud-daulah had given rise to various disorders. The whole province was in a greatly distracted and unsettled state. Most of the Zamindars had become turbulent and rebellious¹⁷, and the land had fallen a prey to the nefarious activities of a band of wandering people called the *Banjārās*, "who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the Imperial domains and treasures."¹⁸ But nothing daunted by these

12 Yusuf, f. 7. Writers like Orme (*Indostan*, II, p. 28), Holwell (*Interesting Historical Events*, pp. 68-71) and Stewart (*History of Bengal*, pp. 477-79) wrongly think that 'Alivardī began his governorship of Bihar from 1729 A.D.

13 Riyād, p. 295.

14 Yusuf, f. 7; Siyār, p. 473.

15 *Ibid.*, Yusuf, f. 7; Wafā, f. 5; *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh*. Salimullah, who believes that Alivardī had been aspiring after the *masnad* of Bengal for a long time, wrongly holds that he directly secured the title from Delhi without Shujā'ud-dīn's permission. The author of Riyād depending evidently on Salimullah, has repeated his mistake and writes that through the agency of Muḥammad Ishāq Khān, *diwān* of the Imperial *khālsā*, 'Alivardī opened negotiations with Qāmr-ud-dīn Khān, the Imperial Wāzīr, and also with other Imperial ministers, and succeeded in obtaining directly from the Emperor the title of Mahabat Jang Bahadur without Shujā'ud-dīn's recommendation (p. 297).

16 Siyār, II, p. 473; Yusuf, f. 7.

17 Siyār, II, p. 473.

18 Riyād, p. 296; Rāhat-u-Arwāḥ, f. 84A. According to Crooke (*Tribes and Castes of N.W.P. and Oudh*, I, p. 179, the term *Banjārā* is derived from the Sanskrit *Vānijya-Kāra* (a merchant). Peter Mundy (II, pp. 95-96) and Tavernier (I, p. 30) describe the *Banjārās* as a nomadic tribe of public carriers continually

manifold odds, 'Alivardī applied himself to his duties with great vigour and courage. He first of all tried to restore order in the city of Patna, create confidence in the hearts of his subjects and secure the confidence of the army.¹⁹ He next tried his best to strengthen the military establishment of his government by recruiting as many soldiers as were available from the adjacent territories, and thus within a short time he could gather a well-trained and powerful army.²⁰ He admitted into his service 'Abdul Karim Khān, a powerful Ruhelā Afghān chief having fifteen hundred Darbhanga Afghāns under his command.²¹ With the help of these Afghāns, 'Alivardī chastised the turbulent *Banjārās* and got immense booty.²²

Suppression of the Zamindārs

A refractory nobility is a source of danger to a state. 'Alivardī thus acted wisely in trying, since the commencement of his administration of Bihar, to suppress the unruly Zamindars of the province. He weakened some of them by fomenting dissensions among them,²³ while a few others sought and secured his favour by readily yielding to him.²⁴ But strong measures had to be adopted to bring the more unruly ones under effective control. The Bhojpuri Zamindars

wandering from place to place with their women, children, household goods and animals like oxen. Some of them were again independent traders and transported goods from one market to another. In the eighteenth century, probably due to the disorders of the time, they took to plundering activities as opportunities came. They were occasionally employed to supply provisions to soldiers in the field; as for example, in Sikandar Lodi's campaign against Gwalior in 1505 A.D. (Eliot, V, p. 100) and in Lord Cornwallis' war with Tipu in 1791 A.D. (Mill's *British India*, V, ch. IV). Malcolm writes (*Memoir of Central India*, II, p. 152) of them:—"They live in tents....they come and go to different countries, their services are required to supply armies and to carry on commerce. Their number in any one province rises and falls like an article in trade, according to the demand."

19 *Siyār*, II, p. 473.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*, *Riyād*, p. 296; Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Siyār*, II, p. 473.

24 *Ibid.*

dārs of Shahbad, Rājah Sundar Singh of Tikāri, and Kāmgar Khān Mayi of Narhāt-Samāi,²⁵ who had defied the authority of the previous Deputy Governors and had evaded the payment of the government dues, were reduced to submission and compelled to pay all the arrear revenues due from them.²⁶ The rājahs of Bettiah and Bhānwārah²⁷ were also thoroughly subdued, and from their territories 'Alivardī carried off a large booty worth several lacs, in specie and other effects.²⁸

Suppression of the Chākwārs

He then turned his attention against the *Chākwārs*, a brave and powerful Hindu tribe who had their stronghold at Sambho in the Begusarāi subdivision of the Monghyr district. They had made themselves semi-independent and had defied the authority of the *ṣubabdārs* of Bengal and of the Delhi Emperors by withholding the payment of tribute to the Government, at least since the early 18th century if not earlier.²⁹ They "laid everything that passed on the river (Ganges) by Mongheer (Monghyr) under contribution, and put the European settlements to an annual heavy expense of a large armament to escort their trade to and from Patna."³⁰ Their 'old and brave' Rājah died in the year 1730, and was succeeded by his son, a youth of seventeen, who being intimidated by the examples

25 This Zamindari covered the south-east of Zilā Bihar. An area of 10½ square miles of the Narhāt Parganā now lies in the south-east of the Bihar subdivision of the Patna district. Vide Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, II pp. 588-89. For an account of the Mayi family vide Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 176, 181, 219, 269, 584, 590, 591.

26 Riyād, p. 297.

27 It has been mentioned as a *maḥāl* under *Sarkār* Tirhut in *ṣubab* Bihar in *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 156; Stewart (p. 478) wrongly calls it Phoolwārah. Phulwāri was a *maḥāl* under *Sarkār* Bihar.

28 Riyād, p. 296.

29 Fort William Consultations, 1718-1722 A.D., Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, III, pp. 50, 153, 246, 255, 275, 283, 325, 353.

30 Holwell, *IHE.*, pp. 68-70.

of several of the Bihar Zamindars submitted to 'Alivardī after a short resistance and acknowledged allegiance to the Delhi Emperor and the *subahdār* of Bengal. An annual tribute was stipulated, and was regularly paid for four years. A spot was fixed at a distance of thirty miles from the capital of the *Chākwārs*, where their Rājah every year met an officer of the Bengal Government on a certain day to pay the promised tribute, each party coming with only thirty attendants.³¹

Murder of 'Abdul Karim

In the meantime, 'Abdul Karim, the brave Afghan commander of 'Alivardī, conscious of his own prowess, grew rather insolent and manifested a spirit of independence that spurned at authority. Apprehending that the example of the Afghān commander might breed infection among others to the prejudice of his government, 'Alivardī got him murdered through a shrewed device when he attended the *Chihil satun* or Hall of Audience at Patna.³² Ghulām Husain, with his usual partiality for 'Alivardī, has tried to defend this conduct on his part. He believes that Abdul Karim deserved an exemplary capital punishment for his refractoriness and defiance of the Deputy Governor's authority.³³ But the treacherous assassination of a person, who had rendered useful services so lately, simply on the charge of insubordination, seems to be an unjust punishment. It was too clearly an act of ambition which would brook no opposition. 'Alivardī's officers and courtiers must have recalled the incident when in the year 1748 his nephew Haibat Jang was murdered by the Afghāns in the same hall.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Raiṣaheb Rashidhari Singh of Chitror in the Begusarai subdivision of the Monghyr district claims descent from the Chākwārs and saw me with a view to know their history.

³² Riyād, p. 297; Siyār, II. p. 473.

³³ *Ibid.*

An estimate of 'Alivardī's administration of Bihar

However, by following a strict policy of repression sometimes coupled with conciliation, 'Alivardī succeeded in restoring administrative order in Bihar. We have it on the authority of contemporary writers like Yusuf 'Alī,³⁴ Ghulām Husain³⁵ and Wafā³⁶ and also of a comparatively late writer Kalyān Singh that he governed the province in an efficient manner. The coercion of the Zamindars compelled him no doubt to take recourse to rather harsh measures but he was not cruel to the common people. As a matter of fact, the evils due to aristocratic turbulence, during the wrecked administration of his predecessor, had grown too alarming for the interest of the province to be cured by mere "rose-water surgery." It should also be noted to the credit of 'Alivardī that he could effect a considerable improvement in the financial condition of his government, not by imposing additional taxes, but by properly collecting the old ones and by recovering the arrear revenues from the Zamindars. This enabled him to remit to the Delhi Emperor thirty lacs of rupees a year as revenue from the Bihar *subab* instead of twenty lacs as sent in the time of Farrukhsiyar.³⁷ Thus 'Alivardī's vigorous administration of Bihar marked a turning point in his career, because it provided him with means both to conserve Shujā'ud-din's goodwill and esteem and strengthen his own position.³⁸

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34 f. 7.

35 *Siyār*, II, p. 273.

36 f. 6.

37 *Calcutta Review*, 1882, p. 119. While these facts indicate increased efficiency of revenue-collection, the great increase in the Delhi tribute can only be regarded as a sacrifice of government finance for the sake of securing freedom from Delhi interference with growing provincial independence, and as a considerable economic drain from Bengal, which had no return.

38 *Siyār*, II, p. 273.

Buddhist Ecclesiastical Punishments

Discipline consists in the attenuation of human conduct to a set of laws. For the Buddhist monks this set of law is collected in the Vinaya Piṭaka. It is the foundation of ethical life in Buddhist Saṅgha. Mr. Sukumar Dutta has dealt with this subject in his *Early Buddhist Monachism*,¹ MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Śāstri in his notes on some of the terms in his Bengali edition of the *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha* and MM. Prof. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his edition of the *So-sor-thar-pa*. With the help of these notes, an attempt has been made in this paper to give a running account of the different forms of disciplinary measures embodied in the Vinaya Piṭaka. The measures are classed as major and minor.

Major Disciplinary Measures

I. *Tajjanīya-kamma*—This punishment is meted out to a bhikkhu who is quarrelsome, an idle talker, a maker of schism in the saṅgha or guilty of such other faults including the frequenting of societies of lay people. The punishment consists in an act of reprimand. A bhikkhu against whom a charge of *Tajjanīyakamma* is brought is first warned and reminded, and then charged with the particular offence committed by him. This charge is forthwith brought to the notice of the saṅgha by a competent and learned bhikkhu by means of a motion (*ñatti*) and the saṅgha punish him if he is found guilty of the transgression. The punishment consists in denying the bhikkhu the privileges enjoyed in common with the other members of the saṅgha. He is no longer permitted to ordain novices, grant *nissaya*² to neophytes and offer exhortations to nuns.

He is not even entitled to occupy the same seat with other bhikkhus. The restrictions remain until revoked by the saṅgha formally.

II. *Nissaya-kamma*—This punishment is inflicted on a bhikkhu who is foolish and incompetent and who does not give proper attention to moral teachings and commits offences repeatedly even while undergoing the punishments of *Parivāsa*, *Mānatta*, *Mūlāyapāṭikassanā*.³ The punishment consists in placing the guilty bhikkhu under the guidance of another bhikkhu. The procedure for bringing the guilty bhikkhu to task by the saṅgha is the same as described above. A bhikkhu guilty of *Nissayakamma* forfeits his privileges in the saṅgha. The punishment continues until it is revoked by the saṅgha formally. Mr. Dutt says, "this measure is carried out against a bhikkhu who had been repeatedly guilty of saṅghādiseṣa offences and undergone sentences therefor."

III. *Pabbājaniya-kamma*—This punishment is imposed on a group of bhikkhus who living in an ārāma (monastery) close to a town or a village resort to evil practices, frequent lay societies, cut jokes with women and amuse themselves with different kinds of games which are all prohibited in the teachings of the master. By resorting to this sort of frivolities and frequenting lay societies, they create a scandal and become cause of annoyance to the laity. The procedure for imposing the punishment on the delinquent monk is the same as described above in para I. The punishment consists in driving away those guilty bhikkhus from the place of the commission of offences. The saṅgha in such cases usually go to the spot where the offence is committed and formally inflict the punishment upon them. The punishment lasts until a revocation is made by the saṅgha, the revocation being made only when the monk is found to behave properly and receive exhortations on Dhamma and Vinaya regularly.

3 See *infra*.

IV. *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma*—This punishment is inflicted upon a bhikkhu who does harm to a faithful and believing householder, brings about loss to the laity, finds fault with the laity and causes division among the lay devotees and does similar other acts. The punishment consists in an act of reconciliation. The procedure for imposing the punishment on the guilty bhikkhu by the saṅgha is the same as described above in para I. The guilty bhikkhu is directed to ask for and obtain pardon of the aggrieved householder. If he fails to obtain pardon of the householder, a companion is then formally selected by the saṅgha to implore the householder personally on his behalf. Now if the companion so selected by the saṅgha fails to obtain pardon of the householder, he is to ask for pardon of the householder for the delinquent bhikkhu in the name of the saṅgha and even if he be not pardoned, then the guilty bhikkhu is directed to squat on the ground with folded hands, putting robes on his one shoulder and ask pardon of the householder against whom he has committed wrong by confessing his guilt. The punishment lasts until a revocation is made by the saṅgha, the revocation being made only when the guilty bhikkhu is found to behave properly.

*Patta-nikkujjana-kamma*⁴ (the act of overturning the bowl) is a punishment when a householder offends a monk and the monk in return refuses to accept alms from him. The householder on being repentant is allowed to give alms to the offending bhikkhu as an act of expiation.

V. *Ukkhepaniya-kamma*—This punishment is imposed on a bhikkhu on three grounds:—(i) for not confessing a guilt (*āpattiya adassane*), (ii) for not atoning for a guilt (*āpattiya appatikamme*) and (iii) for not giving up a false doctrine (*pāpikāya ditthiya appatinissagge*). The punishment consists in the forfeiture of certain privileges of a monk. The procedure for the imposition

⁴ Cullavagga, V, 20, 6-7.

of the punishment by the saṅgha is the same as described above. The guilty monk is denied the privileges of ordaining novices, granting *nissaya*, accepting novices and giving exhortations to nuns. He is no longer entitled to reverence, service and such other privileges. The punishment continues unless a revocation is made by the saṅgha, the revocation being made only when the delinquent monk is found to behave properly and become submissive to the saṅgha. Mr. Dutt says, "with regard to (iii), it is laid down that the bhikkhus should first exhort the guilty bhikkhu to give up the false doctrine (so that his refusal to do so would amount to Pācittiya offence no. 68). Now in Pācittiya 69 it is laid down that a bhikkhu, guilty of Pācittiya offence (68), should be subjected to a social boycott by the bhikkhus."⁵

Minor Disciplinary Measures

I & II. *Mānatta* and *Parivāsa*—These two punishments are imposed on a bhikkhu found guilty of transgressing one of the thirteen Saṅghādisesa rules. The guilty bhikkhu is denied the privileges of the saṅgha as mentioned above. *Mānatta* is imposed when a guilty bhikkhu confesses his guilt whereas *Parivāsa* is inflicted in case of non-confession. There is no prescribed time-limit for *Parivāsa*. It remains until a revocation is made by the saṅgha, the revocation being made only when the delinquent bhikkhu is found to have purged himself of all the evils. But *Mānatta* can in no case exceed six days. After a guilty bhikkhu undergoes the *Mānatta* discipline, he is taken back into the saṅghas i.e. rehabilitated. The term for this formality is *Abbhāna*. *Parivāsa* is generally of three types:—

(1) *Paṭicchana-parivāsa*—when a bhikkhu, having committed an offence, knowingly conceals the same, he is then subjected to *Parivāsa*. But he has to undergo *Parivāsa* for the number of days he kept the offence concealed.

5 *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p. 171.

(2) *Suddhanta-parivāsa*—when a bhikkhu, having committed a number of Saṅghādisesa offences, fails to remember the actual dates as well as the nature of the offences, he is then subjected to Suddhanta-parivāsa and the period of punishment is calculated from the date of his Upasampadā ordination up to the day of imposition of the punishment.⁶

(3) *Samodhāna-parivāsa*—when a bhikkhu while undergoing the punishment of Parivāsa commits a fresh offence, he is then again subjected to Parivāsa, the period of which is the same as the difference of the number of days between the commission of the second offence and the Parivāsa period prescribed for the first offence, whichever is the longer.

Parivāsa for four months is also imposed on bhikkhus who after ordination leave the order and want to rejoin it and on those who formerly belonged to a heretical school.⁷

III. *Mūlāya-paṭikassanā* means re-undergoing the punishment. When a bhikkhu under punishment commits an offence and confesses it, he is directed to undergo again the punishment which was prescribed for the first offence. Prof. Śāstrī says, “when a bhikkhu is fit for Abbhāna after serving out the sentences of Parivāsa and Mānatta, commits a fresh offence in the meantime, he is then punished by Mūlāya-Paṭikassanā.”

IV. *Pakāsaniya-kamma*—This punishment was imposed on Devadatta, cousin of Buddha, for his attempt to make schism in the Buddhist order while he was an active member of the saṅgha. It is an extraordinary punishment carried only against him and is mentioned once only in the whole of the Vinaya Piṭaka.⁸

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6 taṃ gaṇetvā gaṇitadivasato yāva upasampadādivaso tāva rattiyo gaṇetvā parivasitabbam—*Samanta-pāsādikā*.

7 *Mbu.*, I. p. 69.

8 *Cullavagga*, VII, 3, 2.

A Cause of the Downfall of Ancient India

Downfall of a nation may be attributed to various causes, *viz.*, moral, material, martial and social. It is the cowardice of the Egyptians, weakness for money of the Greek generals and statesmen, corrupt social practices of the Persians, and treachery of some of the princes and generals of ancient India that brought about the downfall of these nations. Speaking of the ancient Indians, one may say that the idea of a common nationality as expressed by a common bond, that unites the people living in the same land, and culture was not quite unknown. The Greek historians record that one thousand Indian mercenaries had gone from the Punjab to help the Aśvakas against the Greeks. But after the fall of their city Massaga, these mercenaries entered the Greek army. They did not, however, like to fight against their own countrymen. So one night they stole away from their camp thinking it criminal to "fight against their own countrymen." They were, however, overtaken and massacred by the Greeks.¹ This incident definitely proves that the idea of nationalism was already there. Even in the later Rājput period we come across at least three alliances of the Indian princes against the Moslems. In one of them Someśvara, king of the Deccan, who was in no way affected by the fate of the princes in the North, sent his soldiers to the allied army. Very many instances may not be available to show that Indians possessed the idea of a common nationality, but the evidence at our disposal proves that Indians were not as deficient in this respect as they are said to be. Their fall to the invasions of the foreigners is mainly due to their inferior military equipment, and a critical examination of the

¹ *Cam. His. of India*, I, p. 353.

available records also shows that the treacherous activities of their own men strengthened the hands of their opponents.

Persians were the earliest of the foreign peoples to knock at the doors of India with military forces. The part, which the Indians played on that occasion, is not known. Cyrus, however, says Xenophon, received from the Indian king an embassy which "served him in a delicate matter of espionage before the war against Croesus and the campaigns in Asia Minor."² From the time of the Greek invasion down to the advent of the Moslems in India evidences, though scanty, are available to throw some light on the sad state of affairs. Many princes are found rivalling one another in their submission to every incoming invader.

Starting from Macedonia Alexander conquered Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt; and soon Persepolis lay at his feet. When he was in Seistan in the winter of 329-28 B.C., his soldiers rambled about in the Kabul valley. He conquered Balkh and just after this issued commands for marching into India. "The rājā of Taxila must have realised that a momentous choice lay before him." He preferred to side with the invader. Ambhi, the rājā's son sent his envoys to the Greeks assuring his fidelity to them. "Thus the European, at his first arrival at the gates of India, found India divided against itself. It was the hand of an Indian prince, that unbarred the door to the invader."³

Alexander saw the Taxiles in the Kabul valley, and persuaded them to accompany his army against the Afghan principalities. The Aśvakas were the first Indians to receive the brunt of the invasion. Their capital, Massaga, fell after one month's siege. A heroic but tragic incident, which has already been mentioned, is connected with the fall of this tribal city. In strange contrast to the sacrifice of those poor men is the conduct of one Sanggaios or Sañjaya. He

² *Cam. His. of India*, I, p. 331.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

had fled from Astes (Hasti?) and this "circumstance guaranteed his fidelity to Alexander." He helped him in the conquest of the city of Nikaia and was appointed the governor thereof.⁴ Peuceolaotis or Puṣkalavatī was the next place to be conquered by the Greeks. It fell because of the treachery of local chiefs—Kophaïos and Assagetes—who accompanied the Greeks in their further advance.⁵ The seige of Aornos affords still more hideous example of faithlessness. According to Curtius one old man with his two sons offered the Greeks to show the way up the summit of the hill where the Indian troops were staying. Diodoros confirms this story. Arrian, however, gives a different version. According to him some neighbouring countrymen led the Greek army to the rock.⁶ One Sisikottos or Śasi Gupta was appointed the governor of the place. The career of this man had all along been treacherous. He had long before "in Baktria deserted from the Indians to Bessos, but after Alexander had conquered the Baktrian land, served in his army and showed himself a man worthy of all confidence."⁷

After finishing these preliminaries to the conquest of India Alexander entered the Punjab. The political condition of the country was not satisfactory. It had just overthrown the yoke of the Persians. The Land of the Five Rivers was divided into numerous principalities and tribal republics. They were always at war with one another. The idea of a common Indian front against the foreigner did not occur to any of them. The son of the late Taxiles was too anxious to serve in the Greek army. At the approach of Alexander this prince of Taxila—the home of Kautalya—surrendered his kingdom to Alexander and took it back as his vassal. He presented 200 talents of silver, 3,000 oxen and 10,000

4 M'Crindle's *Ancient India*: Arrian, p. 60. 5 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 72.

6 *Ibid.*, Curtius, p. 197; Diodoros, p. 271; Arrian, p. 73.

7 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 76.

sheep and 30 elephants to the Greeks.⁸ It seems he had already become a principal adviser to the Macedonian monarch. He had seen Alexander even in the Kabul valley and had guaranteed the assistance of Sang-gaios who was, as has been mentioned before, appointed the governor of the principalities of Astes. Alexander held at Taxila what is in modern language called a *darbar* and invited Indian princes to fight with, or to submit to, him. Vast preparations were made to meet the Paurava king, whose challenging answer to Alexander's invitation for submission, had roused the anger of the Greeks. The king of Taxila had always borne a grudge against Poros who had not allowed the former to expand his dominion. He led a contingent of 5,000 strong against this Jhelum Prince. Both he and his brother tried to prevail Poros to submit to Alexander. They repeated the offer even in the battlefield but Poros gave such a blow to them that they ran away to their master.⁹ Poros, however, lost the day due to the treachery of the Abisares who had, since the advent of the Greeks, been playing a double game.¹⁰ His own nephew, the younger Poros, had made offers of help to the Greeks.¹¹ Alexander duly rewarded the Taxiles for the services to his cause.

The conduct of Poros himself after his defeat deserves condemnation. He began to humour the whimsical and capricious Greek. His answer to Alexander's question had made him the hero of ancient India; and some historians have called him the 'defender of faith.' His subsequent actions take away the glory which might have been his if he had only followed his two sons in the battlefield. But now, with the zeal of a new convert to the policy of "world-empire," he became an instrument in the hands of Alexander, and under his influence or orders(?) he befriended the erstwhile enemy

8 M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, Arrian, p. 83.

9 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 92-93; Curtius, p. 201-202.

10 *Ibid.*, Curtius, p. 207.

11 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 114.

Taxiles. He stooped too low to retain his little kingdom; and it is only in the fitness of things that his name has not been mentioned in Indian literature. He was neither the 'defender of faith' nor a servant of the nation. He had no broad vision or insight. He had no sense of honour or of shame. He did not feel any scruple to attend the 'celebrations of the Greeks' in honour of their "victory over the Indians."¹² He actively helped Alexander against his own nephew.¹³ He himself went to Sangala with all his elephants, 5,000 soldiers and war-engineers. He went to the length of advising Alexander about the affairs in Magadha and told him that victory was not difficult.¹⁴ So long as Alexander was in India Poros remained his friend and ally for which he was amply rewarded.¹⁵

The princes of the Panjab quarreling with one another had no scruples in accepting a foreigner as their overlord if they could only satisfy their hunger for more territory and land. The Abisares had been negotiating with the Paurava king for a common front against the foreign invasion. At the same time the king of the Abisares had sent his younger brother to Taxila to talk to Alexander. In fact the Abisares had been playing a double game. They were perhaps watching the results of the contest and were keeping themselves prepared to throw their weight on the winning side. Their absence from the battle-field, which saw the defeat of the Paurava, must have been deliberate. Soon after the defeat of the Jhelum Prince, the Abisares proceeded to make their submission to Alexander. They made it clear that their "king surrendered himself and his whole realm to Alexander."¹⁶ Curtius confirms this treachery of the Abisares.¹⁷

12 M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 112.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 113-114.

15 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 92-93; Curtius, p. 201-202.

16 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 112.

17 *Ibid.*, Curtius, p. 203, 207, 216.

14 *Ibid.*, Curtius, p. 222.

The defeat of Poros and his friendly alliance with Alexander paved the way for further conquest by the Greeks. The charming personality of Alexander had cast its spell over the country. Henceforth, every city or town surrendered to him without putting up even a show of resistance. The city of Sangala was easily taken. The Kathaians, however, put up a bold and stout resistance, but certain deserters approached the Greeks and opened the gates of the city.¹⁸ The European sense of chivalry manifested itself in razing the city to the ground. "The land belonging to it he (Alexander) made over to those Indians who had formerly been independent and who had submitted to him."¹⁹ These recipients of the reward at the hands of Alexander must have been some local chiefs or dignitaries who had betrayed the city. The king of Sopithes or Saubhūti soon surrendered. Arsakes was the next traitor.²⁰

The Indian resistance, though disorganised, disunited and further weakened by continued betrayals as it had been, proved too strong for the Greeks. The Greek army refused to march further. The passionate and angry appeals of Alexander to press on to the eastern sea proved to be of no avail. He could not rouse his soldiers to action and had to submit to their collective resolution to turn their backs away from India. But on his way back Alexander had to face great dangers and risks. The small republican tribes which had been enjoying full democracy were in no mood to submit to the monarchical system of the Greeks. The real fight for freedom was fought by the Aśvakas and other small tribes. The Mallois, the Oxydrakai and the Sibois put the Greeks to great trouble. In the Malloi capital Alexander was almost killed. The answer which the envoys of the Malloi and the Oxydrakoi gave to Alexander's question as to the cause of the delay in making submission speaks

18 M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, Arrian, p. 118, Curtius, p. 219.

19 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 119.

20 *Ibid.*, Curtius, p. 219-220; Diodoros confirms the story.

highly of their love of liberty and freedom. They said that "their error in so long delaying to send an embassy was pardonable, for they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy."²¹ This answer is in strange contrast with the answer of Poros who wished to be treated only 'as a king'. In the first case there was implied the determination to win back liberty, while Poros' remark was made to touch the romantic vein in the great monarch. According to Diodoros the cruel acts perpetrated by the Greeks compelled the Sodrai and Mashanoi into submission. The king of the Mausikanos surrendered without making any attempt to preserve his liberty.²² Sabbas or Sambos was the next victim.²³

These defeats of the Indians need an explanation. Indians were not inferior to the Greeks either in discipline or in boldness. There was no lack of patriotic feeling. The Aśvakas, Kṣatriyas, Malavas and the Oxydrakoi preferred death to the loss of independence. The intellectuals of the day were aware of the consequences of foreign rule. They had perhaps not forgotten the Persian administration. They consistently opposed the Greeks and their allies. All the Greek historians are at one in assigning to them a great part in the revolt of Sabbas or Sambos. "They openly reviled such of the princes as had submitted to him (Alexander) and encouraged the free states to revolt against his authority. On this account he hanged many of them."²⁴ But for the fact that the leadership of the country was in the hands of some selfish men who refused to look beyond their self-interests, Alexander's success in India would have been exceedingly difficult. It is not the sword but the services of Indian traitors that brought sweeping success to the arms of the Greeks.

21 M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, Arrian, p. 154.

22 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 158.

23 *Ibid.*, Arrian, p. 293.

24 *Ibid.*, Plutarch, p. 313.

Whatever might be the other results of the Greek invasion, it definitely led to the degeneration of the political mind. Lovers of liberty became very rare. Indians forgot to distinguish one master from another. It was all the same to them if their little kingdoms were safe. No detailed information about the Śaka, Parthian or Hūṇa rule is available. But whenever there is a little light thrown on the subject, an Indian is always found assisting the foreigner. The lust for gold got the better of the noble self. Thus, one Saubhāgya Sena is found befriending Antiochos III. He showed the weakness on the frontiers; and once again it was a prince who "unbarred the door to the invader." Such was the case during the fights with the Hūṇas also. At this time Bhānu Gupta ruled over Northern India. Among his governors there were two brothers Dhanyaviṣṇu and Mātṛviṣṇu. It seems that at the first sight of the Hūṇa hordes, they deserted the Guptas and joined the Hūṇa king. Toramāṇa confirmed their governorship and in the Eran Boar inscription Dhanyaviṣṇu is found eulogising him as "Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious, of great fame, (and) of great lustre."²⁵ The two brothers did not fight the Hūṇas as their brother governor Goparāja did.²⁶ They had forgotten the example of the illustrious Skanda Gupta who had to lie on the bare ground for three nights while engaged in the defence of his country.

As one proceeds further, the story becomes dull, and uninteresting. It is a tale of great deeds and great betrayals. After the Hūṇas, the Chinese were the next to come for conquests in India. During the latter half of the 7th century, after the death of the great Harṣa (who himself had been lured to do homage to the celestial emperor)²⁷ one *Wang-hwien-tse* who bore the title of *Yen-wei-so-fu-chung-stu* came to the court of Kanauj to

²⁵ Eran Boar Inscription: Fleet.

²⁶ Eran Pillar Inscription of Goparaja: Fleet.

²⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, IX, p. 19-20.

meet Harṣa. One of his ministers, *No-fo-ti-a-la-na-shun*, (Arjun?) had usurped his throne. This minister, or king as he had by now become, met the Chinese in the battle-field; and the yellow forces ran away to Tibet. Wang, however, with Tibetan and Nepalese armies came back, defeated and slew the minister-king.²⁸ But the fight did not cease. The patriots of Northern India decided to fight to the finish. "The remains of the hostile army," says the Chinese chronicler, "obeying the orders of the queen, tried to stop the way upon the banks of the river *Khien-to-wei* (Godāvāri) but *Tsiang-shi-jin* gave them battle and defeated them. He made the queen and the king's sons prisoners, captured twelve thousand men and women, and twenty thousand heads of cattle, and subdued five hundred and eighty towns, large and small."²⁹ India had faced the foreigners grimly and with determination. She would have been victorious but for a few "internationalist minded" men like the Kumāra of Kāmarūpa. He, perhaps, did not understand the nature of the struggle and therefore, stood by the foreigners. He helped Wang with "thirty thousand oxen and horses and provisions for his army; to which he added bows, scimitors and collars of great value. The king of *Kio-mo-lo* (Kāmarūpa) gave him some rare articles, a map of his state and several statuettes of *Lao-tsu*." An alliance seems to have been concluded between him and the Chinese according to which he was to help the celestial empire in its conquests in India. He must have been promised some good in return, of which, however, no trace is found in the Chinese chronicles. If a prince of the type of Kumāra could indulge in such games of politics, one is not sure to what levity others could stoop.

Henceforth, treachery was rampant in India. Everyone seems to be determined to sell the national interests for the individual good.

²⁸ *Indian Antiquary*, IX, p. 20.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Thus, when India was engaged in a serious struggle with the Arabs, when she was so weak as to send her envoys three times to China begging for help against the Arabs,³¹ her greatest kingdom was on friendly terms with the Mussalmans. While Jurz and Sindh were engaged in war with the Arabs, the Balharas or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were giving the Mussalmans every concession in their territory for carrying on trade and commerce.³² They allowed the Arabs to build mosques and granted them territorial rights on the coast of the Arabian Sea near Cambay.³³ Mussalmans were allowed to travel in their territories and given an opportunity to study the strategic points of attack upon other Indian powers. This attitude of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas can well be compared with that of the famous king of France who wished to conclude an alliance with the Turks against the Christian powers of Europe. Both his and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' actions are condemnable because the days of national states had not yet begun.

The last nail in the coffin of Indian independence was driven with the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni. Everywhere there were conversions and submissions. One Shanker Pala was converted to Islam and in reward got the governorship of Multan.³⁴ In the same way the rajah of Baran with ten thousand men got himself converted to the religion of the Prophet. Rājya Pāla of the Pratihāra dynasty, of Kanauj submitted to Mahmud without raising his little finger in the defence of his realm.³⁵ Kanauj was, at this time, the chief town of Northern India. This humiliation the Rajputs could not bear, and the Chandella Vidyādhara invaded Rājya Pāla's territory. But the prince of Kālāñjar did not conduct himself in any

31 *Indian Antiquary*, IX, p. 21.

32 Elliot's *His. of India*, I, 'Al Idrisi, p. 88.

33 *Ibid.*, Ibn. Haukal, p. 34.

34 Ishwari Prasad: "*A short His. of Muslim rule in India.*" p. 47.

35 Ferishta, I, p. 57.

better way the next year when Mahmud knocked at his doors. The saddest episode in the Ghazni invasions is the part played by Ānanda Pāla of Lahore. His father had been a martyr to the cause of independence. He himself had organised the famous alliance which had unnerved the Mussalmans. But his mind seems to have changed when Mahmud attacked the fort of Thaneshwar. Self-interest prevailed over self-dedication and Ānanda Pāla is, like the Poros of old, seen supplying the Moslems "every necessary of life."³⁶ He conducted himself with so much "hospitality towards Mahmud, that he returned peaceably to Ghazni."³⁷ One wonders what kind of peace Ānanda Pāla enjoyed.

This is in short the story of invasions. The political history of this country is interspersed with great deed and great betrayals. India, as has been shown above, did not lack in patriotism or boldness. The way in which they met the incoming forces of the Greeks, the Śakas, the Hūṇas, the Chinese and last but not least, those of the Muslims, is a living commentary on their boldness and courage. Her intellectuals had always been of nationalistic tendencies. And yet one comes across so many traitors in Indian history. A speech of Ambhi recorded by Plutarch purporting that he did not care to share his wealth with the Greeks, as he had plenty of it³⁸ may be said to defend his action against the Paurava king. It may lead one to suppose that the king of Taxila was a humanist and an internationalist; and yet it is a fact that he was at war with two Indian princes at the time, obviously for the purpose of gaining more territory. Such was the case with the Kumāra of Assam also; and Ānanda Pāla, once the hero of the nation forgot the deeds of his late martyr-father. He helped

³⁶ *Ferishta*, p. 53.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁸ M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, Plutarch, p. 306.

Mahmud in the annihilation of his own co-religionists and countrymen simply to maintain himself on the throne of Lahore. If the actions of these kings and princes are analysed one cannot help concluding that the leaders of the country, the aristocratic class, were carried away by their own interests. They did not care a bit for the Indian people or for their co-religionists. One cannot at present say what would have been the course which the events in Indian history might have taken if these princes and nobles had acted in another way. The movements of races might not have been checked. India might have fallen a prey to their lust, as she did. But she would have been spared the glory of having produced so many "defenders of faith" of a doubtful character and surely of little value.

KRISHNA KUMAR

Vrsala, the Greek Kingly Title of Candragupta Maurya

The story, that Candragupta was a scion of the Nanda king of Magadha, and that his mother (or according to another version his grandmother) Murā was of low origin and the family name Maurya assumed by the dynasty founded by Candragupta was derived from Murā,¹ is of very late origin. It is difficult to find an earlier reference to this story than in the introduction, written as late as 1713 A.D., by Dhundirāja to the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta.

The Purāṇas only record the fact that Candragupta with the help of Kauṭalya completely uprooted and destroyed the Nanda family and occupied the throne. They do not in the slightest degree hint at Candragupta's relationship with the Nandas. This fact becomes very significant when we find that Mahāpadmananda is so clearly mentioned by the Purāṇas as an illegitimate son of Mahānandin of the Śiśunaga dynasty. If Candragupta was son of Nanda, legitimate or illegitimate, this fact too would have been mentioned in the Paurāṇic traditions. With slight variations, which are not relevant to the present discussion, the following account of these facts is found in the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas.

महानन्दिसुतः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मो नन्दः
परशुराम इवापरोऽखिलक्षत्रान्तकारी भविता ॥४॥
ततः प्रवृत्ति शूद्रा भूमिपाला भविष्यन्ति । स चैकच्छत्रामनुल्लङ्घितशासनी
महापद्मः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति ॥५॥
तस्याप्यग्रैः सुताः सुमाल्याद्या भवितारस्तस्य च महापद्मस्यानु पृथिवीं
भोक्ष्यन्ति महापद्मस्तपुत्राश्चैकं वर्षशतमवनीपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।
नवैव तावन्दान्कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति ॥६॥

तेषामभावे भौर्याश्च पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तं राज्येऽभिषेद्यति ॥७॥²

If Murā and Nanda story is really true, it will be ridiculous to suppose that Candragupta founded a new dynasty. As Dhundī-rāja himself suggests, Murā was one of the wives of Nanda.

राज्ञः पत्नी सुनन्दासीज्ज्येष्ठान्यवृषलात्मजा ।

सुराख्या सा प्रिया भर्तुः शीललावण्यसंपदा ॥³

According to the earliest Hindu traditions the marriage of a high caste man with a woman of lower caste was permitted. Hindu kings married girls from very low classes and their children had never been dubbed as illegitimate and śūdra and regarded as founders of new dynasties. We may recall the marriage of Śāntanu and Matsyagandhā, from whom sprung the great race of Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.

The drama *Mudrārākṣasa* at a few places does suggest the kinship of Candragupta to the Nandas.⁴ But the following passages in the drama indicate beyond doubt that Candragupta was not related to the Nandas, and that Cāṇakya brought about a complete dynastic change in putting Candragupta on the Magadha throne.

- (1) चारणक्यः—अगृहीते राज्ञसे किमुल्खातं नन्दवंशस्य किं वा स्थैर्यमुत्पादितं
चन्द्रगुप्तलक्ष्म्याः । (विचिन्त्य) अहो राज्ञसस्य नन्दवंशे
निरतिशयो भक्तिगुराः । स खलु कस्मिंश्चिदपि जीवति
नन्दान्वयावयवे वृषलस्य साचिव्यं ग्राहयितुं न शक्यते । (Act. I.)
- (2) राज्ञसः—उत्सन्नाश्रयकातरेव कुलटा गोत्रान्तरं श्रीर्गता । (Act. VI. Vc. 5.)
- (3) वज्रलोमाः—नन्दकुलनगकुलेशस्य भौर्यकुलप्रतिष्ठापकस्य आर्यचारणक्यस्य । (Act. IV.)

2 The above is the version of the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, IV 24.

3 See Telang's Introduction to *Mudrārākṣasa*.

4 See Act V, verse 5 भक्त्या नन्दकुलः etc.; Act IV, Bhāguriyāṇa's speech तद्यदि कदाचिच्चन्द्रगुप्तः etc.

(4) चन्द्रगुप्तः—किमतः परमपि प्रियमस्ति ?

राक्षसेन समं मैत्री राज्ये चारोपिता वयम् ।

नन्दाश्चोन्मूलिताः सर्वे किं कर्तव्यमतः प्रियम् ॥१६॥ (Act. VII.)

In connection with the last passage we may note that if Candragupta was even in the slightest degree related to the Nandas he could not have made the above remark. We may also further note that it is a very significant fact that throughout the whole drama Candragupta's own feelings or statements do not in the slightest degree hint at his relationship with the Nandas.

The fact that Candragupta did not belong to the Nanda family is further suggested in the drama by his complete indifference to the murder of the last of the Nanda king Sarvārthasiddhi. On the other hand at the death of Parvataka,⁵ his ally in the overthrow of the Nandas, Candragupta performs his obsequies (Act. 1). According to the Hindu customs and 'Śāstras' these rites are performed either by the son or other very near relatives of the deceased. Thus, according to the drama, Candragupta seems to be related to Parvataka and not the Nandas.

That Candragupta belonged not to the Nanda family, but some other family, is also suggested by the fact that we have in the drama another relation of Candragupta, Mahārāja Balagupta,⁶ who, as the Gupta ending of the name suggests, may have been a cousin of the former. Besides Mahārāja Balagupta the drama also mentions other paternal kinsman of Candragupta.⁷ As such, Balagupta and the other kinsman of Candragupta would have also belonged to the Nanda family on the assumption that Candragupta belonged to it. It will be then surprising why Rākṣasa does not support Bala-

5 In a paper "Identification of Parvataka and Porus" (Ninth All-India Conference), I have suggested the identification of Parvataka and Porus.

6 देवस्य स्वजनगन्धिर्महाराजवल्लगुप्तः । Act. III

7 यात्रेनौ रोहिताक्ष-विजयवर्माणौ तावप्यत्यन्तमानित्वात् स्वदायादेभ्यस्त्वया दीयमानं समानमसहमानौ मलयकेतुमाश्रितौ Act. III

gupta or some other kinsman of Candragupta instead of Malayaketu, an outside prince, and also like Sarvārthasiddhi why Cāṇakya does not get rid of Mahārāja Balagupta, since, as the first passage quoted above clearly shows, Cāṇakya rightly regarded Candragupta's possession of the Magadha throne highly insecure so long as any one of the Nanda family was alive.

Moreover if Candragupta is taken as born of the Nandas the whole plot of *Mudrārākṣasa* falls flat. Cāṇakya took a vow to exterminate the whole of the Nanda family, but in the end put one born amongst them on the throne. Equally inconsistent becomes the character of Rākṣasa. One supreme thing in his life seems to be his devotion to Nanda family, yet he so bitterly fights one of the ablest of their descendants, and is prepared to put against him Malayaketu, an outside prince, on the throne of Magadha. As already suggested, it will be contrary to the oldest Hindu traditions to say that Rākṣasa did not regard Candragupta as the son of Nanda because he was born of lowly Murā, though she was married to the Nanda king.

The behaviour of Rākṣasa in the last scene of the last Act definitely suggests that Candragupta was not connected with the Nandas. When Candragupta is introduced to Rākṣasa the latter behaves as if he sees the young monarch for the first time. रान्क्षसः— (विलोक्यात्मगतम्) अये (another reading सलम् अये) अयं चन्द्रगुप्तः (Act. VII). If Candragupta was of the Nanda family and belonged to Magadha, he must have been known to Rākṣasa. It would be absurd to represent Rākṣasa feeling so surprised at seeing him.

Thus we find that the Purāṇas do not in the slightest degree hint at Candragupta's relationship with the Nandas, and the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* carefully looked into also supplies a very strong evidence to the same effect. Now as we turn to the Buddhist and Jain sources there too we do not find the slightest hint which may suggest that Candragupta belonged to the Nanda family. If there is any historical basis for the Nanda origin of Candragupta we find it

difficult to account why Buddhist traditions suppressed this fact. It may perhaps be suggested that it was to hide the stigma of low birth connected with Murā that Candragupta was completely dissociated from the Nanda family. If there was any grain of truth in this story then they would have also suppressed the Maurya designation of the dynasty founded by Candragupta.

Thus, there seems to be no historical foundation for Nanda-Murā story of Candragupta's birth. The view that Candragupta was śūdra or low born is equally fictitious. It is wrong to think that in the Pūrāṇas Candragupta is called a śūdra. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya rightly 'emphasises the fact that the Purāṇas really do not call him a śūdra. ततः प्रवृत्ति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोन्मयः of *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas and ततो नृपा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्वधार्मिका in *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* with reference to Nandas need not make all the succeeding kings śūdra, for the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas were certainly not śūdras". There are very strong grounds which make us believe that the Mauryas were Kṣatriyas and that they belonged to the solar race (सूर्यवंशः). We may briefly recapitulate them here.

If it is true that Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya, the great minister of Candragupta, is also the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, and there is no reason to doubt it, then Cāṇakya is not likely to support a base born person as a universal monarch of India. His ideal king according to the *Arthaśāstra* must have been a high born prince of irreproachable birth, "महाकुलीन". The author of the *Arthaśāstra* recommended a high born, though weak, to a strong but low born king.¹⁰ The public opinion in India in those early centuries tolerated only Kṣatriya kings. The chief cause of the unpopularity of the Nandas appears to have been their non-Kṣatriya origin.

8 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 282.

9 *Arthaśāstra*, bk. VI, ch. I.

10 *Ibid.*, bk. VIII, ch. II.

646 *Vṛṣala, the Greek Kingly Title of Candragupta Maurya*

In all the Buddhist traditions Mauryas are called as Kṣatriyas. In the *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta*, one of the oldest of the Buddhist works Mauryas are represented as a Kṣatriya clan ruling at Pippalivana¹¹. The *Mahāvamsa* calls Candragupta as belonging to a Kṣatriya clan called Moriya.¹² In *Divyāvadana* both Bindusāra and Aśoka call themselves as Kṣatriyas.¹³

The Buddhist tradition that the Mauryas were Kṣatriyas is supported by two inscriptions one a Jain inscription in Mysore, and the other a Brahmanic inscription at Vaghli in Khandesh. No doubt both these inscriptions are of a later date, but they provide corroborative evidence of the highest value. The Jain inscription which is of 1402 A.D. says that Nāgakhanda (the Shikarpur Taluq) was protected by the wise Candragupta, repository of the Kṣatriya virtues—“*Candraguptena su-kṣatra-dharma-gēhena dhīmatā*”.¹⁴ In a paper “*Inscriptional Evidence of Candragupta Maurya’s Achievements*”,¹⁵ I have shown that Candragupta also conquered a great part of southern India. In all probability Candragupta referred to in the above inscription is the first great Maurya.

The Vaghli inscription is of 1069 A.D. It is donatory and by way of introduction furnishes the ancestry of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan. In all probability the Maurya clan referred to in the inscription is an offshoot of the great imperial dynasty of that name. As Vincent Smith observes ‘Petty Maurya dynasties, apparently connected in some way with the imperial line, ruled in the Konkan, between the Western Ghat and the sea, and some other parts of Western India, during the sixth, seventh, and the

11 *Digha Nikāya*, (Pali Text Society), p. 166.

12 *Mahāvamsa* edited by W. Geiger (*PTS*), p. 30.

13 *Divyāvadana*, pp. 370 and 180 (Cowell & Neil’s Ed.).

14 *Ep. Carnatica*, VIII, p. 86.

15 *Journal of Indian History*, August 1937.

eighth centuries, and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions".¹⁶ In this particular inscription under consideration the Maurya family is described as sprung from Māndhātā, a prince of the Solar race (सूर्यवंश). The inscription runs as follows:¹⁷—

आदावव्यक्रमामासीत्तदनु कमल (जस्त)...त्सुतः कश्यपोभू... (तद)नु मत्तुभूत्तस्युतस्सूर्यवंशः ।
विख्यातः सर्वलोकेष्वमलवृषगुणैरन्वितः कीर्तिधर्मैर्मन्धानुर्भूमिपालात्सकलगुणनिधेर्मौर्यवंशो
बभूव ॥६६॥

The tradition recorded in the Vaghli inscription that the Mauryas descended from Māndhātā and that they belonged to the solar race is remarkably supported by several other independent traditions. According to the Buddhist tradition as preserved in *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, the Mauryas belonged to the same race as Buddha. Now Buddha himself, according to several Buddhist works like the *Mahāvamsa*,¹⁸ *Mahāvastu*,¹⁹ and *Lalitavistara*, belonged to the above solar race, and in which according to the Buddhist tradition itself appeared Māndhātā, Ikṣvāku and other important princes several of whom are also met with in the Brahmanic list of the kings of the solar race. Even the Brahmanic traditions connect the family of Buddha with the solar dynasty. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Bṛhadbala of this dynasty was killed in the battle of Kurukṣetra, and in the list of "the king of the family which descended from Bṛhadbala are Śākya, his son Suddhodana, and his son Rātula (evidently Rāhula)."²⁰ The Buddhist and the Paurāṇic lists do not completely agree but some of the more important names are the same in both the lists. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the testimony of which

16 *Early History of India*, (III. ed), p. 195.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 221 f.

18 Geiger's *Mahāvamsa*, ch. II, pp. 12-14.

19 "Suddhodanassa rājño Ikṣvākujassa putro Māyāya Śakyakulanandijjanano śākyobhūta śākyasukumāro" (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 247).

"Ādityagotra tejasvi Ikṣvākukulasambhavo jāitaha kṣatriyo agro Bhagvanāṇi agrapudgalo." (*Ibid.*, III, p. 246).

20 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, part IV, ch. 22.

should be carefully considered, regards Aśoka as a descendant of Śakuni:—

प्रपौत्रः शकुनेस्तस्य भूपतेः प्रपितृव्यजः ।

अथावहदशोकाख्यः सत्यसंधो वसुधराम् ॥²¹

Śakuni in the Pauranic traditions is connected with the Ikṣvāku family, and is referred to as one of the kings of Uttarāpatha.²²

Thus as we put together these various independent traditions we feel certain that Candragupta and the Maurya dynasty belonged to some Kṣatriya family of the solar race, and that the Nanda-Murā story and the low birth of Candragupta are literary fictions of a much later date. The Mauryas appear to have belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra. In the Jain scriptures we hear of a disciple of Mahāvira called maurya-putra, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra.²³ The Vaghli inscription referred to above suggests the same gotra for the Mauryas. It may also be noted that Buddha himself is called Kāśyapa in several Suttas, and as we have discussed above the Buddhist traditions indicate that the Mauryas belonged to the same race as Buddha.

Now let us examine the views of the scholars who have sought the support for the suggestion that Candragupta was a son of Nanda by a low caste woman Murā from the fact that in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* he is so often called Vṛṣala by Cāṇakya. Dr. B. C. Law, though he gives more credit to the Buddhist tradition that Mauryas belonged to a Kṣatriya clan, seems to agree with many others that “in Viśākhadatta’s *Mudrārākṣasa* Candragupta is re-

21 *Kalhana’s Rājatarāṅgiṇī* by M. A. Stein. (First Taraṅgā, 101).

22 *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma, Harivarṣha, Śiva and Viṣṇu* purāṇas record that “Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons, of those sons fifty, chief of whom was Śakuni, were kings in Uttarāpatha,” Pargiter’s *Ancient Historical Traditions*, p. 257. Śakuni also recalls one of the important figures in the *Mahābhārata*. He was a prince from Gandhāra, brother of Gāndhārī, the mother of Duryodhana. This confirms our view, set forth elsewhere, that Maurya dynasty and Candragupta himself originally belonged to Gandhāra.

23 *Kalpasūtra* (SBE) XXXVI, p. 286.

presented as Vṛṣala, a person of low birth, an illegitimate son of the last Nanda king by a śūdra woman named Murā".²⁴ These scholars, in the first place, have drawn an unwarranted conclusion that the drama supports the Murā story. Nowhere in the drama do we get the slightest hint that Murā was the name of Candragupta's mother or grandmother. Secondly, the word Vṛṣala, used by Cāṇakya for Candragupta in the drama is wrongly taken by these scholars to mean śūdra. The following passage from the drama makes it highly improbable that the word Vṛṣala was used by Cāṇakya in this sense at all, on the other hand, it suggests that Vṛṣala was a kingly title.

चाणक्यः—(नाट्येनारुद्धानवलोक्य च सहर्षमात्मगतम् ।)

अये सिंहासनमभ्यास्ते वृषलः । साधु साधु ।

नन्दैर्विमुक्तमनपेक्षितराजवृत्तैरभ्यासितं च वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् ।

सिंहासनं सदशपार्थिवसत्कृतं च प्रीतिं तयस्त्रिगुणयन्ति गुणा ममैते ॥

(उपगृह्य) विजयतां वृषलः ।

राजा—(आसनादुत्थाय चाणक्यस्य पादौ गृहीत्वा) आर्थं, चन्द्रगुप्तः प्रणमति ।

चाणक्यः—(पार्श्वौ गृहीत्वा) उत्तिष्ठेत्तिष्ठ वत्स । Act. III.

As the following passage suggests even the royal orders issued by Cāṇakya on behalf of Candragupta were to be proclaimed as orders from Vṛṣala,

चाणक्यः—वत्स उच्यतामस्मद्रचनात् कालपाशिको दण्डपाशकश्च यथा वृषलः समाज्ञापयति य एष क्षपराको जीवसिद्धी राक्षसप्रयुक्तो विपकन्यया पर्वतेश्वरं घातितवान् स एनमेव दोषं प्रख्याप्य सनिकारं नगरान्निर्वासयतामिति । (Act. I.)

Here वृषलः समाज्ञापयति can only correctly mean that the King or His Majesty commands. Elsewhere also the word Vṛṣala as used by Cāṇakya is simply replaceable by the words देव or राजन्. At some places in some manuscripts Vṛṣala is actually replaced by the latter epithets. For instance in the first passage just given above one of the manuscripts used by Mr. Telang gives विजयतां देवः in place of विजयतां वृषलः.²⁵

24 *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 213.

25 *Mudrārākṣasa*, 6th Ed. p. 114.

If Cāṇakya uses the word Vṛṣala in the sense of śūdra, or as other scholars have suggested, in the sense of one belonging to a heretical sect,²⁶ one fails to understand why he should in private as well as in public so insultingly refer to the great monarch, whom he had given his wholehearted support. Even if Cāṇakya took a malicious delight, which seems most unlikely in view of the very cordial relations shown throughout the whole drama between him and Candragupta²⁷ in always making the latter feel his low birth, it should be highly impolitic (and hence undramatic) on the part of Cāṇakya to call Candragupta as Vṛṣala in the last scene when he introduced him to Rākṣasa and wanted to reconcile him to the new monarch.

चाणक्यः—सर्वं मे वृषलस्य धीर भवता संयोगमिच्छोर्नयः ॥

तदेव वृषलस्त्वां द्रष्टुमागच्छति । (Act. VII.)

If Vṛṣala had any bad odour about it, this was the time when Cāṇakya could have at least diplomatically spared the use of the term. Cāṇakya knew the feelings of Rākṣasa towards Candragupta and nothing could have helped more to estrange Rākṣasa further from a king, who had uprooted the Nandas, than Cāṇakya so foolishly reminding him by calling Candragupta as Vṛṣala, that thenceforth he was required to support a śūdra king on the throne of Magadha. The truth seems to be that the word Vṛṣala is not used in the drama by Cāṇakya for Candragupta in any bad sense at all. But, as sur-

26 See *IHQ.*, p. 271 f. VI.; and also p. 595, f. *Indian Culture* 2.

27 Cāṇakya throughout the drama shows very great affection for Candragupta, so often he calls him वत्स a term of great endearment. Candragupta also always refers to Cāṇakya in terms of deepest respect. He, as the following passage from the drama shows, felt a great distress even at the faked quarrel against Cāṇakya, his preceptor.

आर्याज्ञयैव मम लङ्घितगौरवस्य बुद्धिः प्रवेष्टुमयनेर्विवरं प्रवृत्ता ।

ये सत्यमेव न गुरुं प्रतिमानयन्ति तेषां कथं नु हृदयं न भिन्ननि लज्जा ॥३३॥

Act III.

mentioned above, it was a kingly title of Candragupta. This view of ours is supported by Medinī, who gives the following synonyms of the word Vṛṣala—

वृषलो गृह्णने शूद्रे चन्द्रगुप्तेऽपि राजनि ॥१३४॥

We venture to suggest that Vṛṣala as used in connection with Candragupta is the Sanskritised form of 'basileus' (Prakrit form of which will be 'basal') which was the Greek equivalent of Rājan, (king). 'Basileus' as equivalent of Rājan and 'basileus basileon' as equivalent to Rājātirāja, Rājarāja, or Mahārāja were used by several other non-Greek kings of India in their bilingual coins. For instance, 'basileus basileon' was the title borne, along with Rājātirāja and Rājarāja, by Kadphises and Azes.²⁸ The early Greek historians called Candragupta by this Greek kingly title. Arrian called him "Indian Basilea".²⁹ Appian³⁰ and Plutarch³¹ also called him as such. It can be taken as certain that the Greek subjects of Candragupta who are spoken of as Yonas³² in the Asokan inscriptions, called him by that epithet. Moreover, as most of the historians believe, he had a Greek wife, daughter of Seleucus, it is likely that he was often addressed by the Greek kingly title even in his court on formal occasions. The author of the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* perhaps knew of this tradition and cautiously made use of it. It is likely that by the time of the author of the drama this significance of the term Vṛṣala (Prakrit basal) was lost and it was mixed up with the other word Vṛṣala which perhaps originally meant one belonging to a

28 See Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*.

29 Greek form used by Arrian is 'Ἰνδιῶν βασιλεῦ' (Exped. Alex. V. vi. 2.).

30 Greek form used by Appian is 'βασιλεῦ' (Syr. 55).

31 Greek form used by Plutarch is 'βασιλευσας' (Alexander, ch. 62).

32 For identification of Yonas and other people of north-western India and Central Asia, over whom Mauryas ruled, refer to our paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIII, No. 3.

652 *Vṛṣala, the Greek Kingly Title of Candragupta Maurya*

non-Brahmanical and heretical sect³³ and subsequently a sūdra. The Prakrit form of the word Vṛṣala as used in the latter sense is also 'basal' or 'vasal'.³⁴

It is only at two places in the drama that the word Vṛṣala definitely carries a stigma of inferiority. But at none of these two places it is used by Cāṇakya, and at both the places the author may have played a pun on the word Vṛṣala. At one place Candragupta's chamberlain at seeing the humble dwelling of Cāṇakya remarks :

ततः स्थानेऽस्य वृषलो देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः । कुतः ।

स्तुवन्यश्रान्तास्याः क्षितिपतिमभूतैरपि गुणैः प्रवाचः कार्पस्यायद्विनश्रवाचोऽपि कृतिनः ।
प्रभावस्तृष्णायाः न ग्वलु सकलः स्यादितरथा निरीहाणामीशस्तृणमिव तिरस्कारविषयः ॥१६॥
(Act III.)

At another place Rākṣasa remarks :

पतिं लक्ष्म्यं देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनम् ।

गता सा श्रीः शीघ्रं वृषलमदिनीतेव वृषली ॥६॥ (Act VI.)

It may be noted that in the first passage from the drama given above one of the manuscripts used by Hillebrandt reads—

ततः स्थाने खल्वस्य मुखप्रेक्षको वृषलो देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः instead of³⁵ ततः स्थानेऽस्य वृषलो देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः

This reading will immediately suggest that even in this passage Vṛṣala is not used in a derogatory sense but is rather a title of great importance. It is difficult to raise here the question of the authenticity of this text, but it occurs in a manuscript which was obtained from Bikaner, and it may represent a different tradition.

We think it is the greatest importance for a proper appreciation of the dramatic art of Viśākhaḍatta as well as for a better under-

33 Cf. the following verse from *Manusmṛiti*.

शान्धैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।

वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥४३॥ Chap. 10.

34 Compare the following:—

na jaccā vasalo hoti na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo/

kammanā vasalo hoti kammanā hoti brāhmaṇo//

(*Vasalasutta. Suttanipāta*).

35 *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśākhaḍatta. (Breslau, 1912).

standing of the character of Cāṇakya and Candragupta and their relation as depicted in the drama that we must clearly bear in mind that the term Vṛṣala as used for Candragupta by Cāṇakya is a kingly title. It is doing Viśākhadatta a great injustice to think that he subordinated the dramatic art to glorify Brahmanic supremacy. The author of the drama himself seems to have held Candragupta in very great esteem. In the benedictory verse at the end of the drama he regards him as the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The misconception of the word Vṛṣala is responsible for the belief that Candragupta was of low birth or a śūdra. Once such a belief became current, attempts seem to have been made to give fanciful explanations of the name Maurya, borne by the dynasty founded by Candragupta, and the Nanda-Murā story is an outcome of this. In the light of our conclusion set forth in several papers³⁶ that Candragupta originally belonged to Gandhāra and was identical with Śaśigupta, we have suggested that the Maurya designation of the dynasty founded by him may be traceable to the Kohi-i-(mountain) Mor, the Meros of Greek historians which even now stands in the heart of the country between the Indus and the Hindukush.³⁷

H. C. SETH

36 See our paper "Did Candragupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, XIII, part II. See also our paper "Śaśigupta and Candragupta," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIII, no. 2. I have re-examined the views expressed in these papers at length in my paper "Gandhāra Origin of the Maurya Dynasty and Identification of Candragupta and Śaśigupta," read before the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference.

37 See "Gates of India," T. Holdich, p. 124; and also *Cam. Hist. of India*, I, p. 354.

Post-Vyāsarāya Commentators (Non-Polemical)

1. *Raghūttama Tīrtha* (1557-96).

Close on the heels of Vyāsarāya (1478-1539) came a host of influential commentators, who in their own way contributed to the growth and spread of the Dvaita Vedānta and its literature. Their number is much greater than that of the polemical writers of the system. While the latter worked so hard to make Dvaita Vedānta known outside their own province and respected all over the land as a powerful limb of Indian Philosophy, the commentators now to be mentioned played an equally valuable part in making the works of Madhva and his early followers, better known and understood within the fold of the Ācārya and kindling popular interest therein by writing lucid commentaries and glosses on the works of their predecessors, and rendering them less tiresome and more easily assimilable. One such early writer was Raghūttama Tīrtha.

Raghūttama is one of the honored saints of the Mādharma calender. Nothing is known about his parentage or early life, save that he was recruited to the "Sannyāsa-āśrama" directly from his Brahmacharyāśrama. He succeeded to the pontificate of the Uttarādi Maṭh in 1557-8, which he occupied for thirtynine years till his death in the cyclic year of Manmatha. He was thus a close contemporary of Vijayīndra and Vādirāja.

Raghūttama is said to have studied for some years after his ordination under a learned Pandit of the name of Varadarājācārya,¹ at

1 This Pandit is said to have been the first of the "Ādya" family of scholars, to which is claimed to belong even Rāmācārya of *Taraṅgiṇī*-Maṭh. For the works ascribed to Varadarājācārya see Appendix III, of my forthcoming work.

Mannūr.” The Pandit’s treatment of his disciple, seems to have terminated the studies rather abruptly.

Tradition ascribes to Raghūttama certain innovations in the Maṭh routine and additions to pontifical paraphernalia. He seems to have spent the major part of his life at his Maṭh on the S. Peṇṇār at Tirukoilur (N. Arcot Dt.) where he passed away and where his mortal remains lie entombed. To this day special reverence is paid to his memory and hundreds visit his tomb at Tirukoilur. He was a scholar of great repute and taught many disciples among whom were (1) Rāmācārya, the author of the *Taraṅgiṇī* and (2) Vedcā Bhikṣu a prolific commentator.

WORKS

Raghūttama’s works are seven in number. All of them are extant though only two have so far been printed. They are in the nature of commentaries on the earlier works of the system. “Bhāva-bodha” is the general title of a majority of his works and Raghūttama himself is usually called “Bhāvabodhācārya” or “Bhāvabodhakāra”.

(1) *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya-tīkā-Bhāvabodha.* (m)

This Mysore (O.L. 1906) is Raghūttama’s gloss on the VTN-commentary of Jayatīrtha, in about 1200 granthas. The author quotes from the *Pramāṇa Paddhati* of Jayatīrtha and culls *pratīkas* regularly from the original commentary of Jayatīrtha.

(2) *Tattvapraṅśīkā-Bhāvabodha.* (m)

This is a super-commentary on the TP of Jayatīrtha, which is preserved both at Mysore O.L. (C323) and at Madras (O.L.R., No. 878). It is a voluminous commentary running to nearly 8100

² Reported to be a village on the Bhīmā river, in the Indi taluq of the Bijāpur district.

granthas. The gloss is quoted and criticised by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāṣyadīpikā*.³ The author quotes also the passages of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *TP* without introducing the actual words thereof, and from the *Candrikā*.¹

(3) *Nyāyavivaraṇa-tīkā*. (p)

This is a direct commentary on the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* of Madhva, in continuation of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the same, from *B.S.i*, 3, 1 onwards. It has been printed and published from Udipi.

(4) *Nyāya-ratna-sambandha-dīpikā*. (m)

A ms. of this is preserved in the Mysore *O.L.* (C1557). It runs to some 1200 granthas and is in the nature of a commentary on the AV showing at the same time the inter-connection between the words of Madhva and the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. It also indicates the Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhānta-nyāyas involved at each step. The scope of the work is thus indicated:—

*Anuvyākhyoktayuktinām Bhāṣyādbikaraṇeṣvalam |
Jayamunuyuktam āsṛitya vaksye śrutisamudgrabam ||*

(5) *Vivaraṇoddbhāra*. (m)

This is a gloss on those passages of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa*² which have been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *TP* without introducing the actual words thereof, into the body of his text.⁴ A ms. is preserved at the Tanjore Palace Library (XIV. 7841).

3 See *Bhāṣyadīpikā* (Madras) p. 237 and *Bhāvabodha* i, 1, 3; and p. 438 and *Bhāvabodha* ii, 1, 18.

4 See i. 2 p. 48b (MS).

5 See the colophon: "Iti Śrīmad Jayatīrthacaraṇapradarsīta-tattva-prakāśikāgata-nyāyavivaraṇoddbhāra ..."

6 Vide also the remarks of Rāghavendra in his *TP-Bhāvādīpa* p. 25, lines 22-23; ii, 4, 13 p. 233. (Bombay). The editor of the *TPL. Catalogue* has not properly understood the scope of this work of Raghūttama.

(6) *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-tīkā.* (p)

Raghūttama's *magnum opus* is his commentary on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-bhāṣya of Madhva, in 9000 granthas, published as early as the year 1907. He gives both the "bhāṣyārtha" and the khaṇḍārtha of the Upaniṣad—i.e. to say, he has commented upon the bhāṣya of Madhva as well as upon the passages of the Upaniṣad itself, independently and in a connected way. The most striking feature of the commentary is the large number of quotations from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara which Raghūttama gives, in order to contrast the interpretations of his school with those of the former, which are sometimes criticised by him (p. 41):—

<i>Bhāvabodha</i>		Śaṅkara's <i>Bṛh. Up.</i>	<i>Bhāvabodha</i>		Śaṅkara's <i>Bṛh. Up.</i>
		(Ānandāśrama ed.)			(Ānandāśrama ed.)
Page	7	...	Page	20	Page 129
	10	...		33	145
	12b	...		35	148
	12	...		35	479
	14	...		37	630
	35b	...		127	
			Page	35b	...
				36b	...
				39	...
				207	...
				274b	...

He has incorporated in his work many passages from the commentaries of Jayatīrtha on the *Kathālakṣaṇa* (see Raghūttama, pp. 199-200), AV (see R. 308 and *Sudhā* 1156) and the *Īśa Up.* (see R. p. 348). He makes an interesting reference to the views of his teacher Raghuvarya Tīrtha on the interpretation of the term "Goṣṭha" (Bṛh. iii, p. 166, line 17):—*Goṣṭhe yajñavāṭasamīpa iti svāminah| avarurodha rodham kārāyāmāsa||*

(7) *Gītābhāṣya-prameyadīpikā-bhāvabodha.* (m)

This is the author's gloss on Jayatīrtha's commentary on the Gītā-bhāṣya of Madhva. A ms. is preserved of this work in the Mysore O.L. (1116. नागरी) and extracts from the gloss have been given in Pāndit T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya's ed. of the *Gītābhāṣya-bhāvaratnakośa* of Sumatindra Tīrtha.

2. *Vedeśa Bhikṣu* (c. 1570-1620).

Vedeśa Bhikṣu describes himself in his works, as a disciple of both Raghūttama and his successor Veda-vyāsātīrtha. The latter has been confounded with the famous author of the *Nym.* by Keith⁷ and Aufrecht.⁸ But a careful scrutiny of the introductory verses and colophons to the works of Vedeśa would make it clear that he had nothing to do with Vyāsātīrtha of Nym-fame:

1. *Raghūttamaguruprokto bhāvo Jayamuner ibā/
Vedeśabbikṣuṇā bālabodhāyāptatayeritā||*
(*Kathālakṣaṇa* gloss).
2. *Saktāntaḥkaraṇān Raghūttamayātim āṇamya
vidyāgurūn Vedavyāsayaṭimś ca||*
(Gloss on *Pramāṇapaddhati*)
3. *Iti śrīmacchāṅdoḡyabbāṣyasya ṭikāyām, Vedavyāsātīrtha-
pūjyapādāśīṣya-Vedeśabbikṣuviracitāyām*
(Colophon to the c. on *Chā. Up. bhāṣya.*)
4. *Guru-Raghūttamayogisuśīksīto Jayamunerabbhisandhirayaṃ
mama|
Prakāṭito'lavabodhbahyāmbujasthitaramāpatitṛptim
abbhīpsatā||*
(Gloss on *Tattvodyota-ṭikā*).

Nothing is however known about the personal history of Vedeśa. The epithet Bhikṣu taken up by him shows that he was a Sannyāsin. He has nine works to his credit which are all of them illuminating commentaries,—some on the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva and the rest on a few of Jayātīrtha's works. All save three of his works have been printed.

7 Mill MSS. 90 (Bodlien Cat. p. 62, col. 2).

8 *Catalogus*, p. 619.

(1) *Tattvodyota-pañcikā* Gloss (Ṭippana) (p)⁹

This is a gloss on Jayatīrtha's c. on the Td. of Madhva, running to 1650 granthas. It throws fresh light on many passages of the original. Vedeśa quotes several times from earlier commentaries in the field¹⁰ and sometimes criticises them.¹¹ He has quoted also from the *Samkṣepa-śārīraka*¹² (1, 167) and the *Saptapadārthī* of Śivāditya and a commentary thereon.¹³

Similar glosses on (2) Jayatīrtha's commentaries on the *PL* and the (3) *VTN*. have been attributed to Vedeśa but so far no Mss. of these have been brought to light. (4) The gloss on the *KL* has been published (1900).

(5-8) Glosses on the *Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas*.

Vedeśa has commented on four of the *Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas* of Madhva: the *Aitareya*, *Chāndogya*, *Kaṭha* and *Talavakāra*. (p) The first is available only in Mss.¹⁴ That on the *Chāndogya* entitled "*Padārthakaumudī* (p) is the biggest, running to 6000 granthas. The gloss on the *Kaṭha* (Bombay 1905) quotes from and criticises the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on this Up.¹⁵ These references are valuable not only for comparative study of the two rival bhāṣyas but also for establishing the genuineness of the c. ascribed to Śaṅkara. The author gives both the Bhāṣyārtha and the Khaṇḍārtha of the *Upaniṣad*.

9 Bombay 1898 and Belgaum.

10 Pp. 11, lines 10, 22; 17, 10-12; 23, 13-14; 24, 4; 25, 14; 40, 5-10; 43, 4.

11 P. 8, lines 7-11; p. 13, 7-15; 16, 24-26; 12. p. 39, 4.

12 "Tacca prāksambaddhasvābhāvaviraharūpatvaṃ iti/. Prāksambandhasvābhāvah prāgabhāvah, tadvirahaśca pradhvamsah, tatsvarūptvaṃ vartamānatvaṃ iti tatpñakkikārthah// (39, 7.)

13 Hanumantācār, Pejavara Math, 219, Tulu, palmleaf.

14 P. 3, 6-19; i, 1, 20; p. 8, 8-9; i, 2, p. 17; 28; 36, 11-18; 41, 11.

15 (a) Kēcit tu—"Ākāṅkṣāder doṣābhāvātvena upayogābhāvāllakṣṇāntaram āha" ityāhuḥ (iii, 1). (b) Kēcit tu—"Nanu pakṣābhāsasya anumitipratibandhakatvaṃ

(9) *Pramāṇapaddhati-vyākhyā* (p)D.

In course of this his gloss on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* of Jayatīrtha, in 1400 granthas, Vedeśa is found to quote nearly seven times from Vijayīndra Tīrtha's commentary on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* and criticise it thrice.¹⁶ He refers also to another commentary on the original (pp. 60 and 131) which is yet to be identified.

Vedeśa's works are well-written and afford valuable help in understanding the originals. He is one of the leading commentators of the Dvaita school.

3. *Viśveśvara Tīrtha* (c. 1600)

There is reason to identify Viśveśvara Tīrtha, the author of a commentary on the *Aitareya-bhāṣya* of Madhva, with the fourteenth Svāmī of the Pejāvar Maṭh of Udipi. He was presumably a contemporary and disciple of Vādirāja Svāmin of the Sode Maṭh.¹⁷ That he was considerably later than Jayatīrtha is proved not only by the existence of an epitome of the latter's *Nyāyasudhā* by Viśveś-

vadaṭā, tasya hetvābhāsatvam avaśyābhyupeyam. Anumiteḥ hetvābhāsamātra-pratibaddhatvaniyamīt ityata āha, Sādhanam iti.....Tathā ca tayoṛ eva niyamabhaṅga itī bhāvaḥ" ityāhuḥ (ii, 78) (c) Kecit tu, "Hetusaṁānādhikaraṇapratiyogivirodha-bhavapratiyogisādhyasānādhikaraṇam ityarthāḥ. Ato na niyamasya vyāpti-tvena ātmāśrayaśaṅkā" ityāhuḥ. Atra vyadhikaraṇe nadipurādaḥ avyāptiḥ kathaṁ pariharaṇiyer' cintyam. (m) (d) Raśmīdvāretasya tattadindriyāikadeśadvāretyārtha itī kecit. (p. 102 cf. Vij. p. 148).

16 Etena tadapi nirastaṁ yat kenacid uktam—"Tathātathā pratipannatvam ajñātvāpi vipratipattivākyasthapadaiḥ koṭyupasthitau satyām, mānasasaṁśayasambhavāt kathametad. nahi sādharmaṇo dharmā evātra nastīti brūmah yena tadupanyāsaḥ sārthakāḥ. Kimtu tadā tasya aparāmarśa eveti" p. 66. Cf. Vij. p. 65. (b) ii, i. and (c) Vedeśa p. 122, 14-17.

17 This is supported by one of the scribe's verses in the MS. of Vādirāja's *Guruarthadīpikā* (Mys. C1057):—

Yad Vādirājajayativaryasusamprasanna...hayāsyasusīśyasaṁghe/

Tasyāṅghripaṅkajaparāgavicitritā...Viśveśatīrthayatīrāḍ bhavatu prasannaḥ//

vara (Pejavar) Maṭh Mss. 330, Nāgari Palm-leaf) but by the striking resemblance which the fourth introductory verse in his Aitareya-gloss Mysore O.L. (C1048) bears to the second one of Jayatīrtha's NS¹⁸ :—

*Nāmnāyārthavicāraṇe kuśalino no śabdavārām nidhanu
Snātā nyāyavicāradūramatayaḥ śikṣāniruktātīgāḥ |
Apyevam suravaryadaśīkamahācāryaprasādān mahā
Bhūtyārthagrahaṇāya bhāṣyāvivṛtau yatnam vayan kurmahe ||
Na śabdādbhau gāḍhā na ca nigamacarcāsu caturā.....etc' ||*
(Nyāyasudhā)

Viśveśvara does not refer to any earlier commentary on the Aitareyabhāṣya. He wields a clear and forcible style and his explanations are always brief and to the point. His commentary is therefore eminently readable, though for some unknown reason it has fallen into complete oblivion. More than three mss. of it are available in the TPL.

4. *Yadupati Ācārya* (c. 1580-1630)

Yadupati, alias Yādava Ācārya, was a distinguished pupil of Vedeśa Bhikṣu.¹⁹ He wrote several commentaries on the earlier works of his school the chief of which is the one on the NS. called *Yādupatiya* after the author. The commentary is very popular in Pandit circles.

18 Needless to point out that Keith (introd. to *Ait. Aranyaka*, Oxford 12) is utterly wrong in making Viśveśvara a contemporary and immediate disciple of Madhva himself. Viśveśvara also Jayatīrtha's phrase: Anyairanyathā vyākhyātāni...(TP introd). in his *Ait. gloss*.

19 Cf. *Iti Śrīmad Vedeśatīrthapūjyapādaśiṣyeṇa Yadupatinā viracitāyām Sudhā-ṭippanyām*(colophon) *Vedeśatīrthagurumānasakañjasaṃstham* ...(gloss on *TS*). In his c. on the *Sudhā*, Yadupati mentions the gloss of his teacher Vedeśa on the *Pramāṇapaddhati*:—"Śiṣṭam asmadārādhyāśrivedeśagurukṛtāyām Paddhatiṭīkāyām draṣṭavyam. (iii, 2, p. 292b). It will be remembered that Vedeśa was merely a "Bīḍi-sannyāsi" and was not the Pontiff of any Maṭh.

Yadupati was probably a Karnāṭaka Brahmin. His native village is said to have been Yekkuṇḍi in the Saundatti taluq of the Belgaum dt. His descendants are believed to be living. The S.K. gives his father's name as Yādappaya (p. 182). It further states that Yadupati's elder brother Rāmappa received sannyāsa from Vedavyāsa-Tīrtha and that he subsequently became his brother's teacher in Vedānta. This teacher was presumably the same as Vedeśa Bhikṣu, the distinguished commentator and acknowledged Guru of Yadupati. The latter was thus a contemporary of Vidyādhiśa Tīrtha of the Uttarādi Maṭh.

Not only was Yadupati a distinguished scholar himself, but a trainer of equally able disciples. Among his pupils may be mentioned (1) Bidarahalli Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, (2) Śarkarā Śrīnivāsa, and (3) Umarji Tirumalācārya, who have all made lasting contributions to the growth of Dvaita Literature.

WORKS.

Nine works of Yadupati are available of which only two have been printed. His (1) gloss on the *Tattvasamkhyāna* in 300 granthas, is preserved at the TPL., whilst his (2) gloss on the *Tattvodyota* is available at the Mysore O.L. (C7).

(3) *Nyāyasudhā-Tippaṇi*. (P)^D.

As already observed, the c. on the NS. is the most important work of Yadupati. It is an adequate c. on the original, bearing the stamp of scholarship and originality on every page. The author shows himself deeply versed in the grammatical learning of his days which he brings to the support of the interpretations of his school. His c. is distinctly anterior to that of Rāghavendra Svāmin and perhaps also to that of Vidyādhiśa. He tries to overthrow the objection raised by some critic (presumably Appayya Dikṣita) alleging misrepresentation of the Mīmāṃsaka view in the AV (i,i,4) by

pointing out that the author of the AV., has in view, the followers of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā, who do hold the view attributed to them by Madhva: *Atra kaścit āha- "Bhāvanābhēdenaiva vākyabhedasya dṛṣṭatvāt prakṛte ca vākyabhāvanāyā ekatvāt nāvāntaravākyabhedo'ngīkṛta iti"-tat tuccham. Nabīdam Bhāṭṭān pratyāpādyate; kimtu Prābhākarān. Tairanvaye bhinne vākyam bhidyate eva, ityangīkṛtatvāt/Yathābubh- "Anvitapadātmaṃ hi vākyam, tatra katham nānvaye bhinne bhidyeteti/|₁"* Ato na kaścit kṣudropadrava iti. (i, l, l. p. 71).²⁰

Yadupati quotes also from a number of earlier commentators on the NS (i, 1, 1, p. 79; i, 1, 1, p. 7; i, 4, p. 152; and i, 1, p. 37 and 43) as well as from a c. on the *Samkṣepasārīraka* (40). As an instance of Yadupati's alertness may be mentioned his interesting remarks on the *Uṇādi Sūtra*: *Adibhūbhyām dutac* (V, i) quoted by Jayatīrtha in his NS. (i, 4, p. 228, Bombay) in support of Madhva's interpretation of the term "māyāmātram" which is sought to be derived from two roots "mān" and "train." The point is that "*Adi bhūvo dutac*" is the reading generally accepted and found in the printed texts of the *Uṇādi Sūtras*. Yadupati is aware of this for he quotes from one of the commentaries on the *Uṇādi Sūtras* presumably Śvetavana's (Vide *Madras Uni. Skt. Series*, VII, pt. i, p. 210 text B.); but points out at the same time, that the reading given by Jayatīrtha is older and genuine one, being found in some Mss. and certain commentaries also. It is however unknown to both Nārāyaṇa and Śvetavana and probably the same was the case with Ujvaladatta. It is however very unlikely that the reading quoted by Jayatīrtha is a myth for he is a scrupulously honest and careful writer. Yadupati's remarks are faithfully echoed by Keśavācārya.

²⁰ This objection has been met by a number of other commentators also like Vidyādhiśa and Vijayindra.

Yadupati wrote two works on the Bhāgavata-prasthāna (4) a c. on the *Bhāgavata-tātparya* of Madhva of which Mss. are preserved at Udipi and the Mysore O.L. (B194, 200).²¹ His c. on (5) chapters I-IX, of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* has been printed and published from Dharvar. The Mysore O.L. (C. 1866) has a Ms. of his (6) c. on the *Yamaka-Bhārata*. His minor works are four: (7) a c. on the *Sadācārasmr̥ti* and three Stotras: (8) *Viṣṇu-stotra*; (9) *Vedavyāsa-stotra or Gadya*; and (10) a *Karāvalambana-stotra* in 30 verses (S.M. p. 104-12).

5. Sudhīndra Tīrtha (1596-1623)

In Sudhīndra Tīrtha, the disciple and successor of Vijayindra Tīrtha, we have a personality altogether different from those to whom we have hitherto been accustomed. For one in his position, Sudhīndra was a person of peculiar tastes, and equipment. He is one of the few writers in Daivta Literature who have cared to look beyond their noses into realms other than those of theology and metaphysics. Kāvya and Alamākāra seem to have been the *forte* of Sudhīndra on both of which he has left us works of real merit, which stand out like oases in a dreary desert of theological writings. The Dvaitins have often been accused of a lack of interest in anything but their own faith and nothing proves the truth of this accusation so well as the fact that posterity has allowed to sink into oblivion even the few works of secular and purely literary interest left by writers like Trivikrama Paṇḍita, Vijayindra, Sudhīndra and Sumatīndra.

DATE

As already mentioned, Sudhīndra was the successor of Vijayindra and the Guru of Rāghavendra Svāmin, on the pīṭha of his Maṭh. The *Rāghavendra Vijaya* of Nārāyaṇa speaks of him as having been

²¹ The MSS. available cover only the first five Skandhas.

honored with a Ratnābhīṣeka, by the Vijayanagar king Venkaṭa-patirāya.²² He is also reported in the same work, to have enjoyed the patronage of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. He died in 1623 at Anegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadra and his mortal remains lie entombed at Navabṛndāvana alongside the tomb of Vyāsarāya.

WORKS

Besides two works on Alamkāra and a drama, tradition ascribes to Sudhīndra a c. on the *Tarkatāṇḍava* entitled *Yuktiratnāvali*. But seeing that both Vijayīndra and Rāghavendra have left commentaries on the *Tarkatāṇḍava*, it is difficult to believe that Sudhīndra too wrote one on the same text. His genius, moreover, did not, as we have pointed out, lie that way.

(1) *Alamkāramañjarī*. (m)

This is a manual of Sabda-Alamkāras,²³ by Sudhīndra of which we have a palm-leaf Ms. in the Tanjore P.L. (X, no. 5129-30). One of the later successors of Sudhīndra, Sumatīndra, wrote a commentary on this work. This commentary is known by the name of *Madhu-dbārā* (alias *Alamkāramañjarīvyākhyā*). But the commentary and its original are preserved at the TPL. But the Editor of the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the TPL has, in ascribing the *Alamkāramañjarīvyākhyā* to Sudhīndra, confounded the author of the original with the commentator. The commentator himself refers to Sudhīndra as the author of the original and speaks of *himself* as the author of the commentary *Madhubhārā* on it:—

Śrīmat Sumatīndrayatīndro vyatanīdanīyasīmasīmaguṇām |
Vyākhyām Madhubhārākhyām vivṛtālamkāramañjarībhṛdayam ||
 *** *Atredānīm tatrābhavān Sudhīndra iti Kavīndrah. . . .*
*maṅgalam ācarati**** ||* (P. 3972, TBL. Cat.)

22 Vide also the S.M. (P. 308,) verse 8, of Vādiīndra's *Guruguṇastava*.

23 ItiŚabdālamkāramañjarīvyākhyānamsamāptam/ (MS.)

Sudhīndra deals with bandhas etc., and many passages from this work are quoted by Sumatīndra in his c. on the Uṣāharaṇa. It would appear from these quotations, that Sudhīndra's illustrative verses had been written in commemoration of the greatness of his Guru Vijayīndra.²⁴

(2) *Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa*. (m)²⁵

This is a treatise on Arthālaṃkāras (like Upamā, Rūpaka, Drṣṭānta, Viśeṣa etc.) by the same author, composed most probably as a complement to the *Alaṃkāramañjarī* and as a set-off to the *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dikṣita. The author is called "Kavikaṅthīrava" on the title page of the Ms. The work runs to 2706 granthas and contains verses as well as prose-explanations of them. The author has a fine alliterative style. He says that the work is meant for the use of earnest students of Alaṃkāraśāstra:—

Alaṃkāraśāstrābhyāsecchūnām atyantopakārāya Sudhīndrayogiviracitālaṃkāranikaṣākhyayam granthabḥ.

(3) *Sābitya-sāmrājya*. (m)

Aufrecht notices a work of this name (Rice 288) ascribed to Sumatīndra Tīrtha. The Catalogue of the Gopal Vilas Library (of the late Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rau) at Kumbakonam, ascribes it to Sudhīndra. Another ms. of the work is reported from the Raghavendra Svāmi Maṭh library at Nanjangud (Mysore Arch. Rep. 1917, p. 17) and (wrongly?) attributed to Sujanendra Tīrtha. There is yet another *Sābityasāmrājya* (alias *Raghunātha-Bhūpālīyā*) by Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita or Yajvan (Aufrecht i, 486 and Madras T.C. 659d.)

24 Yathā—"Vijayīndravarya ityalaṃkāramañjaryām. Etadarthas tu mādiya-Madhudhārāyām draṣṭavyaḥ" (p. 324, Udipi).

25 Madras OL., Des. Cat No. 12976 (Grantha MS.). It is the same work as is wrongly entered as "*Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa*" of "Sudhēnda", by Oppert 4797 (Catalogus Cat.)

(4) *Subhadrā-pariṇaya*. (m)

A fragment of a drama of this name, ascribed to Sudhīndra, is preserved at the Madras *OL* (Vol. XXI, D.C. No. 12729). The Ms. (which is in Nandināgari) runs to 124 pages of 6 lines each and contains some two Acts.

“..... *Tadantevāsīnā Sudhīndrayatīndreṇa viracitam*”
.....*Ārya, Mayedānīm valayadvayanirgatavarnairavagataṃ*
Subhadrāpariṇaya-nāṭakam iti/.....//, A Vidūṣaka, Tumburu, Nārada, Satyabhāmā and Arjuna are some of the characters who figure in the play which contains passages in Prākṛt also.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

On the titles Pañcatantra and Tantrākhyāyikā

The signification of the term *Pañcatantra*,¹ the title of the well-known story-book, has been a subject of lively discussion from a long time, and has been answered differently by different scholars.

The earlier editions of the Pañca., namely, those brought out by Kosegarten, Bühler-Kielhorn, Parab and Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, contained, either wholly or to a great extent, the text of the version that is now known as the *Textus Simplicior*. This version contains in the beginning the stanza

सकलार्थशास्त्र-सारं जगति समालोच्य विष्णुशर्मैदम् ।

तन्त्रैः पञ्चभिरेतच्चकार सुमनोहरं शास्त्रम् ॥

in which the work is explicitly said to be a *śāstra*, while the word *tantra* is used in the colophon at the end of every book (*mitrabhēdam nāma prathamam tantram; kākolūkiyam nāma trīyam tantram*, etc.) in it.³ The title *Pañcatantra* was hence interpreted by many scholars as the work consisting of five books. This is the interpretation, for instance, of Schlegel-Lassen (*Pentabibulum*), Galanos,

1 The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this paper:

Du for Durgasiṃha, author of a Kannaḍa version of the Pañcatantra (for an account of its contents, see *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 6,255 ff. and 7, 8 ff.) and for that version also.

Pañca. „ Pañcatantra and also for Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und Verbreitung*.

Pn „ Pūrṇābhadrā who revised the Pañca. and also for the Pañca. version revised by him and known as 'Pūrṇābhadrā' Pañca.

SP „ The Southern Pañcatantra (Hertel's edition).

Spl „ The so-called *Textus Simplicior* of the Pañca. (Bühler-Kielhorn's edition in the BSS).

T „ *Tantrākhyāyika* (Hertel's edition of 1910):

2 This stanza is found in T and Pn also in the beginning.

3 The word is found similarly used in the colophons at the end of the several books in T, SP, Pn, and in fact in almost all versions of the Pañca.

(*Pentateuchos*), Benfey (*Die fünf Bücher*), Lancerau (*Les cinq Livres*), L. von Schröder and J. Hertel in 1894 (*Fünfbuch*). On the other hand, Kosegarten, Fritze and Italo Pizzi regarded *tantra*⁴ as meaning 'part', and interpreted *Pañcatantra* as 'Quinquepartitum', 'ein Buch das aus fünf Teilen besteht', and 'Il Quintuplo respectively while Abbé Dubois, Hermann Oldenberg and Victor Henry opined that *tantra* denoted 'ruse', 'Gewebe', and 'Chapitre' and interpreted the title *Pañcatantra* as 'Les cinq ruses', 'Das fünffache Gewebe' and 'Les cinq chapitres' respectively."

The above opinions were all given expression to before 1904 in which year Prof. Johannes Hertel published an edition (of the B recension) of the Kashmirian version of the *Pañca.* that is known as *Tantrākhyāyika* or *Tantrākhyāyikam*.⁵ About the signification of this title too there are differences of opinion. It is obvious that *tantra* does not signify 'chapter or section of a literary work' in this title

4 According to Böhtlingk-Roth and Apte, *tantra* denotes 'chapter or section of a literary work' also. The other meanings given by Apte for this word are: loom; thread; the warp or threads extended lengthwise in a loom; posterity; an uninterupted series; the regular order of ceremonies and rites, system, framework, ritual; main point; principal doctrine, rule, theory, science; subservience, dependence; a scientific work; a religious treatise teaching magical and mystical formularies for the worship of the deities or the attainment of superhuman power; the cause of more than one effect; a spell; a chief remedy or charm; a drug, medicament, oath, ordeal; raiment; the right way of doing anything; royal retinue, train, court; a realm, country, authority; government, ruling, administration; arrangement or machinery of government; an army; a heap, multitude; a house; decoration; wealth; happiness; model; supporting a family; providing for the security and prosperity of a kingdom.

The equivalents given in the *Sabdakalpadruma* for this word are:

कुटुम्बकृत्यं : सिद्धान्तः ; ओषधिः, प्रधानं, तन्त्रवायः, परिच्छदः, श्रुतिशाखा-
विशेषः, हेतुः, उभयार्थप्रयोजकं, इतिकर्तव्यता : राष्ट्रं, परच्छन्दः, करणं, अर्थसाधकः,
तन्तुः, सैन्यं, स्वराष्ट्रचिन्ता, प्रबन्धः, शपथं, ग्रहं, वपनसाधनं, कुलं, शास्त्रं, व्यवहारः,
नियमादिः, शिवोक्तशास्त्रम् ।

5 See *WZKM*, 20 83.

6 Über das *Tantrākhyāyika*, die Kāśmīrische Rezension des *Pañcatantra*. Mit dem Texte der Handschrift *Decc. Coll. VIII*, 145. No. V of the 22nd volume of *AKSGW*, Leipzig, 1904.

or in *Tantrākhyāna* which is the title of a Nepalese version or adaptation of the 'Pañca.'; and Hertel has therefore observed, on p. xxvii of the above-mentioned edition, that though it was difficult to establish any close connection between the Kashmirian *Tantrākhyāyikā* and the Nepalese *Tantrākhyāna*, the title *Tantrākhyāna* seemed to be more original than the titles *Pañcākhyāna*, *Pañcatantra* and *Tantrākhyāyika*, and that both *Tantrākhyāna* and *Tantrākhyāyikā* signified 'story that serves as a guiding line or norm; story inculcating a lesson' and referred to the subject-matter, while the titles *Pañcatantra* and *Pañcākhyāna* referred to the outer form, of the work. This opinion did not commend itself to Prof. Jacobi who pointed out (Gött. Gel. Anz. 1905, no. 5, p. 383) that, in the *Tantrākhyāyika* itself, the word *tantra* was used in lines 1056 and 2343 in the sense of 'Book, chapter', and that it was hardly likely that in the title *Tantrākhyāna* it could denote 'string, line', and that hence the interpretation of that title as 'story that serves as a guiding line; story inculcating a lesson' could not be correct. Adverting to the statements in the *Kāvya-darśa* (1,26) and *Dhvanyālokalocana* (p. 146) that an *ākhyāyikā* is a story written in prose and divided into *ucchvāsas*, he opined that the *Tantrākhyāyika* was so named because though it was an *ākhyāyikā* or story written in prose, its divisions were called *tantras* and not *ucchvāsas*. As for the title *Tantrākhyāna*, he denied that the title of this late work (about the fifteenth century A.D.) could have any connection with the question under discussion; and he suggested that the word *tantra* in that title denoted "Lehrsatz, Regel" as in the title *Saṣṭitantra*.⁷

This opinion has been criticised,—justly, as it seems to me, by Hertel in the course of the article entitled 'Was bedeuten die Titel

7 See *WZKM.* 20, p. 81 f.; Jacobi's paper itself is not accessible to me. Winternitz, however, in his *Ges. d. ind. Litteratur* (III, 225, n. 3) has said that Jacobi, in the paper cited, has translated *Tantrākhyāyikā* as 'Sammlung von ākhyāyikas in tantras (collection of *ākhyāyikās* in *tantras*); die in Bücher eingeteilte Erzählungssammlung (collection of stories, that is divided into books)'.

Tantrākhyāyika und *Pañcatantra*?' that he has published in *WZKM.* 20, 81 ff. He observes there (1) that though the *Tantrākhyāna* as we have it now is a late work, there is no doubt that its contents and title have been taken over from an earlier work; (2) that there was nothing to prevent the author of the *Tantrākhyāyika* from calling the subdivisions *ucchvāsas* or to compel him to call them *tantras*; (3) that the occurrence of the word *tantra* in the titles *Tantrākhyāyika*, *Tantrākhyāna* and *Pañcatantra* is not due to accident but that the word *tantra* has been taken over because it formed part of the title of the original work, and (4) that *tantra* must have the same signification in the three titles. Proceeding then to determine what this meaning is, he has first adduced instances to show that *tantra* is a synonym of *rājanīti* and that it is used in the *Tantrākhyāyika* in the sense of *rājanīti* or *rājanīti-śāstra*; and after pointing out that the term *rājanīti* has a more comprehensive meaning than the term 'Politik (policy)' and includes in itself what is denoted by the word *nīti*, he has arrived at the conclusion that *tantra* signifies *nīti* in the above titles. *Nīti*, according to him, means 'kluge Lebensführung, Klugheit (proceeding sagaciously in life; shrewdness, cunning, policy)'; and hence he interprets *Tantrākhyāyikam* as 'Lehrbuch welches Erzählungen enthält, in denen die Klugheit behandelt wird (book of instruction which contains stories relating to cunning)' and *Pañcatantram* as 'Das aus fünf Listen (Fällen der Klugheit) bestehende śāstra', that is, 'the śāstra consisting of five Tricks (Instances of cunning)'. This interpretation is defended by Hertel in *WZKM.* 20, 306 f. and *ibid.* 25, 125; and it is repeated by him not only in his German translation of the *Tantrākhyāyika* (I .7), but also in his *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 10. It is, as observed by Hertel himself, almost identical with that of Abbé Dubois who has translated *Pañcatantram* as 'Les cinq ruses'; and Hertel, in *WZKM.* 25, 126, cites as confirmatory evidence an observation contained in a letter from J. J. Meyer who wrote that, when he was reading the

Pañcatantra, a missionary who had worked for many years in S. India and knew Tamil but not Sanskrit, at once exclaimed 'Ah, the Five Tricks' on hearing the title of the book. Similarly, in *WZKM.* 20, 88 too, he cites as confirmatory evidence the observation of another such missionary who, knowing only a language of S. India but not Sanskrit, used the word *nīti* and translated it as cunning.

This interpretation of Hertel was criticised by Prof. Speyer in *Bijdragen tot de taal,-land,-en volkenkunde van Ned.—Indie*, 7e volgr., IX, p. 523 and by Prof. Winternitz in *WZKM.* 25, p. 51; and Winternitz opined there that *Tantrākhyāyikā* signifies 'eine Erzählung die eine Lehre enthält oder zu einer Lehre gehört (a story that contains or relates to a doctrine or lesson)', and the neuter *Tantrākhyāyikam*, after which should be supplied, as suggested by Hertel, the word *nīti-śāstram*, 'ein aus lehrhaften Erzählungen bestehendes Lehrbuch der Lebensklugheit und Regierungskunst', that is, 'a book teaching the art of government and how to proceed sagaciously through life, and consisting of instructive stories'. This interpretation of *Tantrākhyāyikam* is repeated by him in his *Ges. d. ind. Litt.* III, 275, n. 3 also where he translates *Pañcatantra* as 'das Fünfbuch the Five-book' or 'das aus fünf Lehrabschnitten oder Büchern bestehende Lehrbuch der Regierungskunst', that is, the manual of the art of government that consists of five sections or books'.

Similarly, F. W. Thomas too has, in *JRAS.* 1907, p. 732, criticised the above interpretation of Hertel; according to him, *Tantrākhyāyikā* signifies 'Authoritative text (for policy) in the form of an *Ākhyāyikā*' and *Pañcatantra*, 'Authoritative Text (of policy) in five (Books)' while F. Lacote (*Mélanges Lévi*, p. 269) translates *Tantrākhyāyikā* as 'livre composé d'histoires (book consisting of stories)'. Prof. Lanman, on the other hand, has followed the lead of Hertel and thinks (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 14, Introd.) that *tantra* in the title *Pañcatantra* signifies 'trick, cunning, Lebensklugheit', while Prof. Franklin Edgerton, in his *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* (2, p. 182)

mentions that the word *tantra* in *Pañcatantra* has been interpreted as 'Klugheitsfall' or 'trick' by Hertel and as 'book, or division of literary work' by Winternitz and others and avows a preference for the latter interpretation.

In reality, neither of these interpretations of the word *tantra*, neither that of Hertel nor that of Winternitz, is correct. In the first place, there can be no doubt, that, as observed by Hertel, the word *tantra* must have the same meaning in the three titles *Pañcatantra*, *Tantrākhyāyikā* and *Tantrākhyāna*. The meaning 'book or subdivision of a literary work' suits the word in the title *Pañcatantra* only but not in *Tantrākhyāna* or *Tantrākhyāyikā*; and it hence becomes clear that *tantra* has not got this signification in these titles.⁸ Secondly, as regards the meaning 'trick, cunning, *Lebensklugheit*' proposed by Hertel, though it must be admitted that it suits the word in all the three titles, it must at the same time be pointed out that Hertel has not made any attempt to show that the word *tantra* has this meaning in Sanskrit. It is true that it has this signification in the Dravidian languages of S. India, for instance, in Kannada, Tamil and Telugu; but this fact is quite irrelevant in connection with the interpretation of this word in Sanskrit works. There are hundreds of Sanskrit words that have been borrowed by, and are in use in the above-mentioned Dravidian languages; but the significations which some of these words have in these languages are wholly different from those which they have in Sanskrit. *Nirvāna*, for instance denotes 'naked, nudity' in these languages, *avasara* 'hurry', *samācāra* 'news', *pravṛtti* 'purging', *samsāra* 'family, wife', *dāba* 'thirst'; *ucita*

8 It must also be noted that this meaning 'book or subdivision of a literary work' is not found among the meanings given in the *Śabda-kalpadrūma* (see n. 4 above) for *tantra*. In fact, I doubt very much if *tantra*, in Sanskrit, has got that signification.

Similarly, I doubt much if *niti* denotes, as suggested by Hertel, 'cunning' in Sanskrit or any S. Indian Dravidian language.

signifies 'free, gratis' in Kannada and Telugu, and *pūjya* 'cipher, naught'. For other similar examples, see Prof. Ramaswamy Iyer's paper on "Semantic Divergences in Indo-Aryan Loan-words in South Dravidian" published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, 8, 252 ff. and 9, 64 ff. It scarcely needs pointing out that the Sanskrit words mentioned above have not got the above-given significations in Sanskrit, and the assignation of these meanings to these words in Sanskrit passages would only lead to absurdities.

Thus, the fact that *tantra* signifies 'cunning, trick' in Kannada, Tamil or Telugu has no bearing on the meaning of this word in the titles *Pañcatantra*, *Tantrākhyāna* and *Tantrākhyāyika*. The meanings which *tantra* has in Sanskrit have been reproduced by me in n. 4 above from the *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Apte's Dictionary*. It can be seen that 'cunning, trick, *Lebensklugheit*' is not one of them, and it hence becomes evident that Hertel's interpretation too of the titles *Pañcatantra*, *Tantrākhyāna* and *Tantrākhyāyika* is wrong.

What then do these titles really signify? Before attempting to answer this question, it is necessary that we should determine first what the original title was of the work that is now known as *Pañcatantra* or *Tantrākhyāyika*. Regarding this matter, it is the belief of Prof. Edgerton (*op. cit.*, 2, p. 181) that the original title was, without doubt, *Pañcatantra*. On the other hand, it seems to be the opinion of Prof. Hertel (*Das Pañcatantra*, p. 9) that the original title was *Tantrākhyāyika* and that the names *Pañcatantra* and *Tantrākhyāna* were given to the work by later redactors.

Here too it seems to me that neither of these opinions is correct. For, besides the above-mentioned three titles, we meet with another, namely, *Pañcākhyāna* or *Pañcākhyānaka* in the *Pañcatantra* of Pūrṇabhadra (the colophon at the end of this work reads *samāptam Pañcatantrāparanāmakam Pañcākhyānakam nītiśāstram*) and in the *Pañcākhyānodbhāra*, *Pañcākhyāna-caupāi Pañcākhyānakathā*, *Pañcākhyānasārodbhāra*, *Pañcākhyānāśāstra*, etc. of Meghavijaya, Dhana-

ratna-sūri and other redactors (see Hertel, *op. cit.*, p. 453); and the fact that the same work is called differently as *Pañcatantra*, *Pañcākhyāna* and *Tantrākhyāna* by different redactors points to the ineluctable conclusion that the original title of the work was *Pañcatantrākhyāna*, and that the titles *Pañcatantra*, *Pañcākhyāna* and *Tantrākhyāna* are all merely different abbreviations of that original title.

The signification of the title *Pañcatantrākhyāna* is quite clear: the title means 'the five *tantras* in the form of stories; i.e., the principles of the five *tantras* expounded in the form of stories'; and *tantra* too can only signify here 'scientific work, *śāstra*'.⁹ The original title *Pañcatantrākhyāna* thus signifies 'the five scientific treatises, *śāstras*, (expounded) in the form of stories'. As we know from the *Kathāmukha* and also from the contents of the work, that it is wholly concerned with the Arthaśāstra or *nītiśāstra* (compare also in this connection the term *nītiśāstram* that occurs in the colophon, cited above, of Pn.), it follows that the five scientific treatises referred to by the above title must be works on Arthaśāstra written by five different authors.¹⁰ As writers on this science, we find mentioned in T. and Du, Bṛhaspati, Śukra (Uśanas), Parāśara, Vyāsa, Manu, Cānakya and others.

Prof. Hertel has indeed sought to show (*WZKM.* 20, p. 85 ff. and 306 f.) that the term *tantra* is itself a synonym of *Arthaśāstra*; and in support of this view, he has cited among others the following passages:

9 The only other meanings (out of those given in n. 4 above) that fit in this connection are (1) science, and (2) Tantra-work. The second of these does not obviously suit here; for the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* was not a Tantrik work. Nor does the first; for the work in question dealt with *one* science only, the Arthaśāstra, and not with five sciences.

10 These five treatises must have been evidently those which were held in high esteem and were most studied. Similarly, the expression *pañca mahākāvyaṇi* signifies nowadays, not any five mahākāvyaṇis, but specifically, the following five, namely the Kumārasambhava, Raghuvamśa, Kirātārjuniya, Śiśupālavadhā and Naiṣadhiyacarita (see Apte, s.v. *mahākāvya*) because those five are held in high esteem.

- (a)
- Mālavikāgnimitra*
- (
- Nirṇayasāgara*
- edition of 1890, p. 119):

अग्निमित्रः—अथवा किं भवान्मन्यते ।

अमात्यः—शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देवः ।

अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरुढमूलत्वात् ।

नवसंरोपणशिथिलस्तरुविव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् ॥

राजा—तेन ह्यवितथं तन्त्रकारवचनम् ।

- (b)
- Mudrārākṣasa*
- (beginning of Act II):

जाणन्ति तन्त्रजुतिं जहट्टिञ्च मण्डलं अहिलिहन्ति ।

जे मन्तलक्खणपरा ते सप्पणरहिवे उवञ्चरन्ति ।

- (c)
- Dāśakumāracarita*
- (
- Nirṇayasāgara*
- edition of 1889, p. 220):

येऽपि मन्त्रकर्कशास्तन्त्रकर्तारः शुक्राङ्गिरसविशालाच्च बाहुदन्तिपुत्रपराशरप्रभृतयस्तैः

किमरिषड्गो जितः ।

These passages, it seems to me, are not enough to prove his thesis that *tantra* is a synonym of *Arthaśāstra*: they show however that *tantra* was given that meaning, and was understood in that sense, by a certain class of people, namely those that moved with kings and their ministers. The above instances, in my opinion, confirm it.

It is interesting in this connection to observe the close parallel to the above use of the word *tantra* that is furnished by the word *siddhānta*. According to the lexicographers, *siddhānta* means (see Apte) “1. the established end; 2. the demonstrated conclusion of an argument, established view of any question, the true logical conclusion (following on the refutation of the *pūrvapakṣa*); 3. a proved fact, established truth, dogma, settled doctrine; 4. any established textbook resting on conclusive evidence.” To a certain class of people however, namely students of *Jyotiṣa*, the word *siddhānta* signifies an astronomical work having a certain character; and the work *Pañcasiddhāntikā* is an epitome, not of any five ‘established text-books resting on conclusive evidence’, but of five astronomical works known

as Siddhāntas. Similarly, the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* too was a work that expounded in the form of stories the principles, not of any five scientific works, but of five treatises on the Arthaśāstra or Nitiśāstra. It was a work that concerned itself exclusively with the Arthaśāstra in the same way as the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* did with Jyotiṣa-śāstra.

The *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, it is well-known, has five sections and gives an epitome of the contents of five different Siddhānta works, each section epitomising one work. In the same way, the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* too contained five Sections or Books and gave an epitome of five works on the Arthaśāstra; and each Section or Book epitomised one such work, as is shown by the colophons *iti prathamam tantram*, *iti dvitīyam tantram*, etc., contained in T, SP, Spl, Pn and Du. There is however this difference between the two works: the author of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* has mentioned clearly the names of the five Siddhānta works which he has epitomised; the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna*, to judge from the *Tantrākhyāyika* and the several *Pañcatantra* versions, does not seem to have done so.

This defect we can remedy to some extent, even though our knowledge of the literature of the Arthaśāstra is very meagre. It is however necessary in order to do so, that we should ascertain first the titles which the author of *Pañcatantrākhyāna* gave to each of the five sections or books of that work.

The titles of the five sections are *mitrabbedā*; *mitraprāpti* or *subhṛt-lābha*; *sandhivigrāha* or *kākolūkīya*; *labdha-nāśa* or *labdha-praṇāśa* and *aparīkṣita-kāritva*, *asamīkṣya-kāritva* or *aparīkṣita-kāraka* as given by T, SP, SPI and Pn, all of which mention Viṣṇuśarman as the author.¹¹ It has been shown however in a paper published in vol. X, pp. 104 ff. of this journal, that there was another version of

11 Compare the following stanza found at the end of the *kāthāmukha* in SP:

मित्रभेदः सुहृत्लाभः सन्धि-विग्रह एव च ।
लब्ध-नाशो असंप्रेक्ष्य-कारित्वं पञ्चतन्त्रकम् ॥

the *Pañcatantra* which mentioned Vasubhāga as the author of the work. The only complete representative that we have of this version is the *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha, written in Kannada; and a Sanskrit stanza¹² contained in this version gives the titles of the five sections or books as *bheda*, *mitra-kārya*, (*a*)*viśvāsa*, *vañcana* and *parikṣā*.

Now, the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* was, as mentioned above, composed by the author for the express purpose of teaching, by means of stories, the principles of the *Arthaśāstra* to some princes.¹³ The titles which this author gave to the five sections or books must therefore have been such as to recall at once to the mind of the hearer (reader) some main topic of the *Arthaśāstra*. If we bear this in mind, and examine the two sets of titles given above from this viewpoint, we find that those given in Du are more nearly and more patently connected with the *Arthaśāstra* than those given in T-SP-SPI-Pn:

(a) *Bheda* and *mitra-bheda*: Both these titles signify the same thing, namely, separation or estrangement of friends. But the term *bheda* is one of the four *upāyas* (the others are *sāma*, *dāna* and *danḍa*) or plans, employment of which is enjoined in the *Arthaśāstra* for overcoming an enemy; and this term recalls to the mind of the hearer the whole teaching of that śāstra in connection with the *upāya-catustaya* more readily than does the term *mitra-bheda*.

(b) *Mitra-prāpti* (*subhllābha*) and *mitra-kārya*: Both these titles too signify the same thing, namely, 'the acquisition of friends'. Each is as good as the other, and there is nothing to choose between them. According to the stanza *sukṛtyam Viṣṇuguptasya mitrāptir*

12

भेदः परीक्षा विश्वासश्चतुर्थं वञ्चनं तथा ।

मित्र-कार्यं च पञ्चैते क्रथा तन्लार्थ-संज्ञकाः ॥

The titles as actually given in the colophons of Du are: *bheda-prakarāṇa* *mītrakārya-prakarāṇa*, *viśvāsa-prakarāṇa*, *vañcanā-prakarāṇa*, and *parikṣā vyāvahārika*

13 See ZII. 6, 262-63; see also the *Kathāmukha* in T, SP, SPI, Pn and Du.

*Bhārgavasya ca| Brhaspater aviśvāso nīti-saṁdhis tridhā mataḥ*¹⁴ found in Book II of Spl (verse 41, p. 9), the acquisition of friends was a cardinal doctrine in the teaching of the Arthaśāstra-writer by Bhārgava, i.e., Śukra (Uśanas); and it is very probable that the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* devoted this book to the exposition, in the form of a story, of this cardinal doctrine of the Arthaśāstra writer Śukra or Uśanas.

(c) *Samdhi-vigraha* (*kākolūkīya*) and *viśvāsa* (*aviśvāsa*): *saṁdhi* and *vigraha* are two of the six *guṇas* discussed in the Arthaśāstra (see Adhikaraṇa VII, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmandakīya-nītisāra*, ch. 18, and Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta*, Sec. 29); but the third book of the *Pañcatantra* which bears this title contains discussions, not only about *saṁdhi* and *vigraha*, but about the other four *guṇas* known as *yāna*, *āsana*, *dvaidhibhāva* and *samāśraya* also. It is hence obvious that *saṁdhi-vigraha* is not an appropriate title for the book, and that the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* could not have given this title to that book.

The title *kākolūkīya* signifies something 'about the Crows and Owls.' It does not recall to the mind any topic of the Arthaśāstra, and hence it too cannot be the title given by the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* to that book.

Viśvāsa is the title which is borne by the third book in the *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṁha. As pointed out however by me elsewhere (ZII. 7, 21), the expression *parīkṣāviśvāsaḥ* in pāda (a) of the stanza cited in n. 12 above, can be regarded as a combination of *parīkṣā* and *aviśvāsa*, as also of *parīkṣā* and *viśvāsa*; and although Durgasiṁha favours the latter combination, there can be no doubt that the composer of that stanza had the combination *parīkṣā* and

14. "The application of policy is considered to be threefold. According to Viśnugupta, it consists in performing all acts well, according to Bhārgava, in the acquisition of friends, and according to Brhaspati, in not placing trust in any one."

aviśvāsa in his mind. Compare the introductory stanza of book III which begins with the words *na viśvaset pūrva-virodhitasya*, and note that it is the object of the author to teach in book III the inadvisability of placing trust in people that were once enemies and have now become friendly.

It hence becomes obvious that *aviśvāsa* is the most appropriate title for book III, and that the title given to that book by the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* was *aviśvāsa*.

Now, according to the Śpl stanza cited above, *aviśvāsa* was a cardinal doctrine in the teaching of the *Arthasāstra* writer Brhaspati. Compare also in this connection *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* (Trivandrum ed. of 1912), 5, 88-89:

बृहस्पतेरविश्वास इति शास्त्रार्थ-निश्चयः ।
 विश्वासी च तथा च स्याद् यथा संव्यवहारवान् ॥
 विश्वासयेदविश्वस्तं विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् ।
 यस्मिन् विश्वासमायाति विभूतेः पातमेव सः ॥

and the following stanza from Jinaprabha-sūri's *Kalpaprādīpa* quoted by V. N. Mandlik in *JBBRAS.*, 10, 134:

जीर्णे भोजनमालेयः कपिलः प्राणिनो दया ।
 बृहस्पतिरविश्वासः पञ्चोलस्त्रीषु मार्दवम् ॥

Thus there can be no doubt that the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* has, in book III, expounded, in the form of a story, the doctrine of *aviśvāsa* on which Brhaspati has laid stress in his text-book on *Arthasāstra*.

(d) *Labdha-nāśa* and *vañcana*: Of these two titles, *labdha-nāśa* means 'loss of what has been acquired', and does not recall to the mind of the hearer any topic of the *Arthasāstra*. On the other hand, *vañcana* signifies (see Apte) 'trick, deceit, fraud, deception, trickery', and it forms one of the topics of the *Arthasāstra* under the name of *māyā* or *chala*. Both these words denote (see Apte) 'fraud, deceit, trick', and are synonyms of *vañcana*; and *chala*, it is said in the

Tantrākhyāyikā (Ab. 216) 'forms, according to the writer on the science, the fifth method' in addition to the four methods of *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* and *danda*.

*sāma-dāna-bheda-dandānām caturṇām rayānām nāsty avakāśah|
asti pañcamo'pi śāstra-kartur nayaś chalo nāma||*

According to Kāmandakiyanītisāra (18,3):

*sāma dānam ca bhedaś ca dandaś ceti catuṣṭayam|
māyopeksendrajālam ca saptopāyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ||*

the fifth *upāya* is known as *māyā*. Similar is the opinion of the redactors of Spl and Pn also: ¹⁵ and hence there can be no doubt that *vañcana* is a better title for the book than *labdha-nāśa*.

Moreover, it becomes clear from the observations made by J. J. Meyer in the *Einleitung* to his translation of *Kautilya's Arthāśāstra* that there was a school of politics in India represented by the Arthāśāstra writer Bhāradvāja, in whose policy, fraud and trickery, that is, *vañcana*, played a very important part. Meyer writes on p. lxix: "Even in connection with his own vassals, the prince must, in case of necessity, practise cruelty and above all, cunningness and fraud, and must be a thorough hypocrite..... Naturally, in connection with the enemy, the king, particularly one who has been

¹⁵ In the passage corresponding to T. Ab. 216, these redactors write: *evam gate'pi śāḍgunyad aparah sthūlo'bbiprāyo'sti tam aṅgikṛtya svayam evāham yāsyāmi ripūn vañcayitvā vadhisyāmi* and later (on p. 61,26 and p. 196,11 respectively): *vatsa ākarnaya tarhi sāmādin atikramya yo mayā pañcama upāyo* (Bn: *yah pañcamopāyo mayā*) *nirūpitah tan mām* (Pn: *yathāmām*) *vipaksa-bhūtam kṛtvā ti- niṣṭhura vacanair bhartsaya*. Here, either the words *pañcama upāyo yo mayā nirūpitah* refer to *vañcayitvā* in the passage cited above (in which case the fifth *upāya* would be *vañcana*), or, preferably the word *mayā* is a corruption of *māyā*. In the latter case, the meaning of the above passage is, "Listen, then dear son, to the trick which is said to be the fifth *upāya*. Make me out to be a follower of the enemy and abuse me with very hard words."

oppressed and treated with violence by a stronger enemy, may have recourse to the meanest tricks and treachery in order to deceive, injure and finally destroy, him. The loci classici in the *Mahābhārata* are XII, 103, 1-44 and particularly, I, 153 and XII, 140. Although, in the last of these two passages, the name of the speaker is given as *Bhāradvāja*, the title of the chapter refers to it as 'the instruction of *Kaṇika*'. This is correct; for, in I, 153,¹⁶ *Kaṇika* who is here the adviser of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, is expressly stated to be the preacher of this evangel for princes. This *Kaṇika*, or 'little one', appears in the 93rd *prakaraṇa* of *Kautiliya* in his full name *Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja*. In the *Arthśāstra* also, *Bhāradvāja* represents political policies that are rankest and pass all bounds; and in *Mahābhārata* I, 153¹⁶ and XII, 140, two *adhyāyas*, whose *ślokas* are, for the most part, identical or almost identical, this ancient teacher presents to us the most skilfully concocted brew of deceit and political policy." Compare also the observations of Meyer that follow on the above-cited page and on p. lxx.

It must be pointed out however that the coupling by Meyer, in the passage cited above, of *Mahābhārata* XII, 103, 1-44 with *Ibid.* I, 153 and XII, 140 is a mistake. The last-mentioned two chapters reproduce the teaching of *Kaṇika Bhāradvāja* while XII, 103, 1-44 present the teaching of *Bṛhaspati*. As pointed out above, *Bṛhaspati*'s teaching lays stress on *aviśvāsa*; compare vv. 9, 10, (l.c.):

क्रोधं भयं च हर्षं च नियम्य स्वयमात्मनि ।
 अमिलमुपसेवेत विश्वस्तवदविश्वसन् ॥
 प्रियमेव वदेन्नित्यं नाप्रियं किञ्चिदाचरेत् ।
 विरमेच्छुष्कवैरेभ्यः कर्णजापं च वर्जयेत् ॥

The teaching of *Bhāradvāja* lays stress on *vañcana*; compare the following verses in XII, 140:

अञ्जलिं शपथं सान्त्वं शिरसापादवन्दनम् ।
 अश्रुप्रपातनं चैव कर्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छता ॥ 17 ॥

¹⁶ Instead of '153', the figure '140' is erroneously printed in Meyer's *Einleitung*.

न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् ।
 विश्वासाद्भयमभ्येति नापरीक्ष्य च विश्वसेत् ॥43
 विश्वासयित्वा तु परं तत्त्वभूतेन हेतुना ।
 अथास्य प्रहरेत् काले किञ्चिद्विचलिते पदे ॥44
 अशङ्क्यमपि शङ्केत नित्यं शङ्केत शङ्कितान् ।
 भयं ह्यशङ्कितान्जातं समूलमपि कृन्तति ॥45
 अवधानेन मौनेन काषायेण जटाजिनैः ।
 विश्वासयित्वा द्वेषारमवलुम्पेद्यया वृकः ॥46
 प्रहरिष्यन् प्रियं ब्रूयात्प्रहत्यापि प्रियोत्तरम् ।
 असिनापि शिरश्छित्त्वा शोचेत च रुदेत च ॥54

and the following verses in I, 153 :—

अन्धः स्यादन्धवेलायां बाधिर्यमपि चाश्रयेत् ॥
 हन्यादमिलं दानेन तथा पूर्वापकारिणम् ।
 हन्यात्तून् पञ्च सप्तेति परपक्षस्य सर्वशः ॥25
 मूलमेवादितश्छिन्द्यात्परपक्षस्य नित्यशः ।
 ततः सहायांस्तत्पक्षान्सर्वांश्च तदनन्तरम् ॥26
 छिन्नमूले ह्यधिष्ठाने सर्वे तज्जीविनो हताः ।
 कथं नु शाखास्तिष्ठेरश्छिन्नमूले वनस्पतौ ॥27

It should be noted that there is nothing corresponding to these teachings in XII, 103 which reproduces Brhaspati's teaching on rāja-dharma.

There can thus be no doubt that *vañcana* (or a term synonymous with it) was the title given to this book by the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna*, and that he expounded in this book, in the form of a story, the doctrine of deception, deceit, cheating and trickery, which formed a cardinal feature in the teaching of Bhāradvāja.¹⁷

17 One should not also, in this connection, lose sight of the fact that the root *vañc* is actually used in pāda c: *sa tathā vañcyate mūdbab* in the introductory verse of this book.

It may be thought, at first sight, that book III too is concerned with *vañcana*. For, not only does the frame-story relate how Cirajivin deceived the owl-king and destroyed him and his following but the word *chala* or its synonym *vañcana* is, as mentioned above, actually used in this connection by Cirajivin who also relates the story of how the Brāhmin was tricked (*vañcitat*) by the rogues, and how the serpent tricked the frogs and ate them. All this is true; but the lesson which the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* wants the princes to learn from this story is, that one should not repose trust in people that were formerly enemies and are now friends (*na viśvaset pūrvā-virodhitasya śatroś ca mitratvam upāgatasya*) and thus provide them with opportunities to do harm (*dagdhām gubhām paśya ulūka-pūrṇām kāka-praṇītena butāśanena*). The moral to be drawn from book IV is different: it is, that one should not hesitate to practise trickery, fraud and deceit, in order to gain one's end. The author gives in that book three instances of *vañcana* being practised, once by the crocodile against the ape, once by the ape against the crocodile, and once by the jackal, against the ass, in the embossed story.

(e) *Aparikṣita-kāritva* (*aparikṣita-kāraka* or *asamikṣya-kāritva*) and *parikṣā*: Of these terms, *aparikṣita-kāritva* (*aparikṣita-kāraka*, *asamikṣya-kāritva*) means 'performance of acts without careful examination (of all circumstances attending it)': in the *Arthaśāstra* there is no section that treats of this subject. *Parikṣā* denotes 'examination, careful scrutiny', that is, examination of all circumstances before one acts. Chapter III of the *Śāntiparvan* (*Mahābhārata* XII) is devoted to the praise of *parikṣā*; and contains among others, the following verses:—

असत्याः सत्यसंकाशाः सत्याश्चासत्यदर्शनाः ।

दृश्यन्ते विविधा भावास्तेषु युक्तं परीक्षणम् ॥65

तलवद् दृश्यते व्योम खद्योतो हव्यवाडिव ।

न चैवास्ति तलं व्योमि खद्योते न हुताशनः ॥66।

तस्मात्प्रत्यक्षदृष्टोपि युक्तो ह्यर्थः परीक्षितुम् ।

परीक्ष्य ज्ञापयन्नर्थान्न पश्चात्परितप्यते ॥67

Similarly, section 15 of Somadeva's *Nītivākyaṃṛta* is entitled *vicāra-samuddēśah* and sets forth that *vicāra* must precede every act. The beginning of the section reads as follows :

नाविचार्य किमपि कार्यं कुर्यात् । प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैर्यथावस्थितवस्तुव्यवस्थापनहेतु-
विचारः । स्वयं दृष्टं प्रत्यक्षम् । स्वयं दृष्टेऽपि मतिमुह्यति संशेते विपर्यस्यति वा किं पुनः
परोपदिष्टे । स खलु विचारज्ञो यः प्रत्यक्षेणोपलब्धमपि कार्यं साधु परीक्ष्यानुतिष्ठति ।
अतिरभसात् कृतानि कार्याणि किं नामानर्थकं न जनयन्ति । अविचार्याचरिते कर्मणि
पश्चात्प्रतिविधानं गतोदके सेतुबन्धमिव ॥

Thus, what Somadeva calls *vicāra* is identical with what MBh. XII, 111 calls *parikṣā*; and the fact that both these works contain sections devoted to it shows that it formed a recognised topic of the *Arthaśāstra*. It is hence very probable that *parikṣā* is the title which the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* gave in his work to this book.

Thus it is certain that *aviśvāsa* is the title which the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* gave to one of the books in that work, and it is very probable that the titles given by him to the other four books were *bheda*, *vañcana* (or a word synonymous with it), *mitra-lābha* (*mitra-kārya* or a similar word), and *parikṣā* or a synonym of it. It is also evident from what has been said above that, in the book on *aviśvāsa*, the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* has expounded the cardinal doctrine taught by Bṛhaspati in his work on *Arthaśāstra*; and it is also very probable that, in the books on *mitra-kārya* and *vañcana*, he has similarly expounded the cardinal doctrines taught by Śukra (Uśanas) and Bhāradvāja in their works on *Arthaśāstra*. The books on *bheda* and *parikṣā* too, there is no doubt, expound similarly the cardinal doctrines taught by two other teachers in their works on

Arthasāstra; but about the identity of these teachers, it is not possible to hazard even a guess.

These statements should not be interpreted to mean that *aviśvāsa* was taught by Brhaspati only, *vañcana* by Bhāradvāja only, and *mitraprāpti* by Śukra only. It must be borne in mind that the subjects must have been the same in all the text-books on *Arthasāstra*, as, for instance, they are in all the text-books on *Vaidyaka* or *Iyotiṣa*. The heads and sub-heads must have been the same;¹⁸ and the only difference between one author and another would consist in the fact that one laid stress on one of them, and another, on another; compare in this connection the discussions in Kāuṭilya's *Arthasāstra*. Thus, the subject of *aviśvāsa*, for instance, must have been, in all probability, discussed not only in the *Arthasāstra* work of Brhaspati, but in those of Śukra, Bhāradvāja and other writers, the subject of *mitra-prāpti*, not only in the *Arthasāstra* of Śukra, but in those of Brhaspati, Bhāradvāja and other writers, and similarly with the subjects of *bheda*, *vañcana*, and *parīkṣā*. Apparently, however, it was only Brhaspati, Śukra and Bhāradvāja that, respectively, attached great importance to them and made them the cardinal feature of their teachings.

It must also be noted that it is the frame-stories only of the five books that have been devoted by the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* to the expounding of these five subjects. The embossed stories in the books on *bheda*, *mitra-prāpti* and *aviśvāsa* do not expound these subjects but are devoted to the exposition of other matters discussed in the *Arthasāstra*

¹⁸ A comprehensive list of these heads and sub-heads is given in *Mahābhārata* XII, 58, 31-77.

Not only the heads and sub-heads, but the wording of the exposition too seems to have been the same or almost the same. See in this connection note 1 on p. 180. of the *Poona Orientalist*, vol. 2.

We may now sum up the results of the above discussion. (1) The original title of the work now known variously as *Pañcatantra*, *Tantrākhyāyika*, *Tantrākhyāna* and *Pañcākhyāna* was *Pañcatantrākhyāna* which signifies 'the five *tantras* (or treatises on *Arthaśāstra*) in the form of stories'. (2) This work was so called because each one of its five subdivisions was devoted to the exposition, in the form of a story, of the cardinal doctrines inculcated in the works on *Arthaśāstra* written by Brhaspati, Śukra (Uśanas), Bhāradvāja and two others whose identity we cannot now discover. (3) *Tantra*, in the titles *Pañcatantra*, *Tantrākhyāyika* and *Tantrākhyāna* signifies 'treatise on *Arthaśāstra*'. (4) *Pañcatantra* signifies 'The five treatises on *Arthaśāstra* (expounded in the form of stories)', *Tantrākhyāyikam*, *Tantrākhyāyikā* and *Tantrākhyāna*, '(the five) treatises on *Arthaśāstra* expounded in the form of stories', and *Pañcākhyāna*, 'the five (treatises on the *Arthaśāstra* expounded in the form of) stories'.

APPENDIX

It has already been observed by me, in the course of the article on 'The *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha' (*ZII*. 6, p. 264, n. 2), that this author, when translating into Kannada the *Pañcatantra* of Vasubhāga, has added, not only some Kannada stanzas at the beginning and end of the work, but two Kannada stanzas each at the beginning and end of books II-V and also at the end of book I. These stanzas present clearly the moral which, in the opinion of Durgasiṃha,¹⁹ the author of the *Pañcatantrākhyāna* wanted his hearers

19 Durgasiṃha was the *mabāsandhi-vigrahi* or Great Minister for Peace and War of the Cālukyan emperor Jagadekamalla I; and this fact, and the epithets *nitiśāstradamantrakāḍbidaivatam* ('the deity presiding over the *Nitiśāstra*'), *vipula-*

(readers) to draw from each book; and since it is not easy for the reader to draw this moral from the Sanskrit verses in T, SP, Spl, Pn and Du that stand at the beginning and introduce the frame-stories of books I-V, I give here a translation of five of the Kannada stanzas referred to above:

1. "When it is observed that the great Yudhisthira fought and came out victorious, after he effected the separation (from Duryodhana) of Bhīṣma and Drōṇa who were reputed to be invincible in battle, (it becomes clear that) *bheda* alone is the best plan among those beginning with *sāma*. Thus, says Durgasimhā, should one cause estrangement among enemies by the employment of *bheda*, and overcome them."

2. "The king who wants that the goddess Śrī, as also unblemished fame should abide permanently with him, should avoid hasty action, and should, in all affairs, examine everything with circumspection before acting."

3. "If a king desires to be the lord of the woman Śrī and of the glorious woman, namely, the whole earth, he should repose confidence and thus vanquish the enemies."

4. "The king who wants to hold the goddess Śrī always in his power should not allow himself to become the victim of the different plots contrived by his enemies, but should cleverly deceive them as does one who is full of wiles."

5. "The king who wants to be the lord of Śrī and to rule over the whole earth, should make some persons his friends by employing the various devices mentioned in the *Nitiśāstra*."

naya-vārāṣi-pāragam ('he who had crossed over to the other shore of the great ocean of the *Niti-śāstra*'), and *naya-kovidam* ('proficient in the *Nitiśāstra*') that he uses in his *Pañcatantra* (in stanzas 255, 256, and 402) in respect of himself show that he was proficient in the *Niti-śāstra*.

The first of these stanzas is from the end of book I, while the other four are found each, at the beginning of one of the last four books. As already observed above, it is the opinion of Durgasiṃha that book III is devoted to the expounding of *viśvāsa* and of how enemies can be overcome by this means.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Maniyar Math and Snake-cult

There is at Rājgir a massive brick structure decorated with well-preserved stucco reliefs among which Nāga figures predominate. Long ago Dr. Bloch suggested that one of the figures of the Nāgas might be that of "Maṇikāra or Maṇi Nāga, named in the Mahābhārata as the protector of Rājgir, whose favour people invoked for rain. Last year's operations at the Maniyar Math brought to light a number of many-spouted water-jars..... This year further discoveries have been made by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, which confirm the suggestion that the building here was a shrine dedicated to Maṇi Nāga at least from the early centuries of the Christian era. An inscription discovered on a red sandstone sculpture and engraved in characters of the 2nd century brings out the name of Maṇi Nāga whose favour is referred to apparently as being conducive to some benefit to the donor." One of the Nāginis has the inscription "Bhagini Sumagadhi," who appears to have been a protecting deity of ancient Māgadha.

Mr. Saratchandra Mitra has recently referred to Maṇi Nāga in his article, *Notes on the Cult of the Godling Nāga etc.*¹ in these words: ² 'the Rājgir peasants' idea that the custodian of rain water was a snake appears to be abnormal, as it is at variance with the conceptions, prevailing in other parts of the world, about the custodian of rain-waters. Many races of people believe that frogs are the custodians of rain-water.'

In this paper it will be shown that the association of the snake with rain is not 'abnormal' and that it is coeval with the Vedic age.

¹ JBORS., XXIII, pp. 118-127.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

There are many references in the R̥g-Veda to the snake as the custodian of rain. Indra is said to have hurled the thunderbolt at *Ahi* (snake) or *Vṛtra*, who withheld the rain-waters, and to have pierced and killed him, and released the waters. Some of other references are (vide Maṇḍala I, Sukta 32):—

(a)*abannahimanvapastatarda* ||1||

Indra, the thunder-wielder (*vajrī*), having killed *Ahi*, was the first to cause the rain to fall

(b) *abannahim parvate śisriyānam*

tvastāsmāi vajram svamrya tatakṣa|

Vāśrā iva dhenavaḥ syandamānā

amjah samudramava jagmurāpab ||2||

With the thunderbolt made by *Tvaṣṭṛ* Indra struck (killed) the cloud (*Ahi*) resting on the hill, waters rushed forth in continuous streams to the ocean, even as cows rush towards their calves in front.

(c) *aban Vṛtram vṛtratarāṃ vyamsamindro vajreṇa mahatā vadhena* ||5||

Sāyaṇa explains *vṛtratarāṃ* as “*atīṣayena lokānāmāvarakam andbakārarūpam*”, alluding to the excessive dark appearance of the rain-cloud.

(d) *Vṛtra* restrained the waters by his magic, Indra killed him and released them:

... *āpab|*

Yāścid vṛtro mahinā paryatiṣṭhat

tāsām abih patsutaḥśirbabbhūva ||8||

Dāsapatnirahigopā atiṣṭhan

niruddhā āpab paṇineva gāvab|

apām bilamapibitam yadāsīd

vṛtram jaghanvānāpa tadvaṅvāra ||11||

cf. also *RV.* 4. 2.17^d

(e) *Vṛtram jaghanvān asṛjad vi sindhūn* *RV.* 4.8 7^d; 19.8^b

(f) *ahim yad Vṛtram apo vavivāmsam* *RV.* 6:20.2^c

- o (g) *abim obānam apa āsayānam RV. 5.30.6c*
 (h) *Indrāyābighne na ramānta āpah RV. 2.30.1b³*

In the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Tilak in his article "Chaldean and Indian Vedas" tries to show some borrowings by the Indians from the Chaldeans. He quotes a hymn from the Atharva Veda against snake-poison (V. 13, verses 6, 7, 8, 10):

Asitasya taimātasya babhrorapādakasya ca

The word *Taimāta* again occurs in Atharva Veda V. 18. 4.

Böhtlingk and Roth and others took *taimāta* to be the name of a kind of snake. Dr. Chowdhury says, "*Taimāta* also appears to mean wet, but modified into 'living in water at 5. 13. 6... It is probably a derivative of *tema* -'moisture' with suffix *-ta*..." It is a wet black snake *JBORS.*, xvii, p. 75.

Tilak, however, says that *Taimāta* has been borrowed by the Indians from the Chaldeans. "...the serpent *Taimāta* is, I am sure, no other than the primeval water-dragon *Tiamat* generally represented as the female, but sometimes even as a male, monster in the Chaldean cosmogonic legends... *Tiamat* is the well-known Chaldean androgynous dragon whose fight with *Marduk* is the subject of some of the cuneiform tablets of the creation legends" (p. 34). He further says that there is "a very close resemblance between the Chaldean and the Vedic legends regarding the place and the movements of the cosmic waters, their conquest by the powers of light, viz., by *Indra* or *Marduk*..." (p. 41).

Tiamat in the Babylonian legends is the origin of evil and personified the *deep and the tempests*. She is the enemy of order

3 Summary of references to *Indra's killing Ahi-Viṣṭra*:
 RV. 1.32. 1, 5-11, 13, 14; 1.23, 11 and 13; 1.51.4; 1.54.10; 1.56;
 5-6; 1.57.6; 1.61.8, 10-12; 1.80.1, 4-7, 10, 12; 1.84. 13-14; 1.103,
 2, 7, 8; 1.121, 11; 2.11.5, 18; 2.12.3; 2.15.1; 3.31.8; 3.32.4;
 4.9.9; 5.17.8, 9; 7.19.5; 8.6.16; 8.8.19; 8.15.3; 8.32.26; 10.48.8;
 10.49.6.7.

and good and is killed by the Babylonian Lord of Deities. In the Egyptian legend serpent Osiris and his serpent mother *confined the waters* in the cavern during the period of the low Nile. After he is slain, the river tinged with his blood rose and inundated.⁴

Vṛtra, the Ahi, held and controlled the rain-clouds and the rain-waters. He could bring down rain or withhold it. This idea became deeply implanted in the minds of the people, and though overspread with many other legends for centuries it still survives. If the snake or Nāga can bring rain, he can certainly withhold it. If he withheld the rain for sometime so as to cause drought, he certainly was the person to appeal to, and to appease, so that he may let loose once more the fertilising rains. There are several instances to show that a god, or goddess, or spirit has both benign and malign aspects. Ahi (Vṛtra), the original custodian of rain-water, was overthrown by Indra who absorbed his rain-making power (as the vanquisher appropriates the virtues of the vanquished by assimilating some vital portion of his), but he (in his modern representatives) is not altogether overthrown in the popular belief that he still can both make rainfall to end a drought, or withhold it if it rains ceaselessly for many days, and show his "Covenant" that rain has ceased in the shape of rain-bow.

In the *Divyāvadāna* the Nāga is associated with rain cloud and rain-making.⁵ In the Pāli *Jātakas* the essential watery nature of the Nāga is emphasised. The Nāga can assume any shape. Once a Nāgini consorted with an exiled prince and had children by him. When the prince was returning to his country, he proposed to take his children with him. The mother (Nāgini) requested him to carry their children in a huge water-tub filled with water lilies and

4 Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 39.

5 Ed. by Cowell and Neil, Story no. XXX.

plants and she explained that their nature was essentially watery and they would dry up if they were not carried in that way."

Crooke says, "Snakes exercise control over the weather. In the Veda Ahi-budhnya, the serpent of the deep, is an atmospheric deity, and Ahi and Vṛtra control the waters and shut up the rain. At Sankisa in the Farukhabad District, United Provinces, the Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian records that 'a white-eared dragon is the patron of this body of priests. He causes fertilising and seasonable showers of rain to fall within their country, and preserves it from plagues and calamities...'" Further, "the rain-bow is the form of a great snake blown up from the underworld...Hindus think it is the the fume of a great serpent hidden in the ground..." The Kols call the rain-bow Lurbeng, a serpent.⁸

With the spread of Buddhism Indian ideas and folk-beliefs also spread to China, so we will not be surprised to find exactly these ideas prevailing there, and migrating to Japan. Hopkins, in an article in *JRAS.*, entitled "*Where the Rainbow ends*", says: "There is in the Chinese written language a character 虹 standing for a word pronounced usually *hung*, and meaning Rainbow... This same word *hung* forms part of the phrase *yüan hung* "curving rainbow" used metaphorically in a verse by the poet Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (died 117 B.C.) to describe a Dragon.... How came the Chinese poet to choose the Rainbow to connote a Dragon?"... Then he gives a figure of a curve ending in two animal heads,

6 In the *Proc. and Trans. of the 7th All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 312.

Cf. *Suśruta*, "Lords of Nāgas, headed by Vāsuki and beginning from Taksaka, earth-bearers resembling the sacrificial fire in their splendour (*tejas*) who incessantly cause thunder, rain and heat."

7 Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 393, quoting in the footnote Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* pp. 72f., 152f. and 158f; and Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, Intro. xl.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 46.

9 *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 603, 604.

which is that of the Rainbow ending in two Dragon heads. He says: "For the design of the character is, in the main, naturalistic, in so far as it is clearly modelled on the semi-circular bow in the sky, but symbolistic through the addition of two heads, for where the Rainbow ends, there the Dragon begins!"¹⁰ In China the Dragon when besought sends down rain to remove drought, and stops rain, in token of which he makes the rainbow appear in the sky.

The above mentioned evidences show that the popular belief crediting the snake with control over rain waters is very ancient in India, that it is not confined to the Rājgir peasants, and that their idea is not abnormal.

In *Sarpanāmakathana* (*Mbh. Ādiparva*, ch. 35) Maṇi Nāga, a serpent, is mentioned. In *Jarāsandhavadhaparva* (*Sabbāparva*) he is mentioned to have resided near Girivraja. In *Sabbā*, (Ch. XXI) Kṛṣṇa says to Pārtha about Girivraja, the great city of Magadha, and in sloka 9 we read of the two Nāgas Arbuda and Cakrapāṇi (dif. reading, Śakravāpī)—chastisers of foes, and of the good abodes of Svastika, and Maṇi Nāga. On the hills were also the abodes of Gandharvas, Rākṣasas and Nāgas (Śl. 13)... The very sight of Maṇi was auspicious.¹¹ The Maṇitīrtha is presumably named after him. I have been unable so far to find any reference in the Mahābhārata to Maṇi Nāga being called also Maṇikāra Nāga, or any direct statement that he was "the protector of Rājgir, whose favour people invoked for rain" which, however, is quite possible.

In the Jaina literature it is stated that at Rājagrha Nāgas were worshipped (*nāgaḥaṇṇa*) along with Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Skanda, Rudra, etc.; images were made of them, temples were erected and

¹⁰ *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 604-606. Cf. *Myths of China and Japan*, p. 50; "The dragon dwells in pools, it rises to the clouds, it thunders and brings rain, it floods rivers, it is in the ocean and controls the tides and causes the waters to ebb and flow."

¹¹ *Maṇeś ca darśanād eva bhadraṃ śivam avāpnuyāt* //14//

worship offered, and they were invoked to ward off danger and fulfil every desire (including grant of children).

- (a) *Rāyagihassa nayarassa bahiyā nāgāni ya bhūyāni ya jakkāni ya...tattha nam bahūnam nāgapadimāni...*
 (b) *Caccarāni ya nāgagharāni ya bhūyagharāni...*

Nāyādhammakahā (1)

In the *Uttarādhyayana*, (comy. on p. 162), we find *Rājagrhe Viraprabbodyāne Maṇināyakasya yakṣabhavane uttīrṇab*. Here he is called a *nāyaka* and a *yakṣa*. *Nāyaka* means a lord (*adhipati*) or a leader and this is in consonance with the character of Maṇi Nāga. Dr. Venkaṭasubbiah has a long comment on the word *yakṣa*.¹² In post-Vedic literature *yakṣa* denotes a class of superhuman beings and as *vyantarāb* in Jaina literature, which includes *mahoragā* (cf. *Uttarādhyayana*, p. 1084...*mahoragā ya gandhavvā atṭhavihā vānamantarā*). It seems therefore that there is no inconsistency in taking Maṇi Nāga to be a *yakṣa*, who certainly acquired a superhuman character. We find a reference to Maṇi-sappa in Pāli, (*D.A.*, I. 197), meaning a kind of poisonous snake (i.e., mysterious, magic snake), but it is doubtful if there is any connexion with our Maṇi Nāga.¹³

As to the many-spouted water-jars mentioned above we may say that pouring water from many spouts, or in streams from above or simultaneous pouring of water from gourds etc., to simulate the fall of rain is well known and affords instances of imitative, mimetic, symbolic, sympathetic or homeopathic magic, howsoever it be named.¹⁴

KALIPADA MITRA

¹² *IA.*, 1928, pp. 57-64.

¹³ In Sanskrit *maṇi* (and its derivative or variant, *maṇika* or *maṇikaṃ*) also means a water-pot, a water-jar. It seems that it has got the same meaning in Pāli (see Pāli Dict. PTS., also *Abhidhānappadīpikā*). *Maṇika* meaning water pot is found in *M. II*, 39 and in compound with *Udaka* in *Vin.* I. 277, *M.* I. 354; *SN.*, 316.

¹⁴ Crooke, *Op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77 etc.

MISCELLANY

A supposed Sumero-Babylonian inscription discovered at Mohenjo-Daro

In the April number of *Indian Culture*, 1937, Dr. C. L. Fábri published an article on an inscription which he called Sumero-Babylonian discovered on a pot of the Mohenjo Daro Museum. The discovery is of extraordinary importance, for, first of all, it shows that Sumero-Babylonian people were probably settled in Mohenjo Daro just as the Proto-Indian seals published by Mr. C. J. Gadd¹ disclose the fact that Proto-Indian people had also settled in Sumer. Moreover, from the state of development of the signs of this inscription Dr. Fábri deduces a date very near 2,600 B.C. for the said pot, a date which seems to have been confirmed by such great Assyriologist as Dr. Franz M. Th. Böhl, of the Leyden University.

The discovery of Dr. Fábri is all the more extraordinary, for though taking a wrong view of the inscription he has arrived at a satisfactory and to all views appropriate reading. Considering the incised carving of the steatite seals of Mohenjo Daro and supposing that the inscription was caused by one of those seals, he took the raised portion of the inscription as the seal inscription. In order to make this supposed characters appear in all their boldness, Dr. Fábri seems to have filled up the sunken portion between character and character with chalk or any other white substance. From the very first inspection of the photographs published in *Indian Culture*, it appeared to me that the portions at high level could not represent the characters of the inscription at all. First, because if the inscription had been engraved by pressing a seal similar to the well known seals of Mohenjo Daro or Harappa, not only the characters would

¹ Cf. Gadd, *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur*, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII.


have been impressed upon the soft surface of the pot, but the square or oblong shape of the seal would also have left its edge as in the case of the three sherds in Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro*, III. Pl. CXV, Nos. 558, 559, and 560, sunken upon the same; and certainly not a single trace of it can be seen or imagined round the supposed characters. Moreover, the so-called characters of the inscription according to Dr. Fábri are on the same level as the whole surface of the pot, and consequently, they appear to be unlimited, thus:!





In this copy of the inscription, the characters according to Dr. Fábri are not the black portions but the white portions between two black ones. Now these white portions are not limited above and below. Hence, it is evident that these are not the characters of the inscriptions.

In order to find out the real characters of this inscription, it is advisable to study all other inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions engraved on pottery in Mohenjo Daro or Harappa. Amongst them we shall find a number of inscribed characters which were incised on the pottery with a sharp instrument, when the clay was still fresh and soft. Thus the characters are deep inside the clay, not in relief. Cf. Photos, M.D. 636 of 1928-9, No. 7071 and H. Neg. 3893, Neg. 3894, Neg. 3895, Neg. 3007, Nos. 4 and 5. This seems to be the nature of the characters of the inscription under study. They are not in relief, but sunken into the clay of the pot by passing an instrument over the soft clay of the pot prior to its being baked.

It may rightly be objected that supposing that the sunken portions constitute the real inscription, the characters of this inscription are not like the characters of the inscriptions on the steatite seals:

firstly, instead of being mere strokes like those in the seal inscriptions, they are broad; secondly, some of them are somewhat wedge-shaped like cuneiform characters. Thus the sign  is written



and  looks like . Yet, these two kinds of characters though not very frequent, are also found on the steatite seals. As the wedge shape of some signs, the following specimens may be referred to: Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, pl. CIV, No. 40; pl. CXII, Nos. 401, 403, 404, 405, 406; pl. CXIII, Nos. 418, 424, 457, 463, 464, 469; Photos, M.D., 1929-30, Dk. No. 8265; 1930-31, Nos. 4548, 4603, 8222. As to the other feature, inscription on sealing No. 10199 of M.D., 1931-32 gives a striking specimen. Instead of having:



the characters of this inscription look as follows:




Dr. Fábri very ingeniously reads the supposed Assyrian inscription while the pot is turned upside down only. This is indeed a little strange, for the inscription was evidently inscribed for being read when the pot was in its natural position, *viz.* with its mouth upwards. In point of fact our inscription in pure Proto-Indian script reads both when the pot is upwards and when the pot is downwards, though the readings are different and quite appropriate in both cases. Let us take first the inscription in the natural position of the pot:





If this inscription is written in the ordinary linear way of the majority of the steatite inscriptions, it will look as follows.



Let us now examine all the signs reading from right to left. Sign No. 1 belongs to a very numerous family of phonetic signs which would be too long to explain here. Suffice it to say that all the signs of this family commence by the letter *t*, thus : *tir*,




"judge";  *tiru*, "holy";  *tirtu*, "finished", "complete";

 *ter*, "to reach";  *teri* "to appear", "to look like", etc.

The sign under study reads *ten*, "south". Yet this word *ten* in Tamil also means, "cocoanut," "right side" or "position," "sweetness", "melody", "harmony", "accord", etc. The last four meanings are precisely derived from the idea of righteousness. The latter idea seems to be the idea embodied in this sign in this particular inscription as we shall see in the translation. (Many Proto-Indian signs—perhaps all when more epigraphs will be known—have an original, sometimes pictographic, meaning and a number of phonetic meanings which must be applied according to the general meaning of the context).

Sign No. 2 stands for "one", or

Sign No. 3 represents a "leg", here turned upside down. This sign is found in the steatite seals, but a little different in its execution

.² This leg suffers an extraordinary simplification in other inscriptions: thus ³ and finally ⁴. The original sign evi-



² Photo, M.D., 1928-29, no. 5900.

³ Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, M.D., no. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, M.D., 12, 37, 87, etc.

dently represents a bare leg, but the sign under study shows a leg covered by the lower garment, that comes down to the ankle, and only the foot appears. It may be asked why is this leg inscribed here not in its natural position, but with the foot upwards. True, this leg upside down while reading the inscription in its upright position, will be in its natural position when the inscription is read after the pot is turned. Yet apparently, this sign had to be in its natural way when the pot is upright, for this seems to be the main position of the pot. The strange position of this sign seems to be caused by the fact that the inscription was incised when the pot was upside down. The inscription could not be inscribed on the pot in its erected position without a support, for the bottom of the pot is very small. After turning the pot upside down the inscription could be carved without any fear for the mouth of the pot is very broad. Naturally, the workman who inscribed these characters placed them in their upright position without noticing that this character at least would be upside down when the pot would be placed mouth upwards. A leg stands for "running". To run in Dravidian languages is expressed by the verb *ōḍu*, but this word phonetically means "pot" also, which seems to be the proper meaning in this case, the inscription precisely being on a pot.

Sign No. 4 stands for the numeral "six", and therefore will read *ār*.

Sign No. 5 is a derivative sign. The original sign, which is a pictograph is . It is a quarter of the circumference, and hence means "a quarter" or "one-fourth, i.e. *kāl*". If therefore the sign reads *kāl*, the opposite sign  will read *lak*. This word is only found in Tulu in three somewhat modified differences as regards the suffixes: *lakku* or *lakkuni* which means "to rise", "to get up", "to

stand up", "to start" and *lakke* which means "a measure", "a mark". On this occasion it seems to mean "a measure".

Therefore the inscription will read:

Ten or $\bar{o}du$ $\bar{a}r$ lak

which means:

"Six measures of one upright pot"

Let us now turn the pot upside down and study the signs once more, always from right to left:



Sign No. 1: *kāl*, "a quarter". It also means "a measure" in all Dravidian languages and this seems to be the proper meaning on this occasion.

Sign No. 2: as above $\bar{a}r$ "six".

Sign No. 3: $\bar{o}du$, "to run" and in this case "pot".

Sign No. 4: *or*, "one".

Sign No. 5 is a sign of the above referred family which in this position reads *tar* according to my sign list.

Tar means "dry" or "to dry".

Therefore in this upside down position the inscription will read thus:

*Kāl $\bar{a}r$ $\bar{o}du$ or *tar**

which means:

"One pot of six measures dries".

Let us now compare both readings. The former says "Six measures of one upright pot", for in this position the pot contains or at least may contain six real measures of liquid. Being upside down one could not say "six measures (of the liquid) in the pot". That is the reason why the inscription in its turned position says only: "a pot of six measures dries". The pot in fact being upside down, is getting dry of all the liquid that adhered to its interior.

This double inscription reveals the ingenuity of those early people. The same characters read in a turned position and therefore in an opposite direction have two different meanings both quite appropriate and true.

The inscription is besides interesting for it determines the unit of measuring liquids. Six measures being contained in this pot, the sixth part of its capacity will be the said unit.

H. HERAS

On the Washing Away of Dvārāvati

In a short note published in the *Indian Culture*, II, 1, pp. 148-50, Mr. Dasharatha Sharma points out that Viṣṇu, who figures as a Yādava ruler in the *Māñju-śrī-Mūlakalpa*¹ (verse 608), is not a local chieftain as Jayaswal seems to have thought while writing his *Imperial History of India*,² but the great hero Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*. In support of this theory, he refers to the washing away of Dvārāvati by the curse of Ṛṣis and to the destruction of the Yādavas in Kṛṣṇa's time, an event mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, and observes that this is the event which has been recorded by the author of the *MMK* in the following verse:—

यातवा वारवत्याश्च रिषिशापास्तमित्रा तदा ।

कार्तिकः कार्तवीर्योऽसौ दशरथदाशरथी पुरा ॥

While making these suggestions, Mr. Sharma seems to have overlooked the fact that the Yātavas of Vārāvati (Yādavas of Dvārāvati), whose mention is made in the above verse as destroyed by the curse of the Ṛṣis; are classed with ancient kings, and, as such, they seem to have been independent rulers; whereas

1. Sanskrit text, revised by Ven. Rāhula Sāṅkrīyāyana, p. 44.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

those with Viṣṇu as one of them do not appear to have enjoyed that status; they are mentioned in the *MMK* as crownless (*mūrdhbānta*, 'headless'), and, following this account, Jayaswal has rightly called them in his comments as constituting the Yādava republics.³

The *MMK* also mentions one Prabha as a Yādava ruler along with Viṣṇu; and if Viṣṇu is to be taken as the Epic hero, in the whole genealogy of Kṛṣṇa recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere, with whom this king Prabha should be identified. That this Viṣṇu is a different personality from the well-known Epic hero, seems to have been known to the author of the *MMK*; otherwise he would have mentioned this ruler not as Viṣṇu, but as Kṛṣṇa, which is a more appropriate term to denote the same.

It has also been observed that in the *MMK* we find the use of the past tense and not of the usual future, and this has been taken to support the above identification. But in this connexion it may be pointed out that while mentioning the name of Viṣṇu the *MMK* has the use of the future (*rājā viṣṇunāmā bhaviṣyati*), and Mr. Sharma's observations cannot be said to be correct. Evidently the washing away of the place, as referred to in the *MMK*, should be taken as an event of the seventh century and not that of the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as Mr. Sharma observes.

H. V. TRIVEDI

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

Buland Darwāza of Fatehpūr Sikrī

Built in 1602 A.D., three years before Akbar's death, Buland Darwāza serves the Emperor as a Horatio that reports his case aright and helps us to a more liberal and just appreciation of his ideas and ideals, and of his policy and philosophy. The *Chef-dæuvre* of mediæval architecture, Buland Darwāza is a challenge to Akbar's critics who depict him as an apostate from Islam and as an iconoclast of cherished beliefs and religious dogmas. In this paper, my object is to bring out the inscriptional value of this monument in the study of Akbar, and to modify the mischievous verdict passed on his policy by his contemporary canonists—Badāūnī, in particular.

The first inscription

Buland Darwāza almost closes Akbar's career of conquest. It was during his sojourn at Fatehpūr Sikrī on his return journey from the Deccan to Āgrā that he issued orders for its erection. The inscription extant on the subject is as follows:

حضرت شهنشاه فلک بارگاہ ظل اللہ جلال الدین اکبر بادشاہ بعد فتح
ملک دکن و داندیس کہ سابقاً مسمی بہ خاندیس بود در سنہ ۱۰۶۶ ہجری
مطابق سنہ ۱۰۱۰-۱۰۱۱ بفتح پور رسیدہ عزیمت آگرہ فرمودند *

Tr.¹ His Majesty, King of kings, of heavenly palace, the Shadow of God, Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar *Bādsbāh*, having conquered the country of the Deccan and Dandes, formerly known as Khandes, in the 46th Ilāhi year, corresponding to 1010 A.H., reached Fatehpūr Sikrī and then proceeded to Āgrā.

In this inscription it will be observed first that Akbar assumes a more dignified title of *Shāhīnshāh* after the example of the Persian rulers, claiming headship of the Turānians as well as of the

1 By Siyyid Muḥammad Laṭif. See his *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*.

Irānians: ² his grand-father Bābur, and his father Humāyūn, were content with *Bādsbāb*. Secondly, he rechristens *Khāndesh* — which had been known so on account of its being ruled by a number of chieftains known as *Khans*³ — as *Dāndes*⁴ in order to commemorate the services of his son, Dānyāl, the first Mughal governor. But the name did not survive Akbar, probably because Dānyāl failed to inspire affection and loyalty among the people of the country. Thirdly, in recording an event, Akbar used both the Ilāhī and the Hijrī dates. Hence Badāūnī's assertion that Akbar had tabooed the Muslim era is not a fact. The Ilāhī era being a solar era was more convenient in computations. An Ilāhī year had the advantage of beginning on the solar date corresponding to March 10 of Christian era,⁵ and its several months corresponded to the same seasons year after year. But Akbar did not altogether give up the Hijrī date.⁶ Fourthly, this inscription disproves several of Badāūnī's statements. Badāūnī states that 'Reading and learning Arabic was looked on as a crime;' also that 'letters peculiar to the Arabic language, viz., ث, ع, ح, ص, ض, and ظ are avoided and that names like Ahmad and Muḥammad and Muṣṭafā, etc., became offensive to His Majesty.....and such names as Yār Muḥammad, Muḥammad Khān, etc., were altered to Raḥmat.'⁷ Now the full inscription has several Arabic words, phrases, and sentences. ظل الله is an Arabic phrase. The last portion of the inscription is entirely in Arabic, and may be quoted here in full:

وقال عيسى عليه السلام — الدنيا قنطرة فاعبروها ولا تعمروها ومن تأمل عيش
فداً تعمل عيش ابدان وقيلت الدنيا ساءت فجعها طاعتاً بقيته العمر لا قيمت لها *

2 This had been first asserted in 1579 A.D. by the publication of the 'mahzar'. See Buckler's article on the Infallibility Decree in *JRAS.*, October 1924.

3 See the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 294.

4 'Des' is only a variant of *desā*=province.

5 Old style. Elliot and Dowson, vol. V, pp. 246-7.

6 See the *Darbār-i-Akbari* by Āzād, pp. 812-4.

7 See the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* by Al-Badāūnī, Tr. p. 325.

Tr. So, said Jesus, on whom be peace! the world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house on it. He who reflected on the distresses of the Day of Judgment gained pleasure ever-lasting.

Worldly pleasures are but momentary; spend then thy life in devotion and remember that what remains of it is valueless.

The Arabic letters that Badāūnī alleges Akbar to have pilloried, with the exception of ص and ث, are used in this inscription, and ص has been used in words قصر , اضلا , صررت in another inscription which is taken up later. It is a fact that ث does not occur in any of the two inscriptions connected with Buland Darwāza; but then ث is a letter that seldom occurs in Persian or in Arabic. If we refer to the inscriptions of the adjacent Jāmi' Masjid, we find that ث has been used in الثاني المسجد الحرام .

Similarly, we may reject another statement of Badāūnī, that Akbar had developed special dislike for certain Arabic letters, and used some other letters instead. But among the letters of his own name محمد اكبر there occurs ح which he never exchanged for any other. Nor Badāūnī's assertion that he changed his name from Muḥammad Akbar to Raḥmat Akbar is correct. Fortunately for us, these inscriptions on Buland Darwāza date to 1602 A.D. and hence no plea of a later date for his anti-Muslim policy can be maintained. Badāūnī made his statements in 990 A.H. = 1582 A.D. and the following years, and they were intended to apply to the rest of Akbar's reign.

The second Inscription

The second inscription in which ص has been used is found on the adjacent western pillar:

من قام الى الصلاة وليس معه قلبه فانه لا يزيد من الله الا بعدا -
خير المال ما انفق في سبيل الله - بع الدنيا بالآخرة تريم الفقير ملك
ليس فيها محاسبته *

نامی چه شد از تو تخت گاهی کردی * و ز قصر زر اندوده پناهی کردی
 خوبی جهان بصورت آئینه دان * خود گیر تو هم درر نگهی کردی
 قایله و کاتبه محمد معصوم نامی بن سید صفا الترمذی اصلا و البکری
 مسکنا والنسبت الی سید شیرین بابا حسن ابدال السبزراری مرلدا
 والقندھاری مبرطنا *

Tr: He that standeth up to prayer and his heart is not in it, verily he does not obtain nearness to God, but draws himself to a distance from him. Thy best possession is what thou givest in the name of God; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next, and this will benefit thee; piety is a world in which there is no account for anything.

Rubāi

What name has thou acquired if thou hast constructed a throne
 And taken shelter in a palace wrought with gold?
 The loneliness of the world is like a looking glass;
 Take it not as thine, more than what thou lookest upon it.

Said and written by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm poetically styled Nāmī, son of Sayyid Ṣafā of Tirmiẓ, born at Bhakkar descended from Sayyid Sherīn, son of Bābā Hasan Abdāl⁸ of Sabzwār, resident of Qandahār.

Ma'ṣūm Bhakkari

Both Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*⁹ and Shāh Nawāz Khañ of the *Maasir-ul-umarā*,¹⁰ have referred to the greatness of Ma'ṣūm Bhakkari. Nizām was Ma'ṣūm's patron Ma'ṣūm stayed with him for sometime and helped him in writing the *Tabaqāt*. Both Nizām and Shāh Nawāz have praised Ma'ṣūm

⁸ Really grand nephew, being sister's grandson. See the *Tārikh-i-Sindh* by Ma'ṣūm.

⁹ See text (N. K. Press Edtn.), p. 401 l. 1.

¹⁰ Bibliotheca Indica ed., pp. 326-9.

for being a historian, poet, calligraphist, soldier, physician, and courtier.¹¹ Both the authors quote the following couplet as an illustration of his poetic talents,

چه خوش است آنکه از خود روم و تو حال پرسید
بتو شرح حال گویم بزبان بیزبانی

Tr. How fine it were if I had gone out of me (my body)
and thou wert to inquire of my state,
And I would then relate the details with a mute tongue.

Four of his works have been mentioned :

- (1) The *Tārīkh-i-Sindh*, a standard history on Mediæval Sindh.
- (2) The *Dīwān-i-Nāmī*, Nāmī was his *nom de plume*.
- (3) A collection of his *masnavīs*.
- (4) The *Mufridāt-i-Ma'sūmī*, a work on medicine.

But carving of inscriptions was his speciality, and 'from Hind to Tabrīz or Isfahān his inscriptions may be seen everywhere'.

In his *Tārīkh-i-Sindh* he has given a long description of his ancestor, Hasan Abdāl, and he sought to live the life of the great saint.

The description of Buland Darwāza

Buland Darwāza is not only a gateway but a complete set of rooms. It stands 134' from the pavement, or 176' from the road below; and serves as a land-mark for miles around.

The erection of the gateway was an after-thought, and hence it is detached and complete by itself, though it is an entrance to the Jāmi' Masjid. It ranks amongst the chief monuments of the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Ma'sūm is one of the many examples of versatility found among the mediæval Indian nobles. Others of this type were Todar Mal, Abul Fadl, 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, 'Alī Mardān Khān, Sa'adullāh Khān, Mir. Jumla, etc.

The semi-octagonal recessed portal of chocolate colour, with the small horse-shoe gate and two others behind, has its own tale to tell. Originally, the idea of a recessed portal, high in front and ending in a low opening behind, was borrowed from Persia. But once the Indians took to it, they excelled their masters. In place of the iridescent and dazzling glazed tiles on which the Persians gloated, the Indian artists made use of brick and plaster, and in order to make it more restful and soothing to the eye, painted it in some dark colour.

Of the other details, worth mentioning are (i) the side walls of the portico with elaborate inlaid geometrical patterns in white marble and in red sand stone; (ii) the jambs of the archway inscribed with the texts from the *Quran* cut by Husain Chishtī; (iii) the horse-shoe gate and two others, with an open gallery or arcade at their top. The top of the arcade is closed by massive lintels supported by pairs of Hindu brackets. The *Jālī* work round the arcades and coming down to the ground add considerably to the beauty of the portico; (iv) on the top of the gate are thirteen doomed kiosks. Behind them are three others, larger than and towering above those in front. They form a fitting crown to the gate. (v) On the outer angles of the abutments are polygonal shafts or *guldastas* which extend from the pavement to the summit of the gate where they end off in tapering pinnacles capped by flower-tops.

Buland Darwāza, as mentioned above, was built long after the Jāmi' Masjid. In 1571 A.D., the date of the completion of the mosque, there must have been on the south wall an entrance of similar style but smaller than the one on the east. The eastern entrance called the Shāhī gate was meant for the Emperor who as long as Shaikh Salīm lived, and for several years afterwards daily or weekly entered the Masjid by this gate to offer his prayers. We may presume this south gate, being meant for the subjects, would be smaller than the Shāhī gate meant for the Emperor.

The object of its erection

Some writers hold that Buland Darwāza was meant to serve as a threat to the Rājput who had proved too restive to submit to the Mughal suzerainty. Others maintain that this gateway stood as a challenge to Transoxiāna and Persia which had been a menace to the Mughal empire. There are some who take it as the emperor's admonition to his naughty and rebellious son, Salīm. But these explanations do not appear fair or adequate. By 1602 A.D., Akbar was able to enlist the sympathies of the Rājput and had married into the Jaipūr, the Jodhpūr, and the Bikaneer families. Boondi and Kotāh had already acknowledged his suzerainty. No doubt, Mewār yet defied him; but the death of Mahārānā Pratāp Singh had deprived it of its chief defender. Above all, Akbar wanted to assuage rather than antagonize the Rājput. Hence he would be the last to erect a menacing monument. The second explanation is also imaginary. The Uzbegs and the Persians were engaged in a desperate struggle against each other and could ill afford to turn their attention to India. And even if Akbar wanted to challenge them, he could not have selected a spot several hundred miles from Persia or Transoxiāna. Nor are we prepared to give credence to the view that the gateway was intended to impress the rebellious son with the might and majesty of the father and to silence him into submission.

The foundation of Fatehpūr Sikrī has always indicated to us the ushering in of a new era to which all that is noteworthy in Akbar's reign belongs. Large measures such as the *mansabdārī* system, the Dīn-i-Ilāhī, and the revenue policy, are associated with this city. In fact, it served as the capital of the Empire till its abandonment (1585 A.D.) on account of shortage of water, etc.

Now, in 1602 A.D., after having established his sway over the greater part of India, after having seen the fruition of the most of his many ideals, being at the pinnacle of his power, and

perhaps, under the apprehension of the approaching close of his life, melancholic and mystical by temperament as he was, Akbar must have thought of symbolizing his *achievements* by contributing a sky-scraper, as it were, to the city with which he had started his work.

Buland Darwāza, an imposing structure, dwarfs the Jāmi' Masjid and the tomb of the saint, Salīm Chishtī. Akbar's reverence for the mosque is expressed in the following couplets inscribed on its walls at the time of its foundation :

در زمان شاه جهان اکبر * که از ملک را نظام آمد
 شیخ السلام مسجعی آراست * کز صفا کعبه احترام آمد
 سال اتمام این بذلی رفیع * ثانی المسجد الحرام آمد
 سنه ۹۸۹ هجری *

Tr. In the time of the king of the world, Akbar,
 To whom is due the administration of the state,
 The Shaikh of the age laid out a mosque,
 Which for its chasteness deserves reverence like the Ka'ba.
 The year of completion of this lofty edifice,
 Is found in the words, 'Duplicate of the Holy Mosque'¹²
 979 A.H. = 1571 A.D.

The Shaikh referred to is Shaikh Salīm himself. It was at his desire that the spacious mosque was built. Undoubtedly, no mosque before or in Akbar's time excelled the Jāmi' Masjid of Fatehpūr. The grandeur of the mosque is as much noticeable as the Emperor's purity and reverence for the saint.

The saint had lived the pious but hard life of an ascetic, "making, 'prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise,' his pallet being of stalks and straw and his pillow of bushes and pebbles." He literally followed the maxim written on his tomb.

دو بین مباحث ز خورد فانی و بحق باقی *


12 The Holy mosque probably refers to the Ka'ba of Macca.

Tr. Do not see both the things at the same time, Self and God; rather put an end to thyself and then live eternally with God.

When the saint died in 1571 A.D. after six months of the completion of the Jāmi' Masjid Akbar built a marble mausoleum in his honour. It is not a large edifice, but is noted for its chaste beauty and delicate carvings. The fine lattice work, the marble pillars, gargoyles at the porch, the artistic floral paintings of the inner chamber, and the mother of pearl filigree work on the wooden canopy, have made the tomb one of the finest specimens of the mediæval art. Buland Darwāza has partly dwarfed this mausoleum, also.

S. K. BANERJĪ

A new type of *h* in the Magadhan Gupta* alphabet

The letter under discussion is a new type of *h*, quite distinct from the usual test letter with a suppressed base stroke and a hook attached to the vertical sharply turned towards the left. This one consists of a vertical line with a curved horizontal stroke to right from the middle, like . I find that in his table of alphabets.

Bühler has put in this form of the letter by the side of the usual one to illustrate the different forms of the Allahabad praśasti. In his book, however, he has taken no note of this new variety though he had discussed at great length the characteristics of the epigraphic Gupta alphabet.¹ In all probability, the learned scholar took the new

* Elsewhere I discussed the inadvisability of sticking to the old and vague terminology of Eastern variety to indicate a particular branch of the Gupta alphabet. Therein I also adduced my reasons for advocating the new nomenclature of Magadhan variety which more correctly represents that section of the North Indian alphabet which hitherto has been described as the Eastern variety. I therefore, need no apology for employing this new term which yet awaits common approval.

1 Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, p. 47.

form to be a casual one in the Allahabad inscription. This suspicion grows stronger at the fact that he has not illustrated this form in any other record in his chart. I have been able to detect that this form is a regular feature in the Magadhan variety of the Gupta alphabet and also that it might be looked upon as a test letter even, in as much as, it is not found in any inscription written in the Western variety alphabet. It should be noted here that this new *b* does not appear independently but always as a conjunct, even at least with a medial *u* attached to it. Thus, for instance, *bu* in the word *bâbu* which occurs in ll.6, 12 and 24 of the Allahabad praśasti, we find that the new form of *b* has been used and the vertical line has been slightly elongated to indicate *u*. Similar is the case with *bu* in *bâbu* in ll. 13 & 30 of this inscription. It is difficult to determine why the new *b* does not occur in cases where the other medials, such as *i*, *î* or *ê* are employed. With a subscript *r* or *y* there follows the change as can be seen in *br̥daya* and *gr̥âhya* in l.25. Apart from these special cases, we have to note that the regular peculiarity of the new letter is that it invariably appears in conjunction with some other consonant. Such cases are indeed rare but still the rule can be detected. For instance, we have to look up the word °*âbvayê* l.14, where *b* and *y* have been joined together. The conjuncts, in such cases, are attached to the lower end of the vertical. The next inscription written in the Magadhan variety alphabet where this new *b* can be detected is the Gadhawa inscription of Candra Gupta II of the year 88. In the word *br̥âbmaṇa* in l.6, we find the new *b* in the conjunct consonant *bma*. But the same letter in the same word in l.7 of the Bilsad inscription of Kumara Gupta does not reveal any such form. The reason, as I have stated in the very beginning, is that this type of *b* is peculiar only to the Magadhan variety and cannot be expected in records executed in the Western style, where the normal *b* and *m* are simply joined together. This can be further and better illustrated by examples from the Meharauli

iron pillar inscription of Candra. This inscription records the exploits of an eastern king who pushed far to the west and for this reason the Magadhan variety of alphabet has been used. In the words *Vāblika* l.2 and °*āvuhēna* l.5 we find that the new *b* has been used. It can very well be, therefore, recognised as a test letter of the Magadhan variety. With the gradual spread of the latter variety of alphabet, the use of this letter also spread and we meet with it even in Bengal. We shall presently see that the Damodar-pur plates of the time of the Imperial Guptas reveal this characteristic. Unfortunately, however, the instances are not many but they are sufficient for our purpose. In the grant of Kumara Gupta I, dated in 124 (G.E.) we find two instances where the new conjunct *b* has been used; firstly, in the word *brābhmana* in l.6 and secondly, in the word *samgrhya* in l.10. The letter *hya* in the last word is so strikingly similar to the same letter in the Allahabad inscription that they look as if they were executed by the same hand. The word *babu* in l. 12. of the second plate of Kumāra Gupta is rather indistinct and though I can see faint traces of *bu* yet it is not clear enough for a strict palæographical examination. In the inscription of Budha Gupta, *b* in conjunction with *m* occurs in *brābhmana* in ll. 3 and 4; with a subscript *y* occurs in *samgrhya* and *bābyā* in l.5. In the grant of Bhānu(?) Gupta also there are examples of the conjunct *b*; see *bābyāprahatanam* in l.6 and °*grhya* in l.7. In the Baigram copper-plate the letter can be seen in the words *brābhmanā* l.2, *bābyā* l.5 and *cihnais*° l.19. In the very recently published Nandpur copper-plate of the Gupta year 169² the same characteristic exist; see, for instance, *brābhmana* l.3, and *bābyā* l.5. Instances can well be multiplied from several Bengal inscriptions such as Dhanaidaha, Faridpur and Paharpur copper-plates of the time of the Guptas.

2 N. G. Majumdar, *Epi. Ind.* vol. 23, pp. 52 ff.

In a separate place I had exposed the inaccuracy of looking upon the test letters *b*, *ṣ* and *s* as characteristic of the Magadhan alphabet during the Gupta period. I also showed therein how all these test letters could be found even in the inscriptions of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and were fully developed in the days of the later Kuṣāṇas. The Guptas simply stepped into their shoes and were able to give the prevailing script a very wide currency all over North Eastern India. One or two inscriptions like the Bodh-Gaya Buddhist one of Mahārāja Trikamala will bear us out.³ The Susunia rock inscription of Candravarman appears to me to be earlier than the Allahabad praśasti. The new *b*, that I have been speaking of so long, does not appear in any inscription of the pre-Gupta and post-Kuṣāṇa period. I, therefore, presume that when the script of the later Kuṣāṇas came to be settled in Eastern India (Bihar & Bengal), this new letter crept in as a local variety. As the Magadhan style was gradually displaced by the Western script, the former receded further East (Bengal) and settled there. These Bengal scribes certainly had a peculiar style of their own which can at once be recognised but even then this new *b* was kept up by them and as I have already remarked, one or two instances are strikingly similar to those of the Allahabad inscription. Dr. Basak noticed the peculiar look of the letter but he did not trace it back nor did he appraise its palæographical value.⁴ Beyond this it was not noticed by any scholar so far.

SUSHIL K. BOSE

3 Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, pl. XXV.

4 *Epi. Ind.* vol. 15, p. 129-30.

The Khaṭvāṅga of the Pallavas

The Khaṭvāṅga is a club or staff with a skull on the top and is a weapon of Śiva.¹ And as a consequence, Śiva is known as Khaṭvāṅgin, Khaṭvāṅgadhara and Khaṭvāṅgabhr̥t. Ascetics of the Śaiva sect sometimes had among their possessions the Khaṭvāṅga.

The Khaṭvāṅga was adopted by the immediate successors of Siṃhaviṣṇu of the Pallava dynasty, the staunch supporters of Śaivism in South India, as a symbol of their faith. The Kasākūḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla describe Parameśvaravarman I as Khaṭvāṅgaketuḥ² i.e. "one whose sign or symbol was the Khaṭvāṅga" The Vaikuṅṭhaperumāl inscriptions of Pallava Malla relatē that he (Nandivarman) at his coronation was invested with the insignia of the Pallava royalty and among them was the Khaṭvāṅga.³ We also learn from the Keṇḍūr plates that the powerful adversary of Nandivarman, the Cālūkyan king Vikramāditya II who led an invasion into the Pallava kingdom, seized among other precious spoils of war, the two war instruments of the Pallavas—kaṭumukha-vāditra and Samudraghoṣa as well as the Khaṭvāṅgadhvaja.⁴

It is natural for us to expect to find a sculptural representation of the Khaṭvāṅga on the wall of the Vaikuṅṭhaperumāl temple, Kāñcīpuram, since one of the labels below a panel informs us that

- 1 *Mālatī Mādhava*, 5; 4, 23. 2 *SIL.*, II, part iii, verse 25, p. 357.
 3 *SIL.*, IV, No. 135, J. 2.
 4 Line 33—"Pallavasya samūnmūlanāya".
 " 34—"Kṛta-matir-atitvarayā Tuṅḍākaviṣayaṃ
 Prāpy-ābhimukhāgatan Nandīpotavarmm-ā"
 " 35—"Bhidānaṃ Pallavaṃ raṇamukhe
 Saṃprahr̥tya prapalāyya kaṭumukha
 Vāditra-sa."
 " 36—"Mudrāghoṣ-ābhidhāna-vadyaviśeṣān
 (sau)—Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja-pramatta-prabhūta-
 prakhyāta-hastivarān" etc.,
 —*Ep. Ind.* IX p. 203.

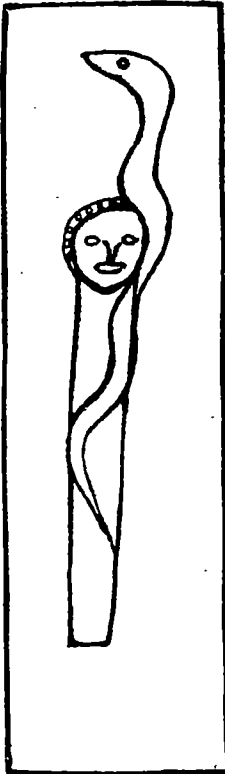
the young Pallava king was invested with all the insignia of Pallava royalty, among which the Khaṭvāṅga is specifically mentioned. Unfortunately, the Pallava sculptors have not filled in all the details contained in the inscribed label and, therefore, we do not see the staff there. However, in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī, in that veritable store-house of Śaiva iconography, there is a representation of a Śiva Gāna bearing a Khaṭvāṅga.

Shrine No. 2 on the northern corridor of the Kailāsanātha temple contains a panel where Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on the top with a worshipper below. There are two gaṇas at the feet of Śiva, one above the other. The lower one holds a staff at the top of which we see a skull fixed and sheltered by the hood of a fine serpent entwining the staff. Mr. Alexander Rea described the panel thus:—⁵ “Śiva and Pārvatī seated by the side of a pillar. Three figures—one a devotee and the others, two Gandharvas, kneel under; one of the latter has a serpent and the other a bow.” The plate produced by the author to illustrate his description is by no means satisfactory. The sculpture under reference appears to have been badly touched up and white-washed as a result of which the skull over the staff is not distinctly visible in a photograph. But an examination of the same on the spot will satisfy anybody regarding the accuracy of our identification.

A sketch of this Khaṭvāṅga when compared with those given in Mr. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* strengthens our point. While describing the weapons of Śiva, Mr. Gopinatha Rao makes the following statement:—⁶ “The Khaṭvāṅga is a curious sort of club, made up of the bone of the forearm or the leg to the end of which a human skull is attached through its foramen. From this description it must be clear that this peculiar

⁵ *Pallava Architecture* p. 33; Shrine No. 34, Plate No. XXXIX, fig. IV.

⁶ *HI.*, I, part i, p. 7.



A sketch of the
'Khatvāṅga'



Photograph of the sculpture
in the Kailāsanātha-temple,
Kāñci

weapon comes from very remote antiquity. In the Ornate style of the later Calukyan Hoysalas, the osseous shaft of this old weapon is dispensed with and a well turned wooden handle is substituted in its place." The Kailāsanātha temple sculpture of the Khatvāṅga is in fact depicted in relation to Śiva as his weapon but we can safely assume that the conception of the same staff used by the Pallava kings was not very different from this contemporary representation.

The valuable and celebrated stanzas of Tirumangaimannan on the Parameśvara Vinṇagar, i.e. the Vaikuṅṭhaperumāḷ temple, contain references to the Ṛṣabha-lāñcana i.e. *vidai vel kodi*—the victorious bull banner and to the war instruments of the Pallavas already mentioned.

It appears at first sight that the Khatvāṅga is excluded from the list of important Pallava emblems mentioned therein. But a careful reading of the verses shows that the illustrious poet has not failed to make a note of it. In verse six we have the lines "*Pāmbudaippallavar kon paṇinda parameśvara Vinṇagaramaduve,*" i.e. the Viṣṇu temple where worshipped the Pallava king, the possessor of a serpent. In the light of our description of the Khatvāṅga found in the Kailāsanātha temple, this reference in the verse to a serpent cannot be considered to indicate anything else than to the serpent which must have entwined the Khatvāṅga of the Pallavas.⁷

C. MINAKSHI

⁷ Mr. P. T. Sinivasa Ayyangar considered that "*Pāmbudaippallavar kon*" referred to the necklace *ugrodaya* which Pallava Malla seized from the Gaṅga King. That this necklace was in the shape of Ādi Śeṣa and that therefore Nandivarman was called '*Pāmbudaippallavar koṅ*' seem to be a far fetched interpretation of Tirumangai's statement (*The Pallavas* in Tamil, part III, p. 6).

Dhammapāla and the Bhagavadgītā

Dhammapāla, the great Commentator (cir. 7th century A.D.) on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* while explaining the word 'navasarīrapātubhāvo' in the 17th Chapter says (p. 693 Bur. ed. of Muṇḍayana Press) "Idha jīṇṇassa sarīrassa nikkhepe paralokapariyāpannassa navakāyassa ūpādo. Yatheke vadanti:

*vattbhāni jīṇṇāni yathā pavāya navāni gaṇbhāti naro parāni
nikkhippa deham idha jīnamevaṃ gaṇbhāti attābbhinavaṃ
sukhesi ti."*

"When the old, worn-out body is laid down in this world, a new body is created in the next world. As some say:

As clothes worn-out are cast by man,
And such as are new are taken by him;
So when the body is shattered by age,
The Self, seeking bliss, takes one afresh."

One cannot fail to notice how this is a close imitation of the famous stanza from the *Bhagavadgītā* (II. 22):

*vāsāmsi jīrṇāni yathā vibhāya navāni grbhnāti naro parāni
tathā śarīrāni vibhāya jīrṇāny anyāni samyāti navāni debi.*

Though Dhammapāla differs slightly in the last two lines, there is no doubt that he is echoing the idea of the *Bhagavadgītā*. He is, however, careful not to mention the name of the theorists who advocated this view. He merely says: "As some say."

P. V. BAPAT

Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum

The Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Trivandrum under the distinguished patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore on three successive days, 20th to 22nd December 1937. It was attended by an exceptionally large number of delegates and visitors, of which some idea may be formed from the fact that no less than ninety institutions, both in and outside India, were represented therein. Among the distinguished delegates attending from outside may be mentioned Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Director of Archaeology, Netherlands-India. The session was opened in the presence of a distinguished gathering at the beautiful Town Jubilee Hall on the afternoon of the 20th December, when, after the chanting of melodious Sanskrit verses and the delivery of the Welcome Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, His Highness the Maharaja addressed the audience in a felicitous speech which was much appreciated. This was followed by the learned address of Dr. F. W. Thomas, President of the Conference, whose speech was remarkable alike for its luminous survey of the existing state of Indian studies and his sage suggestions for future guidance. The two subsequent days were devoted to the meetings of the different sections, of which there were as many as thirteen this year. These comprised Vedic, Iranian, Islamic, Classical Sanskrit, Philosophy Ardha-Magadhi, Pali and Prakrit, History, Archaeology, Ethnology, Fine Arts, Kerala Art and Culture, Technical Sciences, Philology, Malayalam and other South Indian Languages. While the large share given to the vernaculars, both ancient and modern, is a welcome feature of this year's proceedings, it would have been desirable to include a section on the languages of Northern India as well. In all the sectional meetings the proceedings were lively and animated. In the History section a notable paper was read by Dr. Stutterheim on the cultural relations between South India and Java, while the

Archæology section was fortunate in getting Mr. G. Yazdani (the worthy Director of Archæology in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions) to exhibit a valuable collection of antiquities excavated at Maski, the site of a newly-discovered Asokan edict. Among other functions the lantern lectures of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit on the Indus Valley Civilisation, of Dr. Stutterheim on the Development of Indian Art in Java, and of Dr. Cousens on Post-Ajanta Mural Paintings, roused the widest interest. This session was utilised, as in former years, for holding the meetings of the Executive Committee and the Council. The last gave some reasonable grounds for complaint as the time of its sitting was changed at the last moment with the result that many delegates were unable to attend the same for want of intimation. The closing function of the session was a brilliant address delivered *extempore* by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of the Travancore State, which was followed by the concluding speech of the President. The busy days of the Conference were rendered very enjoyable to the assembled delegates and visitors by the round of entertainments and festivities which does great credit to its organisers. Among the entertainments special mention may be made of the Garden Party given by His Highness at the Kaudiar Palace, the Dinner Party at the residence of Mr. F. H. Skrine, Resident of the Madras States, and the Kathakali and musical performances at the Jubilee Town Hall. Excellent arrangements were also made for visiting the notable institutions of the city such as the State Museum with its Java-Bali Annexe, (a fruit of their Highnesses's recent visit to Indonesia) and the Sri Chitralayam (with its choice collection of ancient and modern paintings), which are all situated within the lovely Public Gardens. The Rengavilas palace Museum and Gallery with its rare collection of portraits, costumes, jewellery, metal-work, Chinese porcelain and coins, was also a centre of great interest. The opportunity was taken for an exhibition of Oriental Mss. for which Travancore is so famous.

Excursions were also arranged to some of the old and picturesque sites in the State, such as Padmanabhapuram (the old capital), the Suchindram temple with its beautiful carvings, and the majestic Cape Comorin. Altogether the session was a great success for which our best thanks are due not merely to Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Travancore and the Maharani Setu Parvati Bai and the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, but also to the members of the Reception Committee including above all Mr. R. V. Poduval, the Local Secretary.

U. N. GHOSHAI .

REVIEWS

PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, M.A., (Cal.), Docteur ès Lettres (Paris): Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II, pp. 339-538. Sino-Indica, publications de l' Université de Calcutta, Tome III; Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris 1937.

As the title of the book suggests, it contains two Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons. Both date from about 800 A.D. The author of *Fan-yu-tsa-ming* was the Kuchean *Li-yen*, and the renowned Chinese traveller *I-tsing* is reported to have been the author of the other lexicon *Fan-yu-ts'ien-tseu-wen*, though Dr. Bagchi is sceptical about this report. Both the lexicons contain many *apabhrāmṣā* and loan-words which had gained a place in Sanskrit vocabulary already in the seventh and eighth centuries, and herein lies the chief linguistic interest of the volume under review. We learn here that *kalama* "pen" and *kākali* "paper" (from Persian *kāgād*) were regarded as Skt. words already in the eighth century, (p. 35). These examples show that the Sanskrit *Li-yen* had in view must have been a living language. But the question is, where was this language spoken? On this point the author is of opinion that the Sanskrit vocabulary collected by *Li-yen* must have been in use in Kucha, his native country (p. 368). This however seems to me to be contradicted to some extent by author's own finding that *Li-Yen's* dictionary shows clear traces of the *varga*-divisions of Sanskrit lexicons. For, can it be supposed that a whole dictionary, as is suggested by the *varga*-division, could be compiled solely on the basis of the Sanskrit loan-words in Kuchean? Moreover it seems to me to be too early as yet to explain away the phonetic peculiarities of the Sanskritic words in *Li-Yen's* lexicon on the hypothesis of Kuchean influence, though,

I should say, there is nothing that may be regarded as impossible or improbable in Dr. Bagchi's treatment of the question. For the phonology of Kuchean (and Tokharian, as the dialect A is called) is yet to be explored and explained. Even Sieg-Sieling-Schulze in their "*Tocharische Grammatik*" did not dare to give a comparative analysis of Tokharian phonology. Dr. Bagchi has however rightly pointed out that the words in Li-Yen's lexicon betray the influence of the phonetic laws of Paiśācī Prākṛit. Regarding the Kuchean-Tokharian controversy I should draw attention to Pelliot's last pronouncement in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1934, 23 ff. on the native language of Tokhāristan (Bactria).

Dr. Bagchi's work was completed already in 1928. This explains why the recent publications on Tokharian have not been utilised in his work,—particularly Poucha's articles in *Archiv Orientalni*, and Mironow's instructive article in *Rocznix Or.* 1930, p. 300 ff., not to speak of the wealth of material in the *Tocharische Grammatik*. Yet in many a case Dr. Bagchi has anticipated later research. Thus Poucha (*Arch. Or.* IV, p. 85) wanted to connect the Tokharian word for 10000—A. *tmam*, B. *tumane*, *tmāne*—with Skt. *tumrāb*. But Dr. Bagchi (p. 383) suggests that it is merely a phonetic variant of Skt. *padma* (>**paduma*>**patuma*>*tuma*). This is undoubtedly better than Poucha's etymology.

It is not possible to go further into details in this review. But the little that I have mentioned here out of this valuable work will be enough to prove, I hope, that there is much instructive material here for the history of Sanskritic languages; and the author, being both a Sinologist and Sanskritist of repute, has ably dealt with the materials, and he is to be congratulated on the lucid and perspicuous manner in which he has presented this rich material to the public.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

A REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY OF HINDU SĀDHANĀ by Nalini Kanta Brahma, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College, Calcutta, with a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Philosophy of Hindu Sādhana by Dr. N. K. Brahma is the pioneer work in the field of Hindu Religion and Philosophy in which the practical side of Hindu Religion has been elaborately discussed with its bearing on Hindu Philosophy. Philosophy in India has never been a mere intellectual pursuit undertaken to satisfy merely the intellectual craving of the thinking mind. It was on the contrary inspired by a desire to conduct a perfect life of freedom and and philosophical speculations came into request to give a correct understanding of the bearings of life, the ultimate goal and destiny of the individual self and the world-process and of the way to reach the final consummation. Dr. Brahma has given a survey of the fundamentals of different schools and sects of Hindu religion and his exposition of the philosophical background of the details of religious practice and discipline pursued by the spiritual aspirant of every school shows his keen insight into their inward significance. The subject he chose would appear at the first sight to be an unpromising field. But Dr. Brahma's treatment of the subject will remove the doubts and misgiving of many, and the sceptic who looks askance at the elaborate scheme of Hindu ritualism will be convinced of the scientific value of these practices. "The Hindus approached the subject (of spiritual realisation) in a truly scientific spirit, and with them sādhanā is a science of spiritual discipline. Experimental realisation is the method that is followed by them, and the utility of a practice or *anusthāna* has always been tested by its practical demonstrations" (p. 52). Dr. Brahma has amply corroborated the truth of every word of his thesis. In the fifth chapter the author gives a historical survey of the different forms of sādhanā that came into vogue in India and the distinct contributions and

reforms made by a galaxy of teachers, and the necessity and the utility of these reforms have been demonstrated with thoroughness and penetrative insight. The broad division of Hindu sādhanā into Karma the path of Action, Jñāna the path of Knowledge and Bhakti the path of Devotion, have been elaborately discussed and their inter-relation has been demonstrated with ability.

In the course of his discussion of the practical details of religious discipline and their foundation on philosophic truth the author has been led into discussion of purely philosophical problems, which for its thoroughness and cogent marshalling of arguments will be a source of attraction to students of pure philosophy also. The author has maintained a fair and impartial attitude in the presentation of the arguments of the rival schools of philosophers. We draw the attention of the reader to his discussion of the classical theories of *Jivanmukta*, a baffling problem of Indian philosophy and of Vedānta in particular. The author has not hesitated to criticise the explanations of authoritative expositors and has formulated a theory of his own. The discussion of the theory of *adhyāsa* or illusion in connection with the doctrine of *Jivanmukti* presents an illuminating discourse. The discourse again on the instruments of supreme realisation, as presented in the *Siddhāntaleśa*, will help a student of Vedānta in the understanding of some difficult epistemological problems.

The chapter on the Tantra Sādhanā is ably written and shows the author's penetration into the inner spirit of Tantra philosophy and significance of Tāntric ritualism. The affinities of the Tantra line of Sādhanā with Vedic ritualism and Upaniṣadic philosophy have been clearly brought out. There is an irresistible appeal and force in his arguments that the different forms of Sādhanā or practical discipline have been motivated by the search for the highest truth and the culture of the infinite potentialities of the individual soul with a view to the attainment

of perfection. The chapter on the *Gītā* unfolds a novel orientation and approach on the author's part and a critical study will disclose a bold departure from the traditional interpretations of the exponents of the various schools. His interpretation of the concept of *Yoga* is illuminating and fits in with the central position of the *Gītā*. His interpretation of the category of *Puruṣottama* as a synthesis of the *Nirguṇa* Brahman of the *Upaniṣads* and the concrete Personal God of the *Purāṇas* will present to many a logical difficulty. It is not logically worked out how the Personal and the Impersonal can be blended into one entity without the help of *Māyā*. In our judgment the concept of *Puruṣottama* is the self-same concept of the Impersonal Absolute, who can appear as Personal God through the help of *Māyā*, which is at his beck and call. The author is perfectly justified to maintain that there is no logical antagonism between love of God and ultimate realisation of the unity of the Absolute and the individual. Śaṅkara has emphatically declared that the highest expression of love is identical with highest spiritual illumination. But we have not been able to convince ourselves that the Vedāntic conception of *Nirguṇa* Brahman, the Transcendental Absolute, is anything different from the *Puruṣottama* of the *Gītā* and we think that the view which considers the *Gītā* to be the fulfilment of the *Upaniṣadic* teaching is correct both in letter and spirit. We have nothing but appreciation for the author and we desire a wide circulation of his work among the students of religion and we hope the study of this book will acquaint the reader with the fundamentals of Hindu Religion and its philosophic background and foundation.

S. MOOKERJEE

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE by Dr. Ibn Hasan

The publication of this work last winter roused a melancholy interest in historical circles in India on account of the fact that its author died while the book was yet in the press. Dr. Ibn Hasan set before himself a limited task in this thesis of his. He examined the various chronicles, some Manuals of Administration and some of the accounts of the European travellers dealing with the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan and out of these sources he presented a descriptive and, at places, analytical account of the part which the Emperor, the Vakil, the Diwan, the Mir-i-Saman, the Bakhshi, and the Sadr played in the Mughal administration. This limited task has been well performed. The materials used have been thoroughly examined though one is at a loss to account for the fact why, when *Administrative Manuals* composed in Aurangzeb's reign and after have been examined, the huge mass of really useful and valuable material on the administrative practices of Mughal India to be found in the *Jaipur Records*, the *News Letters*, and the *Letter Books* of the same reign should remain unnoticed. Again the book is far from being a description of the entire central structure of the Mughal administration. The work of the Mir-i-Arz, the Master of Ceremonies, the Imperial News Writers, the Superintendent of the Royal Court has not been noticed at all. The historical descriptions of the administrative practices of various ministers who filled the above mentioned offices is very vivid though the analysis of these practices and conclusions arrived at leaves much to be desired. The author failed to discriminate between the Divine Right of Kings as proclaimed, for example, by the Stuart kings of England and accepted by a section among their subjects and the divine origin or inspiration the Mughal emperors claimed. No section of their subjects—least of all the royal princes—held it *sinful* to rebel against the reigning

emperor. Jahangir, whom Dr. Hasan has quoted as claiming divine favours when asserting his claim to the empire against Khusru, his son, had in his own days rebelled against his father, Akbar. No church visited its wrath upon the princely rebels, Salim, Khurram, or Aurangzeb. Not a single priest refused to take the oath of allegiance to successful royal rebels even when they happened to be on their own side. Unlike Stuart England loyalists by religious faith did not exist in Mughal India. It is impossible to discover during the Mughal period in India 'non-jurors' of the type who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III, whom they had themselves invited to England. Dr. Hasan further failed to understand the position of the Mughal emperors with respect to the Muslim church. The Sadr as the highest church dignitary was always the most authoritative exponent of the Islam in India. The position was anomalous. The emperor appointed the Sadr but once appointed the Sadr's authority became supreme within his own domain. Even an Akbar claimed no more power than that of pronouncing one of the varying views of a question correct when his divines differed. When Aurangzeb's first Sadr refused to read the Khutba in his own name because Shahjahan was alive, Aurangzeb had to dismiss him before he could get a time server Sadr to oblige him in the matter.

On the whole Dr. Hasan has presented his materials well and has given us a readable account of the problem he set out before him.

SRI RAM SHARMA

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN POLITY, by Pratapgiri Ramamurti, M.A., Professor of History, Wilson College, Bombay, Longmans, Green & Co. xii + 475 pp.

The University of Bombay has deserved well of all earnest students of Sociology and Economics by projecting a series of monographs bearing the title "Regional and Sociological Studies (mainly Indian)". In the present work which belongs to this series and has been ushered into existence with a note by the General Editor and a Foreword by Principal Dr. John McKenzie, the author has set before himself the aim of discovering the philosophical basis of the Ancient Indian Polity as a whole, and of offering constructive suggestions for the polity of the future in the light of this analysis. The work consists, as such, of three Parts, the first of Prefatory Part dealing with what may be called the historical and philosophical basis of the institution, the second with its central topics such as the end of the State, its nature and sphere of work, the conception of Sovereignty and the like, while the last part envisages the author's idea of the Coming Polity. The author's observations are based throughout on a wide synthesis of the Indian data as interpreted in the light of Western categories and concepts, and the result is a solid contribution to the subject which he treats.

It is impossible in the course of a short review to deal adequately with all the interesting points touched by the learned author or consider every one of his incisive judgments upon some prevalent ideas on the nature and functions of the Indian State. But a few points may be noted. In Part I, Ch. 2, we are told "Western philosophers of every school of thought have taken kindly to the world and the Life, Here and Now.....The Indian philosophers, on the other hand, consider the world to be miserable; and anxiety and torment to be the lot of those born here" (p. 28) and again, "Every system of thought and belief in India is [at] one in denouncing [the] world's existence" (p. 100). It would per-

haps be more accurate to describe the above as general tendencies rather than as universal characteristics, for can we altogether ignore on the one hand the non-wordly phases of Western thought (e.g. that of the early Christian Church), or on the other the materialistic strands of Indian thought as represented e.g., by the philosophical school of Carvaka, and the Arthaśāstra schools of Brhaspati and Sukra who ruled out even the Vedas from the list of sciences. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the fact that the author's review of the Indian systems of philosophy and ethics (p. 29 ff), comprehensive as it is, takes no note of the materialistic schools and does scant justice even to the Bhakti schools. The author appears to be on firmer ground while criticising the ethical content of the fundamental doctrine of Karma (p. 103 ff). It is however difficult to follow him when he denies (p. 127) in the face of patent facts, that the study of state-craft and cognate topics branched off from the general stream of Vedic culture and formed an independent branch of knowledge, or when he asserts (p. 128) in defiance of actual texts that Kautilya "never sacrificed religion and morality to state-craft." The author's principal argument that the thoughts of the people could not but effect their institution ignores the fact that the Arthaśāstra thought, e.g., *does* mark to an appreciable extent a departure from the orthodox scheme of values, while the extent to which it reflects concrete institutions will always remain a matter of speculation.

While discussing the fundamental question of the end of the State, the author enters (as it seems to us, quite justly) a vigorous protest against the views of Drs. Radha Kamal and Radha Kumud Mukherji, Mr. B. K. Sarkar and the like. Such e.g. is the statement that the Varnāśrama Dharma presented "a social federation securing to each group and its members their rights as well as their duties in a universally recognised order" (p. 202) or that "the recognition of the dignity of all labour was a levelling influence promot-

ing a social equality and brotherhood which subdued the pride of caste" (p. 203). His own view based upon a thorough analysis of the term Dharma in all its bearings is summed up in the statement that "the end of the State as visualised by the Hindu thinkers is imperfect and unjust." We could have wished that proper notice was taken of the general tendencies of the Arthaśāstra rules of state-craft seeking to identify the end of the state with the security of the king. On the subject of the nature of the State and its sphere, the author's views are equally pronounced. Differing strongly from the views of Dr. Radha Kumud Mnkherji, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others, he holds that "in ancient India there was practically no limit to state-action and the state was an autocracy, limited not by any positive factors, but by its very nature and end" (p. 280). In considering this sweeping judgment it is well to mention that some of the author's arguments do not carry conviction, e.g. when he repeats (p. 245) the old outworn view of Fick denying the existence of true republics, or when he states (p. 249) the election of the Vedic king to be still a moot point and chooses to be over-sceptical about the political functions of the Vedic *sabhā* and *samiti*. Parenthetically we may remark, that it is unhistorical to speak of an Epic Age in Ancient India standing isolated from earlier and later periods.

We have not space enough to consider the many other weighty observations that crop up in the course of this learned and thoughtful survey. Such e.g. is the view that "the king was not only the head of the State but also of the society (p. 266)" or that the State, so far as social organisation was concerned, "was thoroughly saturated with theocratic ideas (p. 274)." What we have stated will suffice to furnish an idea of the scope and importance of the present work which makes a real contribution to the growing literature on the fascinating subject of our old Indian political ideas and institutions. Summing up our observations, we may remark that the

author has rendered a distinct service in seeking to discover the genius of the ancient Indian polity from the fundamental notions. But like all seekers after general systems of thought he has failed to take sufficient notice of the various ramifications into which the ideas and institutions of a people extending over centuries may have branched.

We have noticed a few slips which have not been corrected in the unfortunately long list of *errata* at the beginning of the work : we hope they will be set right in a future edition. In the quotation on p. 127, the places of the general systems of Hindu philosophy and Hindu political thought have been reversed. Errors of transliteration occur in the case of *Na Vishnu Prithvīpathi* (p. 290), *Ekachatrāpathi* (pp. 303-4), *Raghyu Vamsa* (p. 351 n) and *Aggammasuttaita* (p. 352 n). In some cases improper designations have been attributed, such as Professor Jayaswal (p. 251) and Professor V. A. Smith (p. 314).

U. N. GHOSHAL

PRĀGĀITIHASIKA MOHENJO-DARO: By Kunja Govinda Goswami, M.A. Research Fellow, Calcutta University. With a foreword by Mr. N. G. Majumder, Superintendent, Arch. Survey of India. Published by the Calcutta University.

The book is divided into twelve chapters and deals with almost every aspect of the Indus Valley civilisation. In writing on such topics as town and town life, antiquities, the people and their religion, though Mr. Goswami has followed the official accounts yet, at times, he has offered some independent suggestions which are worth consideration. The tenth and eleventh chapters, dealing with the seals and their language, have been written in a fascinating manner. He has presented in a neat form all the views expressed so far about the purpose for which the seals were used. The most useful portion I

think is the section in which he gives an account of the attempts made by different scholars to interpret the language of the seals. The views of scholars like Gadd, Langdon, Petrie and others stated concisely will be of great help to the average readers. It remains still undecided whether the mystery of these seals will be solved independently in Indian soil or we shall have to look forward to the countries in Asia Minor as some scholars believe. In this connection attention may be drawn to the suggestions of Dr. Fabri given in the latest issue of the Archæological Survey Reports. Here he has discussed in detail the similarity that exists between a particular scene in Mohenjo-Daro seal and that on Cretan seals. The subject concerns the bull-grappling sports and the Bull sacrifice. There is indeed a significant similarity between certain Indus Valley and Cretan seals; and I think the agreement in so many details and so many elements of popular worship could not be a matter of coincidence. There must have been a close connection between the two cultures.

It is gratifying to note that Mr. Goswami can write lucid Bengali. The get-up of the book is good and as it is the only authoritative book in Bengali giving the wonderful story of Mohenjo-Daro, it should prove popular to our Bengal public.

R. N. SARKAR

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XVIII, no. 4 (July, 1937)

- A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*The Nāgas*. The chronology of the Nāga dynasties has been discussed in the paper.
- A. P. PUSALKAR.—*The Authors of the Indus Culture*. The writer is of the opinion that there is nothing in the Vedic civilisation that goes against ascribing the authorship of the Indus Civilisation to the Vedic Aryans.

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. I, pts. 3 and 4

- K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR AND A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR.—*Vyavahāranirṇaya of Varadarāja*. A Sanskrit text on lawsuits is being edited.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Rgveda-vyākhyā*. The editing of Mādhava's commentary on the *Rgveda* continues.
- S. SUBRAHMANY SASTRI AND T. R. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR.—*Yogupaniṣads*. Short Upaniṣads dealing with Yoga are translated into English. The *Tejobindūpaniṣad* is completed in this instalment and the *Trīśikhibrāhmanopaniṣad* commenced.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra and Nāgārjuna's Bhavasamkrāntiśāstra with the Commentary of Maitreya-nātha*. Sanskrit texts have been restored from their Tibetan and Chinese versions and translated into English.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXIII, pt. i, January, 1935 (1937)

- A. N. UPADHYE.—*Kolhapur Copper-plates of Gandarādityadeva: Śaka 1048*. (Continued).
- D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*A List of Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brāhmī and its derivative Scripts from about A.C. 300*.

Ibid., vol. XXIII, pt. ii, April, 1935 (1937)

- A. N. UPADHYE.—*Kolhapur Copper-plates of Gandarādityadeva: Śaka 1048. (Concluded).*
- STEN KONOW.—*Hidda Inscription of the year 28.*
- A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Three Maukbari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛta year 295.*
- N. G. MAJUMDAR.—*Nandapur Copper-plate of the Gupta year 169.*
- R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga.*
- .—*Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarman: the year 79.*
- .—*Ganjam Copper-plates of Vajrabasta III: Śaka Samvat 991.*
- B. CH. CHHABRA.—*Indian Museum Plates of Gaṅga Devendrarman: the year 308*
- P. N. BHATTACHARYA.—*Bhadrakimedi Copper-plates of Indrarman.*

Eastern Buddhist, vol. VII, no. 2 (June, 1937)

- TERESINA ROWELL.—*The Background and Early use of the Buddhakṣetra Concept.*
- BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.—*The Shingon School of Mahāyāna Buddhism. (Concluded).*
- KAISHUN OHASHI.—*Die Spuren des Buddhismus in China vor Kaiser Ming, nebst einer Betrachtung über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung des "Chin-jen."*

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. II, no. 2 (July, 1937)

- L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.—*Staupikam.*

Indian Art and Letters, vol. XI, no. 2

- RAGINI DEVI.—*Kathakali and the Classical Dance in India.* Following the traditional exposition of the Śāstras, the art of dancing has been interpreted in the paper, and an account of

the 'Kathakali', the dance-drama of Malabar, has been appended.

PAUL MUS.—*Angkor in the Time of Jayavarman II.*

M. ABDULLAH CHAGHTAI.—*Indian Links with Central Asia in Architecture.*

WILLEM F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Note on a newly found Fragment of a Four-armed Figure from Kota Kapur (Banka)* The figure has striking affinities with figures of Viṣṇu found in Khmer of the period between the sixth and the eighth centuries. The writer conjectures that the fragment was connected with the kingdom of Śrīvijaya.

Indian Culture, vol. IV, no. 2 (October, 1937)

LAKSHMAN SARUP.—*The R̥gveda and Mohenjo-daro.* The paper points out the weakness of the evidences adduced in support of the theory of the Dravidian character of the Indus Valley Civilisation and puts forward arguments to show that this civilisation cannot be earlier than the period represented in the hymns of the *R̥gveda*.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*The Epoch of the Gāṅga Era.* The discussion in the paper is in favour of placing the epoch of the era used in the charters of the Gāṅga kings of Kaliṅga between 550 and 557 A.C.

SUSHIL K. BOSE.—*Studies in Gupta Paleography.*

P. THIEME.—*On the Identity of the Vārttikakāra.* The writer of the article inclines to support the view that Kātyāyaṇācārya who wrote the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* is identical with the author of the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and is therefore later than Pāṇini.

RATILAL MEHTA.—*Social Units in Jātakas.* The note points out the importance of the *ñāti* (relations and acquaintances) in the social life of a man as revealed in the stories of the Buddhist *Jātakas*.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*Rāma Gupta*. The writer argues that there is nothing to prevent us assuming that Viśākhadatta composed his *Devicandragupta* in the life time of Candra Gupta II who is depicted in the drama to have murdered his elder brother, the reigning king Rāma Gupta and married the widowed queen Dhruvadevi. It is also contended here that Rāma is the name of the brother and predecessor of Candra Gupta and not Kāca, as has been suggested by some from the readings found in coins.

SURENDRA KISORE CHAKRAVARTY.—*The Gold Coins of Ancient Bengal*.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Sena Chronology*.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Bengal Period of Hoysala Someśvara*. Evidences are culled from inscriptions in support of the view that Vira Someśvara of the Hoysal dynasty began his reign in the year 1234-35 A.C. ruling at least for the next 29 years.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Kāvya Style in Inscriptions of the Successors of the Śātavāhanas*.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*Notes on the Godling Mahākāla worshipped by the Rājbanis of the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal*.

ATINDRANATH BOSE.—*Hired Labour in Ancient India*.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Kṛṣṇa in Early Tamil Literature*. The mention of some of the exploits of the pastoral god Māyavan and his consort Nappinnai in the Tamil classical works shows that Kṛṣṇa along with Rādhā had already attained popularity in the Tamil country in the early centuries of the Christian era and was worshipped as a very ancient god.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. VII, no. 1 (October, 1937)

R. RAMANUJACHARI AND K. SRINIVASACHARI.—The last available portion of the *Ātmasiddhi* of Yāmunācārya on the existence of

the soul is published in this issue of the Journal with English translation and Notes as previously.

———.—*Nyāyakulīśa*. The edition of Rāmānujācārya's *Nyāyakulīśa* has been brought to a completion in this instalment.

Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXIII, pt. iii, (September, 1937)

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*The Mālavas (4th cent. B.C.—4th cent. A.C.)*. The history of the Mālavas regarding their origin, extension and ethnography is discussed on the basis of the evidences of literary, archæological and foreign records.

JAGADIS NARAYAN SARKAR.—*The Saltpetre Industry of India in the Seventeenth Century with special Reference to Bihar*.

J. C. GHOSH.—*The Dynastic Name of the Kings of the Puṣyamitra Family*. It is argued that the theory that Śuṅga Puṣyamitra of the *Purāṇas*, Puṣyamitra of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and the Brāhmaṇa commander of the *Harivaṃśa* were the same person should not be rejected merely on the ground that according to the *Harivaṃśa*, the commander belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra while the Purāṇic Śuṅgas were Bhāradvājas. The discrepancy in gotra is accounted for by proofs showing that the Śuṅgas were *Dvyāmuṣyaṇas* formed by the combination of the two gotras Bharadvāja and Kāśyapa and that they had connections with the Kāśyapa gotra.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of of the Royal Asiatic
Society, vol. XIII, 1937

H. D. SANKALIA.—*The Spurious Gurjara Grants of the Śaka years 400, 415 and 417*. The Gurjara Grants Umeta, Begumra and Ilao dated in the Śaka era 400, 415 and 417 have been for a long time objects of controversy as regards their genuineness. The writer of this note gives additional reasons as to why the Grants should be regarded as forgeries.

B. C. LAW.—*Studies in the Apadāna*. The principal contents of the *Apadāna*, the last book of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, are the subject-matter of study in this paper containing an account of birds and fishes, reptiles and animals, peoples and tribes, and plants, fruits and flowers mentioned in the *Apadāna*. It also gives a list of occupations, and references to buildings, and their architecture, as also some geographical information available in that work.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVI, pt. ii, (August, 1937)

H. C. SETH.—*Inscriptional Evidence of Candragupta Maurya's Achievements*. By a comparison of the achievements of king Candra mentioned in the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription with the historical facts known about Candragupta Maurya, the writer of the paper comes to the conclusion that the two kings are identical. Reasons are also put forward against the views of different scholars who have identified king Candra of the Iron Pillar Inscription with Candragupta I, the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, or Candragupta II of the same dynasty, or Candravarman, king of Puṣkaraṇa.

R. P. SUNDARAVARMAN.—*A New Epoch for the Gupta Era*. The starting year of the Gupta Era suggested here is 284-285 A.C.

V. VRIDHGIRISAN.—*The Kādavarāyas*. The article gives an account of the Kādavarāyas who were at first feudatories of the Cola kings Kulottuṅga III and Rājarāja III but asserted their independence during the reign of the latter king in the 13th century and were mainly responsible for the downfall of the Cola power. The career of the Kādava Kopperunṅga who ruled from 1242 to 1278 A.C. as an independent king with his capital in South Arcot has been specially dealt with in the paper.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJI.—*The Influence of Islamic Traditions on the Sultanate of Delhi*. The conclusion arrived at in the paper

is that the Sultans of Delhi appealed always to the physical force as the source of their power never following the Islamic principles, *viz.*, the monarchical ideas of ancient Arabia and the traditions of the Khilafat.

- C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761).*

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. IV, no. 2 (July, 1937)

WILHELM GEIGER.—*Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our Knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon.* The following subjects have been dealt with in the present instalment of this continued article: the funeral of a deceased king, Buddhism and Brahmanism at the royal court, and the divisions of the country.

H. PARMENIER.—*L'art Pseudo-Khmèr Au Siam et le Prang.*

G. COEDÈS.—*A New Inscription from Fu-Nan.* The Sanskrit text of this inscription discovered in the Province of Prang records the foundation of a hermitage by Kulaprabhāvati, the consort of a king called Jayavarman. Relying on the evidence of the paleography of the inscription, Jayavarman is identified with the king of Fu-Nan who reigned at the end of the 5th century A.C.

F. M. SCHNITGER.—*Three Indo-Javanese Gaṅgā Images.*

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH.—*Two Bodhisattva Images from Ceylon and Śrīvijaya.*

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Siddhayātrā.* The meaning of the expression *siddhayātrā* occurring in five inscriptions from Indonesia is a subject of much speculation. According to the author of this note, this technical term has a reference to the acquisition of magic power.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJI.—*On the Identification of a few Indonesian Sculptures.*

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Hindus in Afghanistan, Persia and Russia in 1783*

Journal of the Music Academy Madras, vol. V, nos. 1-4

M. Ś. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Sāmagāna*. The method of singing the verses of the *Sāmavedasambhitā* and the musical importance thereof are discussed in the paper.

———.—*The Saṅgītasudhā of Raghunātha*. The editing of this Sanskrit work on music is being continued.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Sanskrit Music Manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XI, pt. ii (April-June, 1937)

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The number of Rasas*. In continuation of the discussion of the position assigned to the *Śānta Rasa* in the works of poetics, other *rasas* like *preyas*, *vātsalya*, *bhakti*, *sneha* and *lauhya* are dealt with in this instalment. The varieties of each of the *rasas* are also enumerated and some topics have been discussed such as—“Are all the *Rasas* pleasurable or some of them are painful?”

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Maṇimekhalai's Contributions to Indian Logic*.

S. GNANA PRAKASAR.—*Some Laws of Dravidian Etymology*.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1937

E. H. C. WALSH.—*Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum*.

Man, September, 1937

SIMONE CORBIAU.—*Pre-historic Remains on Historic Sites of India and the Near East*.

Man in India, vol. XVII, no. 4 (October-December, 1937)

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.—*Caste, Race, and Religion in India*. This instalment of the paper deals with the "probable contributions of the Dravidian racial element."

Nagpur University Journal, No. 2 (December, 1936)

H. C. SETH.—*Note on the Origin of Pāli*. The following suggestions have been put forward *viz.*, that Candragupta Maurya and the forces that helped him in the conquest of Magadha came from the north-west. The vastness of the territories brought by him under a common rule for the first time necessitated the evolution of a language that could be understood by the people both in Eastern and Western India. In this way originated the mixed dialect of Pāli as the *lingua franca* which has certainly been influenced to a great extent by the dialect of the north-west.

V. V. MIRASHI.—*Epigraphical Notes*. These notes discuss the contents of the Patna Museum Third Plate of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II, the Rajim Plates of Tivaradeva, the Benares Plates of Karṇa and Gaharwa Plates of Karṇadeva with a view to settling their provenance and identifying the localities mentioned therein.

——.—*Epigraphic Discoveries*. This is an account of the *Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II* and the *Mallār Plates of Mahāśivagupta* recently discovered in C.P. The former is a charter of a land-grant for the maintenance of a charitable house. It was issued by the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II who was the daughter's son of the great king Candragupta II reigning in the 5th century A.C. The latter inscription records the donation of a village to the community of Buddhist monks by king Mahāśivagupta, described as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

S. P. CHATURVEDI.—*Anuṣṭubh Metre—its History and Varieties*.

New Review, May, 1937

H. HERAS.—*The Cradle of the Aryans*. The Aryans, according to the author of this article, were originally the inhabitants of Southern Russia, especially that part of it which extends along the middle and the upper course of the Volga.

Poona Orientalist, vol. II, no. 2 (July, 1937)

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI.—*The Missing Kārikā in the Sāṅkhyasaptati*. According to the writer of this article, there is no need for postulating that a verse in Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā* has been lost.

DASARATHA SARMA.—*Some Important Dates from the Kharatara Gaccha Pattāvali compiled by Jinapāla, etc.*

V. R. RĀMCHĀNDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The Purānas: Their Historical Value*.

HARILAL RANGILDAS MANKAD.—*Patāla the Hindu Antipodes*. The writer believes that the Pātāla region described in the *Purānas* can be identified with "Central America together with the north Andean tract adjoining the Pacific Ocean existing as it does up to 20° on both sides of the equator—from Mexico to the Bolivian Plateau."

P. C. DHARMA.—*Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rāmāyaṇa*.

Ibid., vol. II, no. 3 (October, 1937)

M. MAHADEVA.—*The Psychological Basis of the Activism of the Bhagavadgītā*.

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*A Vedantic Treatise and its unpublished Commentary*. The description of the unpublished commentary *Prabhābhānu* on the Vedantic texts of the *Svabodha-*

- ratna* also known as *Svānubhāvādarśa* is continued from the previous issue of the Journal.
- P. C. DHARMA.—*Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rāmāyana*.
The paper is concluded with this instalment.
- A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Yaśastilaka and the Pañcharātra*. That Somadeva, the author of the *Yaśastilaka*, was acquainted with a recension of Vasubhāgās version of the *Pañcatantra* is shown in the paper by quotations from the two works.
- GĀNGANATHA JHA.—*Nyāyasūtra of Gautama with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana*. The edition of the texts with Sanskrit Notes continues.
- .—*English Translation of same*.

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- R. N. SALETORÉ.—*The Monetary Arrangements of the Mysore Sultanate*. How Hyder Ali and Tippu, two Sultans of Mysore, administered the revenue department and the treasury, patronised commerce and agriculture and introduced financial reforms in the state in the 18th century is related in the paper.
- P. C. DHARMA.—*Social Life in the Rāmāyana*. The subject-matter of the article comprises descriptions of toilette of the hair and the body, luxuries of bathing and massage, varieties of jewellery and wearing apparels, sports and amusements, and different kinds of conveyances for transport mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*.
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- MUHAMMAD ENAMUL HAQUE.—*Shah Muhammad Sagir*. A detailed account of the Bengāli poetical version of the story of Yusuf and Zulekha made by Sagir who has been assigned to the 15th Century.
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This is a study of the Buddhist Chinese text of the *Vajracchedikā* in the Brāhmī scripts of the 8th-9th Century.

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